

The Five Later 'Tyrrhenian' Painters

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1 INTRODUCTION

In this article I deal with the five later 'Tyrrhenian' artisans – Kyllenios Painter, Castellani Painter, Pointed-Nose Painter, Guglielmi Painter and Fallow Deer Painter – in the same way that I dealt with the three earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters in my previous article (1995).

For each painter I list the vases (divided into three or four periods), describe the decorative schemes, note the subjects and remark on style and other characteristics. The inscriptions are treated in short notes; again Professor C.J. Ruijgh kindly commented on the meaningful ones, among which the Guglielmi Painter's signature on Louvre E 831 (211). Each chapter contains a section on the painter's relative chronology.

Two extra sections are inserted, one explaining why I delete the four dinoi attributed to the Kyllenios Painter (2.8), the other (3.8) explaining why the amphorae which I call *broad-shouldered* in my second article (1993) are not included in the Castellani Painter's list. Chapter 7 concludes with my dating of these five 'Tyrrhenian' artisans. The two appendices are a List of Subjects and a Concordance with *ABV* and *Para*.

2 KYLLENIOS PAINTER

2.1 Introduction

The Kyllenios Painter's name derives from the inscription on Berlin F 1704 (107): 'I am Hermes from Kyllenios'¹. The artistic quality of this work is rather low, and even the best scenes are never innovative. Some elements of the decorative scheme and of the style of painting and incising recall the Prometheus Painter and, to a lesser degree, the Timiades Painter. Bothmer 1944, 165, notes: 'characteristic are his stiff warriors', which is only one of the painter's many distinctive stylistic traits, as we shall see below.

In my estimation, the Kyllenios Painter's oeuvre comprises 18 amphorae, five of which are attributed by me. Excluded are four amphorae previously assigned to the Kyllenios Painter as well as the dinoi and the stand attributed to him by D. v. Bothmer, H.A. Cahn and J. Frel (see Section 2.8).

2.2 Oeuvre

a. Amphorae

Early period

104. GOTH A Z.V. 2477, fragmentary. *ABV* 101.80; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]
105. DRESDEN Z.V. 1647 (Dr. 209). *ABV* 105.1 [D. von Bothmer]
106. ST PETERSBURG 1402. *ABV* 105.3; *Add²* 28; Bothmer CVA, and in Moore 1972, 39: 'Prometheus Painter', Bothmer 1977, 264 'Timiades Painter' [author]

Middle period

107. BERLIN F 1704. (*Fig. 38*) *ABV* 96.14, 683; *Para* 36; *Add²* 25 [D. von Bothmer]
108. BONN 37. *ABV* 99.58, 684; *Para* 38; *Add²* 26; Kluiver 1993, 193, fig. 10 [D. von Bothmer]
109. FRANKFORT, UNIVERSITY 136, fragmentary. *Para* 39; *Add²* 27; CVA 4, pls. 11-13 [D. von Bothmer]

This is the fourth article in my series on the 'Tyrrhenian' Group. The first, titled 'The Tyrrhenian Group: its Origin and the Neck-Amphorae in The Netherlands and Belgium', comments on Carpenter 1984 and includes petrographic research done by H. Kars; *BaBesch* 67 (1992) 73-109. In the second, 'The Potter-Painters of the Tyrrhenian Group: A Close Look at the Shape' in *BaBesch* 68 (1993) 179-194, I examine the shape, arguing that potter and painter were the same man. The third, titled 'Early Tyrrhenian: the Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltys Painter' in *BaBesch* 70 (1995) 55-103, lists and discusses the work of those painters. This article would never have been written without the patient and stimulating criticism of Professor H.A.G. Brijder, to whom I am grateful. I owe warm thanks to Vincent Tosto who improved my English. C.J. Ruijgh kindly helped me to read the inscriptions and commented on them. Antonie Jonges made some astonishingly useful observations. Michiel Bootsman taught me to obtain better photographic results and printed my negatives. I am also especially indebted to the following people who kindly provided me with information, photographs or permitted me to publish vases: P. Aureli (Rome), G.J.M. Bartelink (Nijmegen), R. Blatter (Bolligen), D. von Bothmer (New York), H.A. Cahn (Basle), A. Corsini (Rome), A.M. Esposito (Florence), J.B. Grossman (Malibu), P. Heesen (Amsterdam), Ken'ichi Hirano (Tokyo), M. Jentoft-Nilsen (Malibu), G. Jurriaans-Helle (Amsterdam), K. Knoll (Dresden), M.B. Moore (New York), F. Nicosia (Florence), A. Pasquier (Paris), B.B. Rasmussen (Copenhagen), K. Schauenburg (Kiel), M. Sguaitamatti † (Zurich), V. Slehoferova (Basle), Y. Tuna-Nörthing (Heidelberg) and M. Vickers (Oxford). Further, I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Allard Pierson Foundation, Amsterdam; the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), the Hague; and in Rome: the Dutch Institute and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. The photographs of the Kyllenios Painter's amphora 112, now in a Swiss private collection (*Figs. 5-6*) are by D. Widmer (Basle); all other photographs are by the author.

¹ For the inscriptions see Section 2.6.

110. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10506, fragmentary. *Para* 39; in *Add²* 27, 'Louvre C 10505' is incorrect [D. von Bothmer]
111. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10703, fragmentary. *Para* 41 [D. von Bothmer]
112. SWITZERLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION. (*Figs. 5-6, 37*) H. 39.0; two-reeded handles. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Achilleus ambushes Troilos, nonsense inscriptions; IB, Four horsemen to r.; below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 2-2-2-2; rays. Cat. H.A. Cahn, *Schweizerische Kunst- und Antiquitätenmesse 1993, Zürich-Oerlikon, 17-25 April 1993*, 4 [author]
113. PARIS, LOUVRE C 12069 (Boîte A), ca. 8 fr. possibly from one neck-amphora. a. 10.0 x 9.5: parts of friezes I (female foot, lower leg of warrior) and II (panther, ram; lines: 2); b. 5 x 6: IA (tongues, Athena, Herakles' head, female head); c. parts of IA (horses, standing woman, chariot, wreath, lower part of woman clad in peplos, holding a wreath) and II (siren head; lines: 2); d. man's head facing woman's; 2 standard handles. Moore 1972, 39, no. A 188; *LIMC* V.2 s.v. 'Herakles' 2880 [D. von Bothmer]
114. PARIS, LOUVRE C 12072, fr. (*ex* C 11301). Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, B); IA, Woman's head, horse's leg, warrior's leg; IB, Horsemen; lines: 2. Moore 1972, 39, no. A 187; Bothmer 1977, 264 [D. von Bothmer]

Late period

115. CARLSRUHE B 2591. (*Fig. 39*) *ABV* 97.29; *Add²* 26; Kluiver 1993, 192, fig. 3d [H. Mommsen]
116. LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM 1847.8-6.26 (B 48). *ABV* 100.70; *Para* 38; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
117. PARIS, LOUVRE E 836. (*Figs. 1-4*) *ABV* 100.75 [D. von Bothmer]
118. BRUSSELS A 715. *ABV* 103.109; *Add²* 27; Kluiver 1992, no. 5, figs. 17-22, 61 [author]
119. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10509, fragmentary. *Para* 40; *Add²* 28 [H. Mommsen]
120. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10516, fragmentary. (*Fig. 7*) Pres. H. 22.0. IA, Athena, Herakles, ram, hoplites; IB, Komos, nonsense inscriptions; below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 2-2-1-? Unpublished [author]

b. Probably by the Kyllenios Painter

Only an inaccurate drawing remains of the obverse shoulder scene

121. ONCE IN MILAN, VIDONI COLLECTION. *ABV* 97.30; *Add²* 26 [author]

c. Reattributed amphorae (see Section 2.8 for the dinoi)

- HOBART 59. Castellani Painter (173)
- COPENHAGEN 15070. Prometheus Painter (21) (Once Italian market, 1958. Moore 1972, 38, no. A 186.)
- LEIPZIG T 3323, fragmentary. Pointed-Nose Painter (196)
- VENICE MARKET, Genova (*ex* Basle market, *MuM*). Guglielmi Painter (214)

2.3 Decorative scheme

The neck decoration is uniform: a palmette-lotus festoon on each side, very often with a line above and below (*Figs. 5-6*)². The lines bordering the bottom of the shoulder frieze always run somewhat above the point of the body's greatest diameter. There is hardly any variation below: always three animal friezes³.

Very typical are the many lines between the friezes: groups of two or three being more common than single lines (*Figs. 1-4*)⁴. If there is only one group of three lines it is always under the main frieze.

The diced bands on two amphorae attributed to the Kyllenios Painter are not the earliest occurrences of this feature in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group⁵. The number of base-rays is between 15 and 27, averaging about 20⁶.

2.4 Subjects and decoration

The subject matter is dull, and the Kyllenios Painter's preferences are few and weak. Seven amphorae show a fight on the obverse, each with three pairs of Greeks, as in *Fig. 1*. Elsewhere Herakles is seen fighting Nessos or the Hydra, or freeing Prometheus. Once, Athena stands behind him (*Fig. 7*), while he holds a sword in one hand and a scabbard in the other one, facing a huge ram and several hoplites who stride towards him; the meaning of this scene is enigmatic. Achilleus and Troilos occur on a few other vases, e.g. the amphora in *Fig. 5*.

On the reverse, the horse-race is a favourite theme (*Figs. 2, 6*). The sporting scenes on 116 are interesting: they include wrestlers, a spear thrower, a jumper with weights, a discus thrower and several trainers. The duel on the reverse of 104 is unique in the Group because each of the two onlooking mounted warriors holds the horse of one of the combatants. Lastly, the galloping centaurs on 105 and the marching hoplites on 118 and 119 seem to be thematically connected with the scenes on the other side.

In the lower friezes, panthers and sirens are the most popular animals; there are also fair numbers of ram, sphinx, swan, flying eagle, ibex, he-goat, boar and cock. Uncommon creatures are the horse-cock (108), bull, lion and water bird⁷.

² E.g. 107, 108, 112.

³ Festoon-filled friezes do not occur; the lower body is never solid black.

⁴ 119 has a total of 12 lines (four triple ones!).

⁵ 110, 111. Both bands consist of a double dot-row bordered above and below by a triple line (3-2-3).

⁶ Black bands or zones above the base-rays do not occur on these amphorae.

⁷ The standing eagle on 108 is modern; it originally was a siren.

On five amphorae, an ordinary palmette-lotus cross is placed between the animals⁸. Very distinctive are the short festoons of opposing palmettes and lotuses between the animals of three other amphorae (*Figs. 1, 6*); these florals have a horizontal palmette at each end, resembling the lateral palmettes of the palmette-lotus cross⁹. A stemmed palmette and stemmed bud each occurs once¹⁰. Only three rosettes are preserved, the one on **112** being noteworthy (*Fig. 37*)¹¹. Human or divine figures are uncommon in the lower friezes of the Kyllenios Painter's amphorae; once we see two hunters kill a stag, and I know of one Gorgon¹².

2.5 Characteristics

The neck festoons hardly differ from those by other 'Tyrrhenian' painters. As a rule they consist of 5, 5.5 or 6 palmette-lotus elements¹³; they often start, on the left, with a simple ring-shaped piece of stem (*Figs. 3-4*); and often end, on the right, by merging with the glaze of the handle attachment. Elements 1, 3 and 5 commonly have a palmette on the top¹⁴. Lotus cuffs are rather slender, and never as wide as those by the Timiades Painter or the Goltys Painter. Another difference is that the Kyllenios Painter rarely paints the horizontal ring between the lotus and the palmette of one element; instead he incises two or three short horizontal lines (*Fig. 6*)¹⁵. The central lotus sepal is occasionally omitted¹⁶.

The red cores in the tongue-bands are applied on black glaze in at least four instances¹⁷; and the bands vary in height from 1.7-2.5 cm.

With regard to the composition of the scenes, it should first be noted that there are not any flanking animals in the main friezes of the shoulders. This is a major difference between this painter's work and that of his somewhat earlier colleagues; on the other hand it is a trait which recurs in the work of nearly all the later 'Tyrrhenian' artisans.

Many helmet crests and heads of human figures overlap the tongue-band, which happens both more often and to a greater extent than we have so far seen in the work of earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters¹⁸. On Dresden 1647 (**105**) Deianeira overlaps Nessos, while Herakles' left arm overlaps both figures. The ram in the main frieze of Louvre C 10516 (**120**) has been rendered between the hoplite and his shield (*Fig. 7*). Both details look odd to the contemporary observer.

Scenes with onlookers are uncommon. As mentioned, most fights consist of three pairs of Greeks. The example on London B 48 (**116**) forms an exception: one warrior, unique in the Group, runs away from his opponent.

There is some variation in the fight of Herakles and the Hydra: on **109** the monster is depicted on the far right, while a *tethrippon* and driver wait on the left side; whereas on **110** the combatants are depicted in the centre of the frieze.

Most of the duelling warriors in the Kyllenios Painter's fights are dull stock-figures. They stand almost straight, stiffly, with legs wide apart as if stepping, and are outfitted with Corinthian low-crested helmets, chiton, greaves, spear and shield. In almost all of these depictions the spearhead of a hoplite standing to the right, as seen in *Fig. 4*, is incised over the inside of his shield¹⁹; by contrast, other 'Tyrrhenian' painters commonly paint the spearhead²⁰. Most dying warriors fall on one knee, but, as a rule, not in the same posture as seen in earlier 'Tyrrhenian' work: the knee is bent at other than a right angle; and, usually, the forward leg is only slightly bent²¹. Very seldom a warrior falls backwards, sinking on a heel, as on the London amphora (**116**), where all the warriors with low-crested helmets are victorious over those with high-crested helmets. On the amphora in Gotha (**104**) all the victors are nude²². Some of them appear to step on the calf of the adversary: in fact, the forward foot vanishes in the silhouette of the calf, the result of overlapping²³. On amphora **109** the three dying hoplites lower their shields behind their backs, turning the insides of the shields towards the observer; as we shall see, this remarkable pose resembles an attitude which is characteristic of figures by the Fallow Deer Painter as in *Figs. 33* and *36*.

⁸ **104-106, 108, 116.**

⁹ **107, 112, 117.**

¹⁰ **106, 119.**

¹¹ Also **116**, irregular silhouette with many incised strokes crossing the centre; and **120**, irregular with incised cross.

¹² **106, 118.**

¹³ On **107** (B) there are 6.5 elements; the half element is squeezed against the right handle attachment.

¹⁴ Exceptions on **107, 115-117.**

¹⁵ Rings in festoons and crosses by the Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter and Goltys Painter are in fact short, horizontal, painted lines.

¹⁶ **115, 118.** See also the frieze II ornament in *Fig. 1*.

¹⁷ **104, 105, 107, 108.**

¹⁸ Especially **108.**

¹⁹ **104, 107, 108, 112, 115-117.** Some Siana cup painters, like the C Painter, drew warriors' spearheads over their shields; and the rigid and monotonous poses of the C Painter's combatants resemble those by the Kyllenios Painter (see Brijder 1983, pls. 9b, 12c, 13c, 14a, c-e; 21b-c. See also work of the Heidelberg Painter in Brijder 1991, pls. 113a-b, 142g, 146h-i, 147c-d).

²⁰ It occurs however in the Prometheus Painter's amphora **21**.

²¹ On the other hand, the sharply bent knee of Herakles on **121** resembles the knee of an Amazon on **108**.

²² Except, perhaps, the one on the right.

²³ **108, 116.**

Typical of the Kyllenios Painter's figures is that the arms of humans and Nessos may be long and heavy, especially when the figures are depicted in uncommon stances²⁴. Herakles, as a rule, wears the lion's head as helmet (*Fig. 7*); fighting, he takes a giant step to the right; the dangling legs of the lion's skin are often separated by his thigh²⁵.

The horse-races consist of three to five jockeys heading towards the right, many of them looking round. Often there are tripods or a dinos (*Figs. 2-4, 6*).

A standing Athena with round shield and spear appears on both the amphora in a Swiss private collection (*Fig. 5, 112*) and Louvre C 10516 (*Fig. 7, 120*). In the latter instance she obviously assists Achilles, holding a spare sheathed sword with attached baldric. Possibly the Athena of **115** also held a spare weapon.

Onlooking humans and gods regularly wear long chitons, or peplos and mantle. The vertical panel-band filled with white animals, occurring in the work of earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters, is still popular²⁶; the combination of peplos with white animals and mantle calls to mind the attire of figures by the Prometheus Painter. Garments may be adorned with cross-hatching or chequers: borders, the part of the chiton appearing below the corslet or, occasionally, headgear²⁷. A new kind of garment ornamentation in the Group is the border consisting of a row of tiny incised circles between double-lines, as on **107**, which became fashionable, however, only in the work of other later 'Tyrrhenian' painters²⁸. The incisions may be few, thick and hastily applied; outline incising is very rare. Some garments are adorned with incised crosses. On some high helmet-crests there are short strokes near the contour (**108-109**). Among other noteworthy incisions are: the compass-drawn shield-rosette of **107**; the curl attached to the eagle's eye on **115**²⁹; the border of Polyxena's peplos on **119**, consisting of a row of the number six, which we also find in the Castellani Painter's work; and the row of double-volutes on Herakles' sheath on **110**.

The animals are arranged according to axial symmetry which is stricter on the obverse than on the reverse. In frieze II, as illustrated in *Fig. 5*, (parts of) five animals are commonly included: three sirens and an animal on either side³⁰. The central siren may be replaced with a floral ornament, a group of two animals³¹ or a swan with wings spread (*Fig. 1*).

Of the many animals in the lower friezes only a single panther on **105** has a double shoulder-line, a trait which seems to suggest an early date of manufacture. Most of the animals in frieze II have normal proportions and a vigorous aspect; the lower we go,

however, the quality of the animals decreases noticeably. For example, the panthers in III and IV often have bodies which are too thin, rather fat hindquarters, and long, vertical, thin necks (*Fig. 38*)³².

There is much variation in the incising of panthers' faces. The two vertical lines seldom diverge above the mouth³³, and a short horizontal stroke to the left and the right may denote the mouth. Commonly the tear ducts are omitted, and a Y-shaped mark replaces the two parallel lines; in the latter details the Kyllenios Painter is again seen as conforming to the practice of other later 'Tyrrhenian' painters (*Fig. 38*). Further, the inside of the ear may show an almond-shaped incision, as found more often in panthers by the Guglielmi Painter. On other amphorae, the line shaping the panther's head and separating it from the neck begins in the ear, which may be regarded as a characteristic oddity of the Kyllenios Painter (*Figs. 37-38*). There may be one or two extra lines across the forehead, as were also sometimes added by the Prometheus Painter. Lastly, panthers may have white bellies, *e.g.* **108**, which, as Thiersch remarked, occur in later but not in earlier 'Tyrrhenian'³⁴.

The Kyllenios Painter's rams sometimes share details with those by the Timiades Painter although the latter's rams are much larger³⁵. Most striking is the occasional occurrence of a protuberance for the eye within the silhouette of the head, which is a peculiarity of the Timiades Painter's rams. Incised details of some of the Kyllenios Painter's rams are also comparable: symmetrical ear, double-stroke from ear base to forehead and mouth in the form of a 'T' with two horizontal bars (*Fig. 3*)³⁶. Most of his rams, however, are very different, *e.g.* the mouth is not indicated or marked by one or two short incisions, and the muzzle may be rather broad³⁷.

²⁴ Nessos on **105**, Polyxena on **112**, Prometheus on **115** and Achilles on **119**. See also the Pointed-Nose Painter's **186**.

²⁵ They are not separated on **110**, whereas the painter depicts only one leg on **120**; the scene on **109** has been very poorly preserved.

²⁶ On **107** even a warrior's garment is adorned with a panel band, albeit without animals.

²⁷ **107** (also Zeus' fillet, and a sheath on the reverse), **108, 109, 116, 119, 120**.

²⁸ The border also occurs in Lydos' early work; see *e.g.* Tiverios, pl. 5.

²⁹ See also the eagle in frieze II of **107**.

³⁰ For the central eagle on **108**, see above, n. 7. The group of the sphinx between cocks on **115** is uncommon.

³¹ **110, 111, 119**.

³² **104, 105, 107, 116, 118, 119**.

³³ *E.g.* **105, 111, 115**.

³⁴ Thiersch, 89.

³⁵ Kluiver 1995, Section 4.5.

³⁶ Kluiver 1995, figs. 17-19.

³⁷ **111, 112**.

Most wings of sirens and sphinxes are sickle-shaped and tripartite. The wing's midband is marked by either solid white or a row of white dots; both variants are seen on amphora **112** (Fig. 6)³⁸. One or both of the spreading wings may be divided into four parts³⁹; the dividing lines are often double; some of them are peaked, forming inverted Vs (Fig. 1)⁴⁰. Uncommon is a siren or a sphinx which has both wings up and overlapping⁴¹. Some sirens have an elongated body, or their feet are placed too far apart (Fig. 5).

Some cocks lack the shoulder section of the wing (Fig. 39): the Kyllenios Painter placed the incised line between the neck and shoulder lower and lower, ultimately omitting it⁴²; other cocks have a band of vertical strokes between the neck and shoulder. The wing's midband may consist of a wavy incised line between double-lines (**109**), resembling the Prometheus Painter, though the wavy line is less regular⁴³. By contrast, the Kyllenios Painter's lions differ from those of the Prometheus Painter by not showing their tongues. With regard to the use of accessory colour, noteworthy are the many rows of white dots along the hems of garments, between the incised lines of lotuses and palmettes, and across the midbands of wings (Fig. 6).

2.6 Meaningful inscriptions

Nearly all the Kyllenios Painter's amphorae bear inscriptions, but those of only three make sense, at least in part. Immerwahr, 42, observes that the painter 'is a poor speller and mixes sense and nonsense in ways which suggest that he had some help with his better inscriptions.' The transcriptions and interpretations of the Kyllenios Painter's inscriptions are largely by C.J. Ruijgh.

- 107.** BERLIN F 1704. A: 1. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ, 2. ΗΕΦΙΑΙΣΤΟ (retr.), 3. ΗΕΡΜΕΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΚΩΛΕΑΝΙΟΣ, 4. ΗΕΛΕΙΘΥΑ, 5. ΔΒΕΥΣ, 6. ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ, 7. [ΔΕ]ΜΕΤΕΡ, 8. [ΕΥΡ]ΥΜΕΔ[ΟΝ], 9. ΑΦ[ΡΟΔΙΤ]Ε, 10. ΑΠΟΛΟΝ. Transcriptions in CVA Berlin 5 (with bibliography) and in Immerwahr, 41, no. 178. It is remarkable that Hermes, who is not of primary importance in this scene, has such a long name. The examples of ditography in ΚΩΛΕΑΝΙΟΣ and ΔΒΕΥΣ may best be explained by assuming that the writer used Corinthian examples (see Kretschmer, 102f.). 2: ΗΕΦΙΑΙΣΤΟ either lacks the final Σ or was meant as genitive. Poseidon's epitheton ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔΟΝ, 'he who rules far and wide', occurs e.g. in Pindarus, *Olympian Odes*, 8.31.
- 113.** PARIS, LOUVRE C 12069. Fragment b.: ΑΘ[ΕΝΑΙΑ] (retr.)
- 116.** LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM B 48. B: ΗΙΠΟΣΤΕΝΕΣ (among several nonsense inscriptions).

Transcription in Immerwahr, 42, no. 181 (the last Σ is not a blob, as Immerwahr notes, but written on a spot now broken and repaired).

2.7 Relative chronology

The *early* work is rather neat and appears, as it were, to have slowly been executed. The relatively few lines separating the friezes are, as a rule, single; only amphora **105** has a double-line on the shoulder. The tongues of at least two *early* amphorae have red cores painted over black glaze. All of these amphorae show a palmette-lotus cross in frieze II⁴⁴. The fights, with the painter's typically stiff-legged warriors, are not yet seen in the *early* period.

The decoration of the *middle-period* vases has a looser character. Double and triple lines occur more frequently between the friezes, and the few diced bands seem to be limited to this period. Since the latter device is traditionally regarded as a hallmark of the later 'Tyrrhenian' painters, we may be inclined to place the amphorae showing it in the Kyllenios Painter's *late* period; however, the relatively more careful execution of the decoration is indicative of the *middle period*.

The painting and incising of the *late* amphorae is more careless. The central sepals in the lotuses may be omitted on the neck or in frieze II (Fig. 1). Double and triple lines between the friezes are now the rule. The wings of cocks may lack the shoulder section.

With regard to the shape, the standard type of handle is not found on *early* amphorae⁴⁵: the handles are either two-reeded (**105-106**) or composite (**104**)⁴⁶; whereas nearly all the *late* amphorae have the simpler, standard type. An approximately similar progression seems to exist in the shape of the handles of amphorae by both the Castellani Painter and the Guglielmi Painter.

2.8 Dinoi and stand

The following four dinoi, of which only fragments remain, have been decorated by the same painter,

³⁸ Some wings lack the midband; this, however seems to result from the painter's hastiness and is not an indication of an early date; see e.g. **118**.

³⁹ **105**, **107**, **118**.

⁴⁰ **107** (also the swan), **109** (right-hand wing), **116** (also the swans) and **117**.

⁴¹ Sirens: **107**; a sphinx: **105**.

⁴² E.g. **115**, **116**.

⁴³ It also occurs on a siren's tail on **109**, see CVA Frankfurt, pl. 13.1.

⁴⁴ These, however, also occur in one *middle* and one *late* amphora; see above, n. 8.

⁴⁵ See Kluiver 1993, Section 3.2.3.

⁴⁶ The composite handle recalls the Prometheus Painter's *early* amphora in Athens (**5**).

who is not the Kyllenios Painter. Nor are they 'Tyrrhenian'. The stand in Malibu seems to have been decorated by a third painter.

1. BASLE, CAHN COLLECTION, HC 1431, 1 fr. Kreuzer, no. 32.
2. BOLLIGEN, BLATTER COLLECTION, 2 fragments. *Para* 42 'Ostermundigen'. (Kreuzer, 41, notes that the Blatter and Cahn fragments may be from the same vessel, which seems very probable.)
3. HANNOVER (Once Freiburg market). Centauromachy and chariot race, mentioned by Moore 1985, 40, and D. Williams, *Sophilos in the British Museum, GVGetMus* 1, 1983, 13, and said to be by the same hand as the other pieces.
4. MALIBU 81.AE.211, 85.AE.194 (with fr. of stand). Moore 1985, 1989.

Although the decorative scheme of the dinoi is generally shared by many of the Group's amphorae (narrative scene, festoon, animals), the scheme was not employed by the Kyllenios Painter. The animal frieze on the Malibu dinos noticeably differs from 'Tyrrhenian' by the absence of strong axial symmetry.

The painter of the dinoi is a perfectionist: all the scenes are highly complex, filled with numerous details and much overlapping. By comparison, the Kyllenios Painter's work is very imprecise, sketchier. On the Malibu dinos the figure of Ares is less stiff than the warriors of the Kyllenios Painter's amphorae, and the spearhead is not incised over his shield, which is in contradistinction to one of the painter's customs. Some types of helmet, Ares' scabbard, and the grip of his opponent's sword are without parallel in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group⁴⁷. Well-articulated rings between the lotuses and palmettes are far from common in the Kyllenios Painter's festoons. The painter of the dinoi also made the lotus cuffs much wider. Moreover, he sharply modelled the animals, depicting bulls and boars which surpass the ability of the Kyllenios Painter.

This painter's manner of incising noticeably differs as well. The strokes on the dinoi have carefully been incised, as Moore 1985, 40, observes; *e.g.* note the ornament of the dead warrior's corslet on the Basle fragment or the warrior's toes on the Malibu fragment⁴⁸. Other features that diverge from the Kyllenios Painter are the amount of outline incisions, even along the festoon stems, and the flame-shaped mane of the lion on the Malibu dinos⁴⁹. The Kyllenios Painter, insofar as I know, never incised nostrils or folded the edges of garments, as occurs on the Malibu fragments⁵⁰. Moreover, details of the lotuses on the dinoi are not common in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group: bands go across the cuffs and are filled with running dogs,

zigzags or wavy lines⁵¹. Also, on the dinoi, the stem curves differently, and the double incised lines on either side of the central lotus sepal are incised much closer to the cuffs than they are in the Kyllenios Painter's lotuses.

Illustrations of the fragments of the Malibu stand have not yet been published, but Moore describes them⁵², and clear Museum photographs are available. A siren or sphinx with black skin is very uncommon in the Group, and the arrangement of a siren's hair is, there, without parallel: the hair hangs down over the wing and has a horizontal lower edge⁵³. Other traits rarely found in 'Tyrrhenian' are the red on the sepals of the lotuses in the festoons⁵⁴; and the individually painted tips of the lotus petals gives the painted silhouette an undulating outline⁵⁵. Lastly, I know of only three rosettes on all the Kyllenios Painter's amphorae, whereas at least eight are seen on the few decorated fragments of the stand. Moore concludes that the dinoi go together well with three of the Kyllenios Painter's amphorae: Berlin F 1704 (107), Frankfort 136 (109), Louvre E 832 (218); and that the dinoi and these amphorae constitute the nucleus of the painter's best work⁵⁶. In my view, however, the last amphora has been decorated by the Guglielmi Painter, and the other two possess all the stylistic differences, as noted, between the Kyllenios Painter and the painter of the dinoi.

3 THE CASTELLANI PAINTER

3.1 Introduction

The Castellani Painter's name derives from Villa Giulia 50652 (131), which was once in the collection of A. Castellani. In 1944 D. von Bothmer attributed two amphorae to the painter and associated them with Florence 3773 (180); in 1957 he noted some traits of the painter's work; and in

⁴⁷ Helmets: Moore 1985, figs. 10-11, 16-17; Moore 1989, figs. 6a, 7a. Sheath and sword grip: Moore 1985, fig. 12; Moore 1989, fig. 2a.

⁴⁸ Moore 1985, fig. 5, or Moore 1989, fig. 4a.

⁴⁹ For the lion see Moore 1985, 28, fig. 8.

⁵⁰ For the nostril see Moore 1985, figs. 11, 15 and Moore 1989, fig. 3a. For the folded corner see Moore 1985, figs. 17-18; Moore 1989, figs. 6a, 7a.

⁵¹ The zigzags do not occur in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group. Other, similar bands occur in the Prometheus Painter's *early* work and on the Pointed-Nose Painter's *large* amphorae 196, 197.

⁵² Moore 1985, 21.

⁵³ On 81.AE.211.B11 and 81.AE.211.B8.

⁵⁴ On 81.AE.211.B4-5.

⁵⁵ Individually painted tips of lotus sepals occur in the Prometheus Painter's and the Castellani Painter's work.

⁵⁶ Moore 1985, 40.

1977 he stated that he knew 55 amphorae by this hand, while briefly sketching the chronology⁵⁷.

My estimate of the relative chronology is based on the amphorae of *normal* type because they are the most numerous; remarks about the chronology of the other varieties derive from these. The oeuvre is divided into four periods instead of the usual three: *very early*, *early*, *middle* and *late*, as explained in Section 3.7.

Furthermore, I have reappraised a suggestion put forward in my earlier article on the shape of the 'Tyrrhenians' that the Castellani Painter's work includes several *broad-shouldered* amphorae⁵⁸. Study of the style leads me to conclude that such amphorae should be deleted from the list⁵⁹. The Castellani Painter's oeuvre now includes three varieties of neck-amphorae, referred to as *normal*, *slender* and *large*.

Some measurements help to clarify the divisions. The *normal* amphorae range in height from 39.8 to 43.0 cm, with greatest body diameters of 22.0-26.6 cm; these are typical 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphorae. The *slender* amphorae are lower, 32.5-36.5 cm, and have much narrower diameters, 19.5-23.0 cm, which give them their characteristic appearance. The measurements of only one of the two *large* amphorae, Florence 3773 (180), is known; with a maximum height of 52.0 cm, it is the largest extant 'Tyrrhenian' amphora.

Three *normal* amphorae previously attributed by others to the Castellani Painter are deleted, whereas thirteen are added by me, some of which were assigned by others to different 'Tyrrhenian' painters. In addition, the single plate that has been placed in the Group⁶⁰, Würzburg 167 (182), is, in my opinion, also by the Castellani Painter. Callipolitis-Feytmans classes the plate in her 'ateliers I de l'Eridanos' with other plates of the same form which we know were found in the Kerameikos. This supports the theory that the 'Tyrrhenian' Group originated in Athens⁶¹. The oeuvre, which is the largest of any 'Tyrrhenian' painter, comprises 62 pieces: 46 *normal*, 13 *slender* and 2 *large* amphorae as well as the plate.

3.2 Oeuvre

a. Normal amphorae

Very early period

122. ST PETERSBURG B. 1403 (Leningrad St. 151, B. 174). *ABV* 98.34; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
123. ROME, CONSERVATORI 124. (*Fig. 8*) *ABV* 99.50, 684; *Para* 35, 37 [D. von Bothmer]
124. ROME, VILLA GIULIA 50631 (50640). (*Figs. 9-10*) *ABV* 100.73; *Para* 35, 38 [D. von Bothmer]
125. LONDON MARKET, fragmentary. *ABV* 683.51ter; *Para* 35, 38; *The Erlenmeyer Collection*, Cat.

Sotheby's, 9 July 1990, 129, no. 170 [D. von Bothmer]

126. COLOGNE AI 296 (P1). Bothmer 1977, 263-264; Mayer-Emmerling, no. 18; Kluiver 1993, 194, fig. 11; Berger, 229-232 [T. Dohrn]
127. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10512, fragmentary. (*Fig. 11*) H. 40.2-40.6; D. 24.0-24.1; Rim D. 15.6; Foot D. 11.8. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Wedded couple in chariot, greeting woman, house; IB, Mounted warriors to r.; dicing (3-2-3); below, 3 friezes: II, floral; III-IV, animals; lines: d-2-1-1; 18 rays. Moore 1972, 42; Johnston, 118, no. 21, 205-6, fig. 6h; Carpenter 1983, n. 29 [D. von Bothmer]
128. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10701, fragmentary. Pres. H. 42.0; Rim D. 15.8-16.0; Foot D. 12.0-12.2. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, B); IA, Herakles and Amazons; IB, Komos; dicing (3-2-3); below, 3 friezes: II, floral; III-IV, animals; lines: d-2-1-1; rays. Johnston, 118, no. 22, 205-206, fig. 6i [author]
129. MALIBU 76.AE.87, fragmentary. H. 43.0; Rim D. 16.5. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, remains of a warrior's head with low-crested Corinthian helmet; IB, Satyrs and maenads; dicing (3-2-3); below, 3 friezes: II, floral; III-IV, animals; lines: d-2-1-1; rays. Unpublished [J. Frel]

Early period

130. PARIS, LOUVRE E 843, fragmentary. *ABV* 95.7; *Para* 34, 36; *Add²* 25 [D. von Bothmer]
131. ROME, VILLA GIULIA 50652, fragmentary. (*Fig. 40*) *ABV* 98.42, 683; *Para* 35, 37; *Add²* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
132. BERLIN F 1710. *ABV* 98.45, 684; *Para* 35, 37; *Add²* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
133. PARIS, LOUVRE E 848. *ABV* 98.47; *Para* 35, 37 [D. von Bothmer]
134. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10508, fr. *ABV* 683.60ter; *Para* 35, 38 [D. von Bothmer]
135. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10702, fragmentary. *ABV* 683.60quater; *Para* 35, 38 [D. von Bothmer]
136. FRANKFORT VF β 319. *Para* 34, 40; *Add²* 28; J. von Freeden, *Archäologische Reihe Antikensamm-*

⁵⁷ Bothmer 1944, 165; Bothmer 1957, 14-15, dealing with Florence 3773 (180), and on 19-20; Bothmer 1977, 262-264.

⁵⁸ Kluiver 1993, 184, Section 3.3.5.

⁵⁹ See Section 3.8.

⁶⁰ Bothmer 1944, 162, n. 14.

⁶¹ Callipolitis-Feytmans, 77.

⁶² E. Paul, *CVA Leipzig*, pl. 9, incorrectly states that these fragments come from one amphora, which cannot be true; if so, this would be the only 'Tyrrhenian' with two subjects on one shoulder. Note also the white in the stem loops on the fr. Leipzig T 4225b (147). Although the fragments belong to two amphorae, I keep them together because they share an inventory number.

⁶³ The main scenes must have been seriously misunderstood by the drawer or restorer; e.g. the chariot's shape is strange and the man opposing Herakles has white legs. No measurements are known, but the amphora must be *large* because its number of lower friezes corresponds with that of the lower friezes of the *large* amphora 180.

- lung; *Ausgewählte Werke* 5, Frankfurt 1985, 33-35, no. 23. [K. Deppert]
137. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10702bis. *Para* 35, 40 (Louvre C 10696) [D. von Bothmer]
138. HAMBURG 1960.1. *Para* 35, 40; *Add²* 28 [D. von Bothmer]
139. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10513, fragmentary. *Para* 35, 42; Blatter, 15 and n. 15 [D. von Bothmer]
140. HANNOVER 1977.40. *Para* 35, 42 (Munich, Bareiss 301); *Add²* 28 [K. Deppert]
141. BASLE MARKET. *Para* 42 (Basle market, *M.M.*; top) [D. von Bothmer]
142. BOCHUM S 1104. N. Kunisch, *JbRUB* 1984, 14, fig. 8.9; Kunisch *et al.*, 42-44, no. 14, figs. 1, 3, with attribution
143. COLOGNE AI 297 (P2). Mayer-Emmerling, no. 17; Berger, 229-232; Kluiver 1992, 82, n. 48, 90, n. 103 [T. Dohrn]
144. LONDON MARKET. Cat. Sotheby's, 13-14.7.1981, 121, no. 267, with attribution
145. TOKYO-GOTENBA, MUSEUM FÜR ANTIKE MITTELMEERKULTUR 135. (*Fig. 41*) CVA Japan 2, pls. 38.5-6, 39.1-4 [A. Mizuta]
146. LEIPZIG T 4224, 7 fr. CVA Leipzig 2, pl. 10.2, E. Paul: 'in der Art des Guglielmi Malers' [author]
147. LEIPZIG T 4225, more than 10 fr. *Para* 35, 40; *Add²* 28 [D. von Bothmer]⁶²
148. LOCATION UNKNOWN. 1 fr. from Velia, Magna Graecia. *Sibari e la Sibaritide; Atti del trentaduesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1992), pl. LXI [author]
149. BASLE MARKET, fr. *H.A.C.* (sold to the U.S.A.). Neck: Palmette-lotus festoon (B); IA, Amazonomachy; IB, Satyrs and maenads; dicing (3-2-3); below, at least 2 friezes; II, floral; III, animals; lines: d-2-? Unpublished [author]
- Middle period
150. LEIPZIG T 3324. *ABV* 98.36; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26; Paul 1995, 6, no. 2 [E. Paul]
151. CASSEL T 386. *ABV* 99.61, 684; *Para* 35, 38; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
152. CARLSRUHE B 2423. (*Fig. 43*) *ABV* 100.65, 684; *Add²* 27; Bothmer 1977, 264: 'Guglielmi Painter'; McGowan, 623, fig. 5; M. Maass, *Wege zur Klassik*, Carlsruhe 1985, 122, no. 89; R. Schnellbach, *Antike Vasen. Eine Auswahl aus den Beständen des Badischen Landesmuseums*, no. 9. [author]
153. CASSEL T 385. *ABV* 105.2; *Para* 35, 40; *Add²* 28 [K. Schauenburg, D. von Bothmer]
154. FRANKFORT VF β 285, fragmentary. (*Fig. 42*) *Para* 35, 40; *Add²* 28 [D. von Bothmer]
155. STANFORD 61.66. *Para* 35, 42 [D. von Bothmer]
156. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10581. (*Fig. 12*) H. 40.5-40.9; D. 25.6-26.0; Rim D. 16.0; Foot D. 12.2. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 4); IA, Amazonomachy (Amazon, betw. two Greeks), betw. six onlookers; IB, Komos; nonsense inscriptions (A, B); below, 3 friezes: II, floral; III-IV, animals; lines: 2-1-1-1; 17 rays. Unpublished [author]
- Late period
157. CIVITAVECCHIA 1706. (*Figs. 13, 44*) *ABV* 99.60; *Para* 35, 38 (Bothmer 1957, 7, no. 18, in *Para*, in Moore 1972, 41: 'Castellani Painter', Bothmer 1977, 264: 'Guglielmi Painter') [author]
158. PARIS, LOUVRE E 865. *ABV* 100.66; *Para* 35, 38 [D. von Bothmer]
159. PARIS, LOUVRE E 867 fragmentary. (*Fig. 14*) *ABV* 103.113; *Para* 35, 39 [D. von Bothmer]
160. BERLIN F 1708, fragmentary. *ABV* 683.72bis; Bothmer 1976, 437: 'Guglielmi Painter' [author]
161. SWITZERLAND, private collection. *Para* 42 (Basle market, *MuM*); *Add²* 28 [D. von Bothmer]
162. PARIS, LOUVRE C 12531, fr. (Boîte B). Neck B, palmette-lotus festoon; IB, Komos (from l. to r., hand, parts of two normal-sized and one smaller man). Unpublished [author]
163. ROME, VILLA GIULIA. From Cerveteri? IA, Amazonomachy; IB, Four couples of conversing men and women; lower body black. Bothmer 1957, 10, no. 47; Bothmer 1976, 435; Bothmer 1982, 316 [D. von Bothmer]
164. AMSTERDAM B 11989. Kluiver 1992, no. 8, figs. 34-37, 64; Kluiver 1993, 191, fig. 1 [H.A. Cahn]
165. BASLE MARKET, fragmentary. Bothmer 1977; *MuM* Cat. 56, 19 February 1980, no. 65 [D. von Bothmer]
166. TOKYO, MATSUOKA MUSEUM OF ART 172. Cat. Sotheby's (at Mitsukoshi) 1-3 October 1969, no. 89; CVA Japan 2, pls. 45.1-2, 46.1-4 [A. Mizuta]
- b. Slender amphorae (*very early* and *early* periods)
167. ROME, CONSERVATORI 96. *ABV* 95.2; *Para* 34, 36 [D. von Bothmer]
168. PARIS, LOUVRE E 850. (*Fig. 15*) *ABV* 97.31; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
169. MARSEILLE 3088. *ABV* 99.59, 684; *Para* 35, 38; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
170. PARIS, LOUVRE E 842, fragmentary. (*Fig. 16*) *ABV* 103.112; *Para* 35, 39 [D. von Bothmer]
171. FOREST HILLS, TERNBACH COLLECTION. *Para* 35, 41 (Great Neck: Pomerance); *Add²* 28 [H.A. Cahn]
172. HAVANA, LAGUNILLAS COLLECTION. *Para* 39; Olmos, 24-27, no. 8 [D. von Bothmer]
173. HOBART 59. *Para* 40 (Bothmer: 'Kyllenios Painter'); *Add²* 28 [author]
174. BASLE MARKET, *MuM*. *Para* 41 [J.D. Beazley]
175. SYRACUSE 10599. *ABV* 100.67; *Para* 38; Bothmer 1976, 435: 'Pointed-Nose Painter' [author]
176. UTRECHT, ARCH. 534. *Para* 42 (Lucerne market); Kluiver 1992, no. 4, figs. 14-16, 60 [D. von Bothmer]
177. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10514, fragmentary. Pres. H. 28.7. IA, Amazonomachy (single combat), betw. mounted warriors, nonsense inscription; IB, Komos (with a musician carrying a vessel on his back); below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; rays. Moore 1972, 42, no. A 222 [D. von Bothmer]
178. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10515, fragmentary. Pres. H. 22.3; D. 20.7; IA, Duel, six female onlookers; IB, Komos; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; rays. Unpublished [author]

179. LOCATION UNKNOWN (Once Purrmann coll.). Schauenburg 1973, 25, pls. 29-32, n. 35: 'Timiades Painter?'; Bothmer (in Schauenburg 1980, n. 1): 'Timiades Painter' [author]

c. Large amphorae

Early period

180. FLORENCE 3773 (and Berlin 1711). (*Figs. 17-18*) ABV 95.8, 683; *Para* 34, 36; *Add²* 25; Carpenter 1991, fig. 267; A.M. Esposito and G. de Tommaso, *Vasi attici*, Florence 1993, pl. 21; Blatter in *LIMC* VII s.v. Peliou athla; McGowan, 622, fig. 3 [D. von Bothmer]

Late period

181. ONCE IN ROMAN MARKET, *Basseggio*. ABV 97.25; *Para* 35, 37 [Bothmer: 'perhaps by the Castellani Painter'; Bothmer 1976, 437: 'Guglielmi Painter'; Bothmer 1977, 262 'Castellani Painter']⁶³

d. Plate

182. WÜRZBURG 167. ABV 105.135 [author]

e. Reattributed or deleted amphorae

- BOLLIGEN, BLATTER, fragmentary. Blatter, figs. 1-2. Fallow Deer Painter (245)
 - PARIS, LOUVRE E 831. Guglielmi Painter (211)
 - PARIS, LOUVRE E 858. Not 'Tyrrhenian'
- And seven *broad-shouldered* amphorae (see Section 3.8)

3.3 Decorative schemes

The Castellani Painter's *normal* amphorae have a palmette-lotus festoon on each side of the neck, consisting of three to six elements (most often five, fewer than ten vases with four; *Fig. 9*)⁶⁴. The lower border of the main frieze is placed above the point of the body's greatest diameter. Most *normal* amphorae have a diced band below the main frieze, whereas most *slender* and *large* amphorae have a double-line there. On *normal* amphorae there are commonly three friezes surrounding the lower body: a festoon in II and animals in III and IV (*Fig. 9*)⁶⁵. Low on the body, two amphorae (157, 160) have a black band above the base-rays; four amphorae (158, 159, 163, 164) a solid black lower section; and Berlin F 1708 (160) a band with lotus buds.

A palmette-lotus cross on each side of the necks of *slender* amphorae is the rule (*Fig. 15*). The main frieze on the *slender* amphorae is bordered precisely at the point of greatest diameter and is therefore relatively higher than the main frieze of the *normal* amphorae. Two friezes adorn the lower body, and single dividing lines are most common⁶⁶. The *large* amphora in Florence (180) has ivy on the rim and narrative scenes on the neck. The *large* amphora once in the Roman market (181) probably had festoons on the neck. The main friezes of both

amphorae are bordered below by a diced band, followed by five friezes: two with florals (the bottom one on 181 is a band of lotus buds as also seen on the *normal* amphora 160), two with animals, and one with narrative scenes⁶⁷. In addition, 180 has a second band of dicing below frieze II.

3.4 Subjects and decoration

The Castellani Painter's subject matter varies greatly and differs from that of his 'Tyrrhenian' colleagues by its uncommon scenes, and by the unusual details added to otherwise common scenes. Rare or without parallel in the Group are, among other themes, rows of mounted warriors⁶⁸; Priamos visiting Achilleus to discuss Hektor's ransom, conversing people (*Fig. 14*), a line of men holding drinking-horns (*Fig. 16*), symposia⁶⁹, judgement of Paris, foot-races. Interestingly, a link with Lydos seems to exist, for most of these subjects were portrayed by him⁷⁰.

Among the striking features of otherwise common scenes are some architectural structures: a house at the end of the bridal procession on 122 and 127 (*Fig. 11*), and two porches and a grandstand on 180⁷¹. In addition, 142 shows a woman stirring an

⁶⁴ Three elements: 155; six elements: 126, 133, 138.

⁶⁵ Amphora 126 has three animal friezes.

⁶⁶ Only three amphorae have also a double-line: 167, 173, 176. Amphora 175 is the only amphora by the Castellani Painter which has vertical black zones under the handles, and the only *slender* amphora with a solid black lower body. A neck-amphora in Taranto, which I know of from a mediocre photocopy, reminds me very much of the Castellani Painter's work because the shape is *slender* and the palmette-lotus crosses on the neck, with red rings, are like his. However, there is only one animal frieze; a vertical black zone under each handle divides the main frieze into two panels, and a band of tongues encircles the body below the point of greatest diameter. On the obverse, from the right, Herakles and Hermes approach an enthroned goddess behind whom two penguin women stand; on the reverse, a komos with four men or boys; in the animal frieze I can discern only he-goats and panthers.

⁶⁷ The name-vase of the Painter of Louvre E 876 (ABV 90.1; CVA Louvre 2, pls. 21-22, dinos) shows a low figure frieze very similar to the ones on these *large* amphorae and also has vertical lines separating the scenes.

⁶⁸ Some are fully armed, others only have spears, as on the *slender* amphora 176; these resemble scenes on Siana cups by the C Painter, Munich 8954 (Brijder 1983, pl. 9d) and Taranto I.G. 4442 (*idem*, pl. 16b), and by the Heidelberg Painter, once in the London market (Brijder 1991, pl. 110b) on which, however, the warriors are turned to the left.

⁶⁹ 126, 141, 142, 155. See Berger, 229f.

⁷⁰ By Lydos, conversing boys: Tiverios, pl. 11; judgement of Paris: *idem*, pls. 8a, 9b, where the symmetrical compositions resemble those by the Castellani Painter; symposium: *idem*, pl. 22; small symposia do occur in some narrow friezes by the Fallow Deer Painter, see amphora 251 and the volute-krater, 252; foot-races: *idem*, pls. 31, 36-37.

⁷¹ The grandstand will remind one of the one on Sophilos' dinos Athens 15499 (Boardman 1980, fig. 26). R. Blatter, in *LIMC* VII, s.v. *pelioi athla*, suggests that the chariot race on 180 is part of Pelias' funeral games.

enormous bowl placed over a fire⁷²; an impressive column-krater, decorated with heraldic deer, occurs on **139**, and another krater is tied to the back of an aulos-player on **177**; on **166** three women hold bobbins with thread.

Most of the Castellani Painter's subjects, however, are standard in 'Tyrrhenian'. Again Herakles predominates: he fights Amazons⁷³, centaurs and the Hydra or rescues Deianeira from Nessos. Further, there are single combats, with or without victims, or clusters of combatants in which the victim is in the middle, being attacked from both sides (*Fig. 12*). Either side is flanked by onlookers of both sexes. Some of these combatants possibly depict Achilles and Memnon. More numerous are the larger scenes of fights, nearly 20, which consist of three clusters of hoplites, with corpses lying around.

Satyrs and maenads are also common, mostly on the reverse (*Fig. 10*)⁷⁴. The 19 komos scenes, however, which may show dancing men only or combinations of men, youths and women dancing appear invariably on the reverse⁷⁵.

The lower friezes are filled with the usual assortment of siren, cock, panther, he-goat and ram; deer are also well represented on the Castellani Painter's amphorae. Sphinxes however, are very rare. There are several swans and boars, a few lions, two bulls and, most exceptionally, an owl⁷⁶, the bird which Shapiro describes as 'almost something of a trademark of Lydos and his companions'⁷⁷.

Dispersed among the animals are a few vegetal ornaments⁷⁸, rosettes being most numerous, ranging from small irregular dots without incising⁷⁹, or dots with an incised cross (**138**), to silhouettes with the tips of the petals painted, incised core and incised lines dividing the petals⁸⁰.

3.5 Characteristics

When the Castellani Painter depicted neck-festoons with five elements on the neck (which is the rule), he treated the two festoons as if they were continuous: when on side A the right-hand element has a lotus on the top (as it usually does), the left-hand element on side B has a palmette on the top. This is rarely repeated in the Group⁸¹. Many festoons are provided with extra curving stems on the right side, occasionally also on the left side; and the petals of some lotuses have individually painted tips (*Fig. 15*). Both traits recall the work of the Prometheus Painter⁸².

On the other hand, the Castellani Painter rendered the palmette silhouette almost as a half-circle, with a nearly smooth circumference, which happened more often in the case of pendent palmettes, as on Leipzig T 3324 (**150**). The ring between the lotus and palmette may be large and red⁸³; such red rings often recur in the crosses of slender amphorae (*Fig. 15*)⁸⁴.

On amphora **129** the contours of the horizontal rings between the palmettes and lotuses are marked by double incising.

Next we turn to the main scenes. First the compositions. Some scenes, like the Heraklean amazonomachies on **123** and **132** and, for instance, Perseus and the Gorgons on **136**, are simple and bear a resemblance to the work of earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters. Other scenes are complex, like the duel on Carlsruhe 2423 (**152**), the centauromachy on Frankfort B 285 (**154**), the amazonomachy on Civitavecchia 1706 (*Fig. 13*, **157**)⁸⁵ and the departure of Amphiaraos on Florence 3773 (*Figs. 17-18*, **180**). In some scenes of Herakles and Nessos a centaur has been added on each side⁸⁶. Within the 'Tyrrhenian' Group only the Guglielmi Painter and the Fallow Deer Painter provide comparisons⁸⁷.

In all foot-races the participants head towards a column. A tripod or column occurs in half the horse-races⁸⁸.

The portrayal of Achilles waiting in ambush for Troilos (167) differs from the other 'Tyrrhenian'

⁷² A huge krater in a komos scene resembling those by the Castellani Painter is found in the additional narrative frieze of the Painter of Louvre E 876's name-vase, see n. 67, above.

⁷³ **123**, **125**, **128**, **132-134**, **137**, **144**, **157**, **181**. On **180** Herakles fights the Amazons in frieze III.

⁷⁴ **124**, **126** (which includes a satyr with hooves, again as on the Painter of Louvre E 876's name-vase, see n. 67, above), **137**, **143**, **147**, **149**, **179**, **180** (frieze III).

⁷⁵ **122**, **128**, **132**, **135**, **139**, **140**, **144**, **151**, **153**, **155**, **156**, **158**, **160**, **162**, **168**, **170**, **174**, **177**, **178**.

⁷⁶ Huge lions, very probably copied from the Prometheus Painter, are seen on **129** and elsewhere, e.g. **150**, **155**, **157**, **170**, **173**, **176**. Bulls: **150**. Owl: **131**.

⁷⁷ Shapiro, 28; see also the Omaha Painter's name-vase: *idem*, fig. 17a or CVA 1, pl. 11.1. Lydan owls e.g. appear on Florence 70995 and an amphora in Taranto (Tiverios, pls. 22a, 28a).

⁷⁸ Two volutes on a stem: **123**. A cross with three palmettes and a lotus: **137**. Palmette-lotus element: **156**, **182** (plate). Palmette on volutes and stem: **131**, **133**, **140**.

⁷⁹ **129**, **132**, **126**.

⁸⁰ **128**, **140**, **173**. On amphora **176** we find one of the very few dot-rosettes in the Group; see the Guglielmi Painter's work for other examples.

⁸¹ There are few exceptions in the Castellani Painter's oeuvre; e.g. **124** and **136** where the festoons are identical on both sides. All the festoons with six palmette-lotus elements are seen on amphorae with two-reeded handles: **126**, **133**, **138**.

⁸² E.g. **123**, **129**; Cf. Kluiver 1994, Section 3.5, n. 65.

⁸³ **122**, **132**, **136**, **138**, **140**, **144**, **151**, **164**, **165**, **171-174**, etc. These rings also occur, sparingly, in frieze II florals: **123**, **124**, **161**, **166**.

⁸⁴ One palmette-lotus cross on **175** lacks some of the stems; it is exceptional.

⁸⁵ These scenes appear on normal amphorae.

⁸⁶ **138**, **150**, **153**.

⁸⁷ The two other painters add centaurs in slightly different ways; see Carpenter 1984, nn. 12-13 and Kluiver 1992, 78.

⁸⁸ Cf. McGowan. Sometimes the Castellani Painter places one or both of the jockey's feet below the belly of his horse; see **172** and **176**.

representations of the story: Achilles and the fountain are placed on the right, instead of the left, and Troilos and his sister enter from the left⁸⁹.

Nearly all the Amazonomachies are of the usual varieties: single combat⁹⁰, an Amazon attacked by two Greeks (*Fig. 12*)⁹¹ or three clusters of combatants. Once, however, a line of Greek warriors enters from the left to clash with an opposing row of Amazons (**151**); the same arrangement was employed by the Fallow Deer Painter.

The fights and struggles with relatively fewer figures (an Amazon and a Greek, two Greeks, Herakles and Nessos or several combinations of three combatants) are commonly flanked by gesticulating onlookers who may hold spears or, remarkably, a stick⁹². Two of the male onlookers on amphora **145** have an elbow projecting within the garment; and the mantle of one is decorated with the so-called barber's pole stripes. Both traits appear in the work of Lydos⁹³. On the neck of the Florence amphora one of the two combatants steps over a corpse lying between them, an action which is unparalleled in the Group. The composition resembles that of the central grouping in the battle scene of a Siana cup in the manner of the Heidelberg Painter, Berlin 3402⁹⁴. Lastly, the amazonomachy of Frankfurt B 319 (**136**) is exceptional: the combatants are flanked by groups of two galloping horsemen. Note that some of the onlooking women overlap each other⁹⁵.

The larger amazonomachies with Herakles may consist of three pairs only, but as a rule one or more corpses are added (*Fig. 13*). The following are some of the peculiarities of these scenes: Herakles either stands firmly with legs apart (*Fig. 13*)⁹⁶, or, as in many other 'Tyrrhenian' depictions of the subject, steps on Andromache's calf⁹⁷. The hanging lion's legs are separated by the thigh⁹⁸; the paws may be omitted. The lion's head is rarely rendered and if so, it acts as helmet (*Fig. 13*)⁹⁹. Some representations are overcrowded: there are no fewer than nine combatants in the Civitavecchia amazonomachy (**157**), two of whom emerge from the roots of opposite handles, as do occasionally other figures on amphorae by the Castellani Painter¹⁰⁰. All Amazons collapse, succumbing more gracefully than their counterparts in the work of earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters, falling forward or back or to the side (*Fig. 13*). It is noteworthy that Herakles may use the tip of the sword to wound his victim¹⁰¹.

The warriors – and many other human figures – commonly have heads, eyes and feet which are proportionately too large; whereas legs are often too short. More successfully rendered, however, are the Boeotian profile-shields they may carry, with three-dimensional satyr-head blazons¹⁰².

There are also failed attempts to paint blazons of foreshortened bull's heads; instead, the heads are rendered in profile and placed against the shield's rim; similar profile heads of he-goat and satyr adorn the charioteer's profile shield on Florence 3773 (*Fig. 17*, **180**)¹⁰³. Von Bothmer notes that the panther protome is the Castellani Painter's favourite blazon (*Figs. 9, 13*)¹⁰⁴. Rosettes, painted in white or compass-drawn, are also popular.

Few warriors are provided with corslets. The shield arm-bands may be elaborate: broader, longer and more ornamented with incising than those by 'Tyrrhenian' colleagues¹⁰⁵.

The Castellani Painter's satyrs and maenads are distinctive, often wild and jumpy. Maenads may try to arouse sexual interest by lifting their garments and showing their buttocks (*Fig. 10*)¹⁰⁶. Satyrs have giant ithyphalli which they grasp with one hand; a string of flowers may be held in the other hand or dangle from the phallus. A satyr on **126** has hooves and plays the aulos. A large column-krater stands between two satyrs on the amphora in Malibu (**129**)¹⁰⁷.

Symposiasts, reclining on couches, have part of the garment thrown over the left shoulder and arm¹⁰⁸.

⁸⁹ Cf. Mayer-Emmerling, 77-78.

⁹⁰ **131, 135, 136, 161, 177.**

⁹¹ **156, 169.**

⁹² Stick: **152, 156, 169.**

⁹³ Louvre E 868, which Tiverios (pl. 3b) places in Lydos' early phase (from shortly before 560-555 B.C.).

⁹⁴ Brijder 1991, 427-433, no. 470, pl. 146i.

⁹⁵ **100, 156.**

⁹⁶ **132, 157.**

⁹⁷ **123, 137.**

⁹⁸ Bothmer 1957, 19, mistakenly notes that the legs are united on **132**.

⁹⁹ **123, 133, 161, 181.**

¹⁰⁰ E.g. **165**. This reminds one of the work of the Prometheus Painter.

¹⁰¹ **123, 157, 181**; possibly intended on **150** and **153**; see also **166**.

¹⁰² The blazon e.g. occurs on the François krater (Tiverios, pl. 92a), on Athens A.M. 607 by Lydos (Tiverios, pl. 1), and on Louvre F 19 by the Affector (Mommson, pl. 25, no. 18).

¹⁰³ Side-view Boeotian shields, with and without three-dimensional satyrs' heads: **123, 131, 132, 180** (on the neck, the charioteer's back and in frieze III). White bulls' heads: **143** and, in support of the attribution, on **181**. The heads on **180**, rendered in white, have faded, but pl. III in Thiersch shows how they looked.

¹⁰⁴ Bothmer 1944, 165.

¹⁰⁵ **131, 151, 156, 158, 160, 175.**

¹⁰⁶ See **124** and **180**. Cf. Bothmer 1957, 14.

¹⁰⁷ Louvre E 876 also shows satyrs with objects dangling from their phalli and, it can be noted, has two hoofed satyrs playing auloi; see n. 67, above.

¹⁰⁸ It is not 'einen kleinen Rundschild' as U. Peifer suggests in Kunisch *et al.*, 44; for the cloth covering the legs and the section over the arm show the same colour and pattern, as if consisting of the same fabric. Symposiasts on Florence 70995 by Lydos (Tiverios, pl. 22b) and the Omaha Painter's name-vase (see n. 77, above) also wear part of the garment over one shoulder, but in a different manner. However, on the name-vase of the Painter of Louvre E 876 the part of the garment over the

There may be a basket or bucket between every two couches.

Komasts and females, commonly depicted rather clumsily, may dance wildly and twist their bodies in strange contortions. Where there is little space, the Castellani Painter sometimes fills it with a tiny komast¹⁰⁹.

In the main frieze the following can be noted with regard to the incising and the added colour. Male eyes may be a single or, less often, a double incised circle, with a line for each tear duct, placed at an angle or horizontally¹¹⁰. The first warrior on Villa Giulia 50631 (**124**) has a two-stroke mouth with the corner turned down, resembling the mouths of figures by the Goltys Painter. On many amphorae the Castellani Painter has once or twice incised the outlines of human faces¹¹¹. The male ear is often rendered in a distinctive manner, like a letter 'S' constructed of two separate, partly parallel, curves (*Figs. 14, 16, 18*)¹¹². Where mantles are grasped by hands there may be a spiral, as also seen, for instance, in the work of Lydos (*Fig. 14*)¹¹³. Typical is the great variation in borders (*Figs. 17-18*)¹¹⁴. The incising shows many angular details. For example, the Castellani Painter placed angular lines instead of curved ones on the lower part of the corset (*Fig. 9*)¹¹⁵.

His employment of added colour is unremarkable. Warriors may wear garments adorned with a vertical white band¹¹⁶. White also marks the shoulder straps securing some shields on **157** and the reins on **165**.

Most diced bands consist of a double row of dots between either a triple-line (scheme: 3-2-3, *Figs. 17-18, 41*) or a double-line (2-2-2, *Figs. 13, 42*). The palmette-lotus festoons in frieze II, surrounding the body's broadest part, are of two varieties, each occurring with roughly equal frequency. In one variety, the palmette-lotus elements are closely spaced and the stem is thick and curving (*Figs. 9-10, 41*). In the other, the elements are placed further apart and the stem is thinner and straighter (*Fig. 13, 42*)¹¹⁷. Strangely, intermediate forms are not at hand. The possibility that each variety may be by a different hand seems to be contradicted by **151** which has each variety of festoon, one on each side. Differences are also seen in the palmettes. Those of the closely spaced festoons (*Fig. 41*) are of normal size, have individually painted tips, and occasionally show white central sepals on the lotuses, a detail we also find in the work of the earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters¹¹⁸. Whereas the palmettes of the more loosely spaced festoons (*Fig. 42*) are smaller and the outline of their painted silhouettes barely undulate; in one instance white has been applied to the voids within the loops of the stems¹¹⁹.

Some characteristic details of the animals and other creatures can also be noted. The wings of a few sirens are remarkable because they are folded down while not being sickle-shaped; the small tails are commonly depicted as a black disk placed below the wing; often the sirens look round¹²⁰. One siren has a sickle-shaped wing and a spreading wing (**140**); another siren has a double shoulder-line (**146**). Quadrupeds, very characteristic of the painter, may have unnaturally long, thin legs¹²¹. In *Fig. 8* we see that the near hind leg – and foreleg – of some animals almost completely overlap the far legs; these strange legs are positioned at sharp angles to the body, hooves and paws being placed far towards the front¹²². The tails of some of the squatting panthers are held up in a remarkable way between the thigh and haunch (*Fig. 8*)¹²³; such tails are earlier seen in painting by Sophilos and e.g. on Malibu 86.AE.53, which Shapiro associates with Lydos¹²⁴. Panthers may lift a paw (*Figs. 9, 43*), like those by the Prometheus Painter¹²⁵. On the face there is almost equally often a Y-shaped incision, as occurs also in other later 'Tyrrhenian', or two converging lines (*Figs. 8, 40, 43, 44*). The two horizontal lines

shoulder of one symposiast is small and rounded, exactly as rendered by the Castellani Painter (CVA 2, pl. 21.1, the second figure on the second couch from the left).

¹⁰⁹ **139, 160, 162, 170**. See also the tiny satyr between the forelegs of Dionysos' donkey on **180**; and Thiersch, 65, n. 1.

¹¹⁰ The early type, at an angle: the tear ducts are incised as two strokes, each incised outwardly from the circumference of the eye to the left and right, which causes the two lines, when extended, to cut. The later type: two horizontal strokes, the left one incised towards the edge of the eye, the right one incised outwards from the edge. I thank Antonie Jonges to whom I owe this observation.

¹¹¹ **123, 126, 128, 132, 135, 140, 143**.

¹¹² This is clearly visible on **130, 170, 180** and makes certain the attribution of **162**.

¹¹³ **145, 159, 164, 175**. Shapiro, 23, associates such spirals (*idem*, 13, figs. 1b-c) with Louvre E 10634 by Lydos (*idem*, 18, fig. 5).

¹¹⁴ E.g. running dogs, row of sixes (**152**) or nines (**153, 180**, hair line), chevrons (**140, 180**), zigzags (**133, 161**), hatching (**151**, also the backs of some helmets), double wavy-line with incised tongs (**147**); popular is the incised wavy line between double-lines. Many of these also occur in Lydos' work.

¹¹⁵ Noted by Bothmer 1957, 20. See **123, 124, 128, 132, 180**. Also on the slender amphorae **171** and **174**.

¹¹⁶ **131, 164, 180** (neck).

¹¹⁷ The festoon on the plate (**182**) is partly of this variety.

¹¹⁸ White central sepals are found on **130, 133, 137, 143**.

¹¹⁹ **147**. See also **221** by the Guglielmi Painter.

¹²⁰ Amphorae with two-reeded handles: **122, 126, 133, 137**; standard handles: **166**; slender amphorae: **171, 178**; and the plate, **182**.

¹²¹ They mostly occur on slender amphorae where they seem to be used to fill their somewhat higher friezes: **172, 173, 177-179**. See also the normal amphorae **124** and **135**.

¹²² **123, 167**; panther on **143**.

¹²³ **123, 124**.

¹²⁴ Sophilos: Bakır, pl. 33, fig. 59. Shapiro, 12-13, figs. 1a-b, 1d, dating the Malibu amphora to c. 560 which is of importance for the dating of the Castellani Painter's very early work.

¹²⁵ E.g. **123, 124, 155, 180**.

shaping the mouth, and the tear ducts may be omitted (Cf. Figs. 43 and 44). The eyes may be rendered in an uncommon manner as concentric circles, and extra strokes may be added to suggest whiskers (Fig. 40)¹²⁶.

The mouths of rams are indicated in various ways, including horizontal strokes as done by the Goltyr Painter (Fig. 9)¹²⁷; or they may even be omitted (Fig. 43). Most rams' ears are small and symmetrical (Fig. 40). A ram on **123** has a double shoulder-line. Most deer are rather sloppily portrayed, with ears which appear to be too large (Fig. 44). Surprisingly, the lions of the Malibu amphora (**129**), which probably numbered four, are direct copies of those by the Prometheus Painter¹²⁸.

Added white is most abundant on the animals: quadrupeds may have white bellies; panthers may show a white T-shaped marking on the face, or a configuration of white blobs and a vertical zone over the nose, as also found in the work of the Pointed-Nose Painter (Fig. 46) and the Fallow Deer Painter¹²⁹. On deer, white 'cloves', not earlier attested in the Group, sometimes adorn the flanks¹³⁰; and the back may be dotted¹³¹.

Finally, the very distinctive base-rays which in themselves provide a criterion for recognizing the Castellani Painter's amphorae: they resemble bamboo leaves or flames and show some unintentional curvature¹³².

3.6 Inscriptions

The few inscriptions on the Castellani Painter's amphorae are nonsense. They have often been written vertically with a rather thick brush and appear more often on the reverse than on the obverse (Fig. 10)¹³³. Inscribed are 22 *normal* amphorae, the *slender* amphora in Syracuse (**175**) and the *large* amphora in Florence (**180**). Tau and chi are the most favoured letters; the inscription of the Syracuse amphora serves as a typical example¹³⁴.

3.7 Relative chronology

3.7.1 The normal amphorae (very early, early, middle and late periods)

The *normal* amphorae can be divided into two groups. The Group 1 amphorae have two-reeded handles; relatively lower main friezes; diced bands with six lines; and, in frieze II, relatively more palmette-lotus elements and a thick, curving stem (Figs. 9-10, 41). By contrast, the Group 2 amphorae have standard handles; higher main friezes; diced bands with four lines; and, in frieze II, a thin, straighter stem and palmettes with a smoother contour (Figs. 13, 42). Neck festoons with six elements occur only in Group 1¹³⁵.

It seems that Group 1 is earlier than Group 2. Each group, in turn, may be divided into two subgroups: *very early* and *early* (Group 1), and *middle* and *late* (Group 2).

Conservatori 124 (**123**), with two-reeded handles, appears to be the earliest known amphora by the Castellani Painter. So many painted and incised details are without parallel or only rarely repeated on his other amphorae that **123** seems to have been decorated before the Castellani Painter had established a routine. It can be noted that leaves and petals of most neck-palmettes and some lotuses have separately curving tips; frieze II is rather low, with orderly and numerous palmettes (Fig. 8); some combatants are rendered in rigid poses; a vertical wavy stroke adorns the garment of Herakles' adversary; his sword grip on the reverse is rendered neatly; a handle palmette adorns the main frieze; the diced band has three complete rows of dots, applied, it appears, by an unpracticed hand (Fig. 8); the panther's tails may emerge from between thigh and haunch, and the legs of other quadrupeds may overlap and stand at sharp angles to the body (Fig. 8); lastly, some rams' heads appear to be too small¹³⁶. A second cluster of details can be identified not on only **123** but also, repeatedly, on other amphorae, most of which have two-reeded handles. These are three-dimensional satyr-head blazons¹³⁷; white panther-protome blazons; dangling legs without paws on Herakles' lion's skin, which is not used as a helmet and which lacks indications of hair; the earlier type of tear duct¹³⁸; and, lastly, angular lines on the lower sections of corslets (Fig. 9).

¹²⁶ Such whiskers occur also in Lydos' work; see the neck of Florence 70995, an early piece (Tiverios, pl. 22).

¹²⁷ **123, 124, 129, 130, 135, 140.**

¹²⁸ E.g. on the Prometheus Painter's amphorae **6, 17, 18**; see e.g. Kluiver 1995, fig. 12.

¹²⁹ **126, 128, 131, 132, 135, 143, 146, 152, 157, 161, 166, 177, 180.** Lydos added comparable details to the faces of panthers (Tiverios, pls. 48, 74).

¹³⁰ **176**; centaurs on **131**; perhaps on **145**.

¹³¹ **126, 146, 150.**

¹³² An exception is **165**.

¹³³ Immerwahr, 43, no. 202 (Louvre E 864) which has meaningful inscriptions is here attributed not to the Castellani Painter (as there) but to the Prometheus Painter (**27**).

¹³⁴ CVA Syracuse 1, pl. 1.1.

¹³⁵ See n. 81, above. Some of the fragmentary amphorae have no trace of their handles; however, each one shows one of the two combinations of diced band and festoon which, on complete amphorae, is seen together with a particular type of handle. Amphora **149** had standard handles, but a diced band with six lines; it forms the only exception.

¹³⁶ Strange tails and small heads also on **124**. Strange legs also on the *slender* amphora **167**. In addition, **123** pictures the only quadruped (ram) by the Castellani Painter which has a double shoulder line.

¹³⁷ See n. 103, above.

¹³⁸ See n. 110, above.

Finally, there is a third cluster of details which occur only sometimes on **123** but always on amphorae with two-reeded handles. The central sepals of the lotuses in frieze II are white; on the whole, the human figures are smaller than those in Group 2, appear more often to move more clumsily, and a greater proportion have faces outlined by incising; the palmettes are not as small as the painter's later palmettes; and the ram's mouth may be rendered with horizontal strokes (*Fig. 9*), as done by the Golyr Painter during his late period. In addition, the Castellani Painter's satyrs and maenads (*Fig. 10*) are limited to Group 1, that is, amphorae with two-reeded handles.

Based on the foregoing I draw two conclusions. First, the style of painting and incising of the Group 1 amphorae unites them with each other as strongly as do their common variation in the decorative scheme and their two-reeded handles. Second, the style of painting and incising of the Group 1 amphorae is closely connected with that of **123**, which seems to be the Castellani Painter's earliest known amphora.

Similarly, the amphorae in Group 2 are also related to each other not only by other variation in the decorative scheme and the standard type of handle but also by different stylistic traits. Impressive and complex scenes, like the centauromachy on Frankfort B 285 (**154**), are found only in Group 2¹³⁹. In comparison with Group 1, the figures in the main scenes overlap more, may show more violent movement and are larger than in Group 1 (*Fig. 12*)¹⁴⁰. In addition, the tear ducts of the male eye may be of the later type¹⁴¹. The diced bands are regular and even; and the palmettes are smaller and usually lack the curving line defining the tips of the individual leaves – they have nearly semicircular silhouettes. Finally, on **154** the line on the warrior's corslet is incised correctly, curving instead of angular.

In conclusion: the differences in painting and incising indicate that Groups 1 and 2 are not contemporaneous. Group 1 can be associated with a *very early* amphora; whereas most of the traits of Group 2 suggest that the painter had more experience, an established routine, which, in turn, may be interpreted as evidence of a later date of manufacture. As noted, each group may further be divided into two subgroups, resulting in four periods: *very early*, *early*, *middle* and *late*. The *very early* amphorae can be distinguished from the *early* ones by details that they have in common with **123**. Most of the *very early* amphorae may therefore be recognized by the following. They have at least some well-formed palmettes on the neck, which tend to have undulating contours (*Fig. 9*). The

festoons of frieze II are rather narrow (*Figs. 8-9*) and filled with many elements; they are a bit narrower than the *early* festoons in frieze II. The animals are neatly rendered, *e.g.* the deer with its separately painted ears on **126**. On Villa Giulia 50631 (**124**) there is a small-headed ram (*Fig. 9*), as on **123**. Other details are also worth noting. The obverse scenes of the St Petersburg amphora (**122**) and Louvre C 10512 (**127**, *Fig. 11*) show the house at the end of the bridal procession, which is omitted in later work. The lions of **129** appear to have been copied directly from the Prometheus Painter, while the ram's mouth with horizontally incised lines recalls rams from the Golyr Painter's *late* period¹⁴².

A leading characteristic of many of the Group 1 amphorae identified as *early* is a white central sepal for the lotuses in frieze II. In addition, most palmettes have smooth contours but are still of normal size. There is more movement in the main scenes, but still the figures are smallish and the compositions are uninspired. The festoon in frieze II is a bit higher and the animals below are painted a bit less carefully.

The *middle-period* amphorae, which are the earliest in Group 2, show the Castellani Painter at his best. Since Cassel T 386 (**151**) has both varieties of palmette-lotus festoon, it is probably one of the earliest of the *middle period*, as seems to be confirmed by the animals, which are rather neat if we consider what is to follow. From now on, the scenes in the main friezes on the obverse are more complex and more interesting. The figures usually display more

¹³⁹ Compare the scene with the centauromachy on **131** (Group 1).

¹⁴⁰ It seems odd that they are larger because, as on the Group 1 amphorae, the lower border of the frieze is placed somewhat above the point of greatest diameter. The causes of the figures' larger size are: the Group 2 amphorae are, on average, broader, and the greatest diameter is relatively lower on the body. The amphorae with two-reeded handles are averaged 41.5 cm high, with an average greatest diameter of ca. 24.0 cm. The amphorae with standard handles are slightly smaller but considerably broader (average height, 41.0; average diameter, ca. 25.5 cm). It is possible that the amphorae were intentionally made broader in order to increase the surface of the main frieze: the painter required more space to increase the complexity of the scene (more and larger figures, more overlap, movement and complexity), while paying less attention to the subsidiary decoration (low diced bands, few palmette-lotus elements and small and round palmettes in festoons). This relationship between the evolution of the shape and that of the painting provides a new argument in favour of the 'solo theory' (Kluiver 1993), by which one man was responsible for both the potting and the painting.

¹⁴¹ Working from left to right (or *vice versa*), the artisan lifted the needle when it reached the circumference of the eye and, then, lowered it at the other side. See also n. 110, above.

¹⁴² The warrior's two-stroke mouth with the corner turned down on **124** also suggests that this amphora was produced while the Golyr Painter was active.

movement, rendered convincingly; they are larger (Fig. 12), and more often overlap the tongue-band and each other, like the onlooking women in the main scenes of the Leipzig amphora (150) and Louvre C 10581 (156). The Castellani Painter began to portray Herakles as wearing the lion's head as helmet and provided the skin with claws and hair. The curly hairline of centaurs has disappeared. The palmettes in frieze II have smooth contours and may be reduced to about half their former size. Rosettes become rare.

The figure scenes of the *late* amphorae may be said to be characterized by the effortlessness of the decoration. The painting is more routine, and the number of new or unexpected elements diminishes; the occasional new subject – men and women conversing – seems dull and lifeless (Fig. 14). New is the lower frieze with lotus buds, on 160 and 181. The incising is slipshod and the painter seems to have lost interest in portraying animals; compare, for instance, the sirens on 123, a *very early* amphora (Fig. 8), with the ones on 157, a *late* amphora (Fig. 13), and note the sloppy incising of the panther's face in Fig. 44¹⁴³. The later type of male eye occurs most often in this period, and the painter seems to add more white.

In short, halfway through his career the Castellani Painter alters his routine: he stops making two-reeded handles and rivet-bars, introduces a different decorative scheme and chooses different subjects; e.g. he seems never again to portray the satyrs and maenads who are so characteristic of his first two periods.

3.7.2 *Slender amphorae (very early and early periods)*

The link between the *slender* amphorae and the *normal* amphorae in Group 1 seems strong to me¹⁴⁴. The *slender* amphora 173 shows Herakles pursuing a group of centaurs, a scene which resembles the one on the reverse of 123 (*very early* and *normal*). We see a line of komasts on both a *slender* amphora (170) and a *normal* one (130) which is *early*. As pointed out above, the Castellani Painter's satyrs and maenads appear almost exclusively on the *very early* and *early normal* amphorae; the two exceptions are *slender* amphorae, one in the Ternbach collection (171), the other formerly in the Purrmann collection (179). Two combating warriors between rows of female onlookers are found on both the *slender* amphora Louvre C 10515 (178) and on the *normal* amphora Louvre C 10702 (135, which is also *early*), while each has komasts in the main frieze on the reverse shoulder¹⁴⁵.

Other details also suggest that most *slender* amphorae were produced at the same time as the Group 1 amphorae. For example, note the animals

with overlapping legs on the *slender* 167, which are again seen only on the *normal* amphora 123; and the angular lines on the corslets on both the *slender* 171 and 174 are, as remarked, confined exclusively to the Castellani Painter's *early* work. The unnaturally thin legs of some quadrupeds, mostly seen on the *slender* amphorae, are not repeated on *normal* amphorae of Group 2¹⁴⁶. It should also be noted that the animals of the *slender* amphorae are much neater than those of *normal* amphorae dating from the *middle* and *late* periods. In conclusion, it seems that in the first half of his career, the Castellani Painter made amphorae of two sizes: *normal* and – perhaps as a cheaper or smaller alternative, with less capacity – *slender*. Further, it seems likely that he stopped manufacturing *slender* amphorae at the transition from the *early* to the *middle* period.

To establish the relative chronology of some *slender* amphorae we need to look at the palmettes on the neck. Those with well-articulated and individually painted tips should, it seems, be placed at the beginning of the series (Fig. 15, 167, 168, 179). Other palmettes, on amphorae which are probably later, have smoother contours, for instance 170, 173 and 176. The development of the palmettes resembles the one noted with regard to the *normal* amphorae, supporting the notion that *normal* and *slender* amphorae were produced simultaneously.

3.7.3 *Large amphorae (early and late periods)*

The *large* Florence amphora (180) probably originated in the *early* rather than in the *very early* period. The painting in the main frieze is too good for a complete novice, but the figures hardly overlap the shoulder-tongues, which becomes more pronounced in later work (Figs. 17-18). The palmettes, especially in frieze IV, are too shrivelled for the *very early* period. Many details of frieze III – the satyrs and the maenads, including one who lifts her dress, the angular strokes on some warriors' corslets, the wavy strokes on an Amazon's garment, the three-dimensional satyr-head blazons and the six lines of the diced bands – make it seem unlikely that 180 dates from either the *middle* or

¹⁴³ E.g. panthers and deer are nearly the only creatures in the lower friezes of 165. There are more deer on the *middle* and *late* amphorae than on the *very early* and *early* ones.

¹⁴⁴ Bothmer 1977, 264, without giving his arguments however, places the *slender* amphorae in a later phase of the Castellani Painter's career.

¹⁴⁵ Fewer connections exist between the *slender* amphorae and the *normal* amphorae of Group 2 (*middle* and *late*): Theseus and the Minotaur appear on both the *slender* amphora 168 and the *normal* amphora 172 (*late*); the foot-race appears on the *slender* amphora 176 and on the *normal* amphora 150 (*middle*).

¹⁴⁶ See n. 121, above.

the *late* period¹⁴⁷. In addition, the handles are of the 'composite-with-rivet-bar' variety, which are closest to the handles in Group 1¹⁴⁸.

On the other hand, the *large* amphora **181** seems to me to be *late*: the lotus band bears resemblance to that of a *late* amphora, Berlin F 1708 (**160**), and the incisions are not at all angular.

In conclusion, during his *very early* and *early* periods, the Castellani Painter probably produced amphorae of two sizes: *normal* and *slender*. During his *middle* and *late* periods, however, he limited himself to *normal* amphorae. One of the *large* amphorae seems to be *early*; the other one *late*.

3.8 Broad-shouldered amphorae

As already remarked, I have revised my opinion about the following nos. 1-7 and decided to omit them from the list of the Castellani Painter's oeuvre, to which they have been assigned by D. von Bothmer. In my estimation, these *broad-shouldered* amphorae, together with nos. 8 and 9, can better be associated with the Group of Rhodes 6474.

1. ROME, CONSERVATORI 136. *Para* 39
2. BERLIN F 1702. CVA Berlin 5, pl. 17.1-4
3. LONDON MARKET. *Pottery from Athens* vi, Cat. Ede, London 1979-1980, no. 22
4. LONDON MARKET. Cat. Sotheby's 1 July 1963, no. 135; Bothmer 1976, 435; Bothmer 1982, 316
5. VULCI. G. Riccioni, *Ceramiche attiche a figure nere e a figure rosse di Vulci nell'Antiquarium del Castello dell'Abadia*, *ArchClass* 23, 1971, 108-109, no. 1, pls. 30-31
6. ZÜRICH MARKET. IA, Calydonian-boar hunt; IB, Two heraldic panthers; lower body black. Bothmer 1976, 435; Bothmer 1982, 316
7. GENEVA MARKET. IA, Athena and giant, onlookers; IB, Water-bird, swan facing panther; lower body black. Bothmer 1976, 435; Bothmer 1982, 316

Two unpublished and unattributed neck-amphorae also belong to the same series. Both amphorae have palmette-lotus crosses on the neck, antithetical panthers on the reverse and a black lower body. By both shape and dimensions, they fit in well with nos. 1-7.

8. UTRECHT, ARCH. 455, fragmentary, swan between sphinxes on the obverse
9. PARIS, LOUVRE C 6098, duel between Achilles and Memnon on the obverse.

In each of the above amphorae the main frieze seems to be too high for a frieze by the Castellani Painter. Furthermore, the subjects of nearly all these friezes (boar hunt, Athena fighting a giant, groups of animals) are not seen on the amphorae which seem to be by the Castellani Painter. And

the single subject that does recur, a symposium, differs from comparable scenes by that painter: on no. 3 a woman has been placed between the couches, and the garments of the symposiasts are not draped over their shoulders.

A variety of other differences can be noted. The figures are so large that the area of the frieze could rapidly have been filled, and flanking animals may be present, which is not the Castellani Painter's practice. By comparison, the incising is generally thicker and imprecise.

Warriors and heroes may have a distinctive knee-cap drawn as two lines, as on nos. 2 and 9, which is not found in the Castellani Painter's work. Decisive is the treatment of the hair of sphinxes and sirens which may be drawn over the wing, which is extremely unusual in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group and which was not paralleled in the amphorae attributed to the Castellani Painter. In addition, some wings lack a proper shoulder section (which is always painted red in 'Tyrrhenian') and the red zone is applied as a midband.

In combination with the fact that these amphorae noticeably differ from what is characteristic of the Castellani Painter's production by the *broad-shouldered* shape, it can be concluded that they are most likely not by that painter.

The Group of Rhodes 6474, to which these nine amphorae are here added, consists in *ABV* of two ovoid neck-amphorae: the name-vase in Rhodes and an unpublished amphora in Taranto, which is otherwise unknown to me¹⁴⁹. A third amphora, once in the Swiss market¹⁵⁰, is by the same painter as Rhodes 6474, who may be referred to as the Painter of Rhodes 6474. His sphinxes and panthers may have giant claws, and on both amphorae the sphinxes' hair extends down over their wings, indicated by two long converging lines. One line, undulating, borders the hair and defines the top of the ear; it goes straight down and closely converges with the other line which descends from the shoulder; these lines almost never join. Identical correspondences are the incised himation borders with tongues; red wingbands instead of red shoulder zones; the execution of the palmette-lotus crosses on the neck; a black zone above the rays; and the style of the panthers on the reverse of each. Some of these traits are repeated in the nos. 1-7. Hair incised over the wing occurs in one or both sphinxes on nos. 1, 3 and 5 and on the sirens of no. 4.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. the maenad lifting her dress on **180** with the maenads of the *very early* **124**. For the wavy incisions see the notes regarding **123**, Section 3.7.1; for the blazons see n. 102, above.

¹⁴⁸ See Kluiver 1993, 181, Section 3.2.3; 192, fig. 4e.

¹⁴⁹ *ABV* 91.1-2.

¹⁵⁰ Cat. Arete, *Griechische Schalen und Vasen*, list 20, no. 2.

The wingband instead of the shoulder section of most sphinxes and sirens is red. The panthers, in pairs or combined with other animals, recur on many of them. The main difference is seen in the decorative scheme: the *broad-shouldered* amphorae have black lower bodies without base-rays, whereas Rhodes 6474 and the amphora in the Swiss market have black zones and base-rays. Nos. 1 and 3-5 are the work of one painter as can be seen in the identical sphinxes. He may have also decorated nos. 2 and 6-9, which, at any rate, are by one hand¹⁵¹.

4 THE POINTED-NOSE PAINTER

4.1 Introduction

Some of the painter's human and other figures have pointy noses, hence the painter's name introduced by D. von Bothmer¹⁵². Sixteen amphorae can today be attributed to him, in three sizes, which are referred to as *normal*, *small* and *large*. Nine of them have not previously been assigned to the Pointed-Nose Painter. Deleted from the oeuvre are the fragments of a neck-amphora and a belly amphora.

4.2 Oeuvre

a. Normal amphorae

Early period

- 183.** BERLIN F 1712. *ABV* 96.12; *Add²* 25; Kluiver 1993, 192, fig. 3h [D. von Bothmer]

Middle period

- 184.** PARIS, LOUVRE E 844. (*Figs. 19-21*) *ABV* 94, 100.72; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
185. PARIS, LOUVRE E 837. *ABV* 103.110; *Para* 39 (Bothmer: 'Timiades Painter') [author]
186. KIEL B 510. CVA Kiel 1, pls. 10.1-4, 11.1-3, fig. 10 [D. von Bothmer]

Late period

- 187.** LEIDEN PC 53. (*Figs. 45-47*) *ABV* 94, 101.87; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
188. PARIS, LOUVRE E 862. (*Fig. 23*) *ABV* 102.94; Mommsen, 8, n. 30; Kluiver 1993, 194, fig. 13 [author]
189. PARIS, LOUVRE E 841. (*Fig. 22*) *ABV* 103.107; *Add²* 27 [author]
190. DUNEDIN E 28.71, neck. CVA New Zealand 1, pl. 10.6 [author]

b. Small amphorae

Middle period

- 191.** FREIBURG MARKET. *Kunst der Antike*, cat. G. Puhze, 5, no. 171 [author]
192. MALIBU 71.AE.194. H. 34.3. Neck: palmette-lotus cross (A, B); IA, facing cocks betw. sphinxes;

IB, Swan betw. panthers; below, 1 animal frieze; lines: 2-1; black band; rays. Unpublished [museum staff]

Late period

- 193.** ROME, CONSERVATORI 100. *ABV* 103.117; *Para* 39 (Bothmer: 'Timiades Painter') [author]
194. BASLE MARKET. *MuM* Cat. 63, 29 June 1983, no. 19 [D. von Bothmer]
195. PARIS, LOUVRE C 12075, fragmentary body with attached foot and 2 shoulder fragments. Foot D. 10.2. IA, Two birds betw. panthers; IB, Two panthers; below, at least 1 animal frieze; lines: ?-2-1; rays. Unpublished [author]¹⁵³

c. Large amphorae (probably middle period)

- 196.** LEIPZIG T 3323, fragmentary. *ABV* 96.9; *Add²* 25; Paul, 8, no. 3: 'Kyllenios Painter'; Bothmer 1976, 437, and in Moore 1972: 'Guglielmi Painter') Crouwel 1992, 78 n. 377, pl. 28.2 [author]
197. LONDON MARKET (ex Künsnacht, Hirschmann G 40). Bloesch, no. 13, 34-37, 96; *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection*, Cat. Sotheby's, 9th December 1993 [D. von Bothmer]¹⁵⁴
198. LEIPZIG T 4284, T 4507, T 4215, T 4260, T 4261, fr. CVA 2, pl. 10.1 (D. von Bothmer and E. Paul: 'Guglielmi Painter') [author]¹⁵⁵

d. Reattributed and deleted amphorae

- BRUNSWICK, BOWDOIN COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART 1913.25.1-3, fr. Fallow Deer Painter (249)
 — KRANNERT ART MUSEUM, belly-amphora. Moon, 50-51, no. 30. Not 'Tyrrhenian'¹⁵⁶.

4.3 Decorative schemes

The necks of the Pointed-Nose Painter's *normal* amphorae have a palmette-lotus festoon on each

¹⁵¹ Finally, two other amphorae, attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Painter of Rouen 531 (*ABV* 88.1, 89.2), may also belong to the Group of Rhodes 6474 because of their measurements and decorative scheme.

¹⁵² Bothmer 1944, 165, attributing two amphorae. Beazley, *ABV*, 94, speaks of a 'Pointed-Nose Group'.

¹⁵³ Note that the two neck fragments kept with these sherds in the Louvre are not 'Tyrrhenian' but Etruscan and belong to an amphora by the La Tolfa Painter; see M. Zilverberg, The La Tolfa Painter. Fat or Thin?, in H.A.G. Brijder, A.A. Drukker and C.W. Neef (eds.), *Enthousiasmos. Essays on Greek and Related Pottery presented to J.M. Hemelrijk. Allard Pierson Series* 6, Amsterdam, 1986, 53, fig. 6.

¹⁵⁴ M. Sguaitamatti (in Bloesch, 96-97, no. 13) thought that **197** and **243** are by the same painter; the latter, however, is attributed by me to the Fallow Deer Painter.

¹⁵⁵ Although only 10 glued fragments remain, the large size can be inferred from the wide curve of the contour.

¹⁵⁶ The belly-amphora, lent by the Krannert Art Museum to the University of Illinois (Moon, 50-51, no. 30), has been assigned by A. Perkins to the Painter of Berlin 1686 and, later, by D. von Bothmer to the Pointed-Nose Painter. However, the man's diagonally banded himation and the incised nipple surrounded by a red ring are not found in the Pointed-Nose Painter's work; the horses are too large for his hand and, above all, I sense, beyond his skill.

side, a festoon on A and a cross on B, or two crosses (Figs. 22-23)¹⁵⁷. The main frieze of Berlin F 1712 (**183**), by way of exception, has ivy, not tongues, at the top of the shoulder, as is once seen on an amphora by the Fallow Deer Painter¹⁵⁸. The level of the lower border of the main frieze varies slightly: at the point of the greatest diameter when there are two animal friezes below (Fig. 22)¹⁵⁹; somewhat lower when combined with one or two animal friezes¹⁶⁰; or lower, in combination with an animal frieze or a black zone (Fig. 23)¹⁶¹. The friezes are separated by one or two lines and the base-rays number from 8 (**188**) to 25 (**183**). Diced bands are not included. Insofar as preserved, the *normal* amphorae of the Pointed-Nose Painter show little consistency in the decorative scheme¹⁶². The *small* amphorae have palmette-lotus crosses on the neck. The bottom of the main frieze is at the point of greatest diameter or slightly lower; the lower body always shows one animal frieze which may or may not be accompanied by either a black band or a black zone¹⁶³.

The three *large* amphorae are exceptional: they variously have buds on the rim; on the neck, palmette-lotus festoons (**197**) or chains consisting of alternating pairs of opposing palmettes and lotuses (**196**)¹⁶⁴; on the lower body, a festoon and, most unusually, black bands and buds, once combined with tongue-bands (**197**). Below the main frieze of each amphora in Leipzig there is a red line between two double black lines, a type of border which is without parallel in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group. Remarkably, frieze II of Leipzig T 4284 (**198**) shows a narrative scene.

4.4 Subjects and decoration

Most of the Pointed-Nose Painter's subjects are those commonly found elsewhere in the 'Tyrrhenian' repertoire, although small details may be changed, for instance the defeated Greek on **187** who is covered by his shield, which is without parallel in the Group and which makes one speculate whether the Pointed-Nose Painter had seen the work of the Painter of Berlin 1686¹⁶⁵. The single exceptional theme is the departure of the warriors portrayed on **183** and **196**; the reverse scene on **196** has been variously interpreted¹⁶⁶.

Of the few 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae with narrative scenes in frieze II, two of them belong to this oeuvre: Berlin F 1712 (**183**) has a horse-race with onlookers, columns and tripod; and, insofar as preserved, Leipzig T 4284 (**198**) a foot-race¹⁶⁷.

The creatures in the lower friezes of the *normal* amphorae include rather large numbers of sirens, panthers and rams. By contrast, other creatures, like flying eagles, boars, deer and he-goats, are scarce.

In the main friezes of the *small* amphorae there are two, three or four animals¹⁶⁸. Twice, between sphinxes, a woman in peplos dances or runs to the right, which is very characteristic of the Pointed-Nose Painter¹⁶⁹.

The vegetal ornaments placed among the subsidiary animals are a palmette-lotus element (Fig. 22) and a stemmed bud (**184**)¹⁷⁰.

4.5 Characteristics

The lotuses of the neck festoons are comparatively higher and thinner and the palmettes smaller, nearly circumscribed by the lotus sepals; and the row of rings forms an almost perfectly horizontal line¹⁷¹. The same traits recur, vaguely, in the work of the Guglielmi Painter and, strongly, in that of the Fallow Deer Painter, to whom the Pointed-Nose Painter seems to be closely related¹⁷². The central sepal of the lotus may be omitted¹⁷³, as was also sometimes done by the Kyllenios Painter, Guglielmi Painter and Fallow Deer Painter. In other lotuses the incising of the petals may be omitted, which was not common practice¹⁷⁴.

The palmette-lotus crosses, on both *normal* and *small* amphorae, can easily be distinguished from those by other 'Tyrrhenian' painters (Figs. 22-23). The central lotus sepal has often been omitted from

¹⁵⁷ The festoons usually have six or seven elements; **183** has eight.

¹⁵⁸ Ivy on the Fallow Deer Painter's **249**; see also his krater **252**.
¹⁵⁹ **185**, **186**, **189**.

¹⁶⁰ **184**, **187**. Thiersch, 30f, already noted that one animal frieze (**187**) is very rare and not part of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group's earliest work.

¹⁶¹ **183**, **188**.

¹⁶² In addition, the topside of **183**'s rim is unpainted.

¹⁶³ On **183** the rays are not joined to the foot but radiate from a thin line above it. The bases of **196** and **198** are missing.

¹⁶⁴ All floral ornaments are placed between lines; an extra solid black zone occurs below the one on **197**.

¹⁶⁵ See one of his belly-amphorae, in Moon, 52, no. 31.

¹⁶⁶ E.g. A. Rumpf, AA 1923-24, 61: Pandora's introduction to Olympos (which seems implausible to me); see also Mayer-Emmerling, 31-33 and H.A. Shapiro, in his *Supplement of Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz, 1995, 10 n. 86.

¹⁶⁷ The figures are not dancers as E. Paul suggests (CVA Leipzig 2, pl. 10.1).

¹⁶⁸ They comprise panthers, sphinxes, cocks, swans and water birds.

¹⁶⁹ **191**, **193**.

¹⁷⁰ Two rosettes in the form of silhouettes with painted petal tips and incisions occur on the fragments of **195**.

¹⁷¹ E.g. **183** and, to a greater extent, **186**. In all earlier work and that of the Castellani Painter the rings are arranged in two different horizontal levels.

¹⁷² Few festoons are placed below a line (**184**, **185**).

¹⁷³ Especially **186**.

¹⁷⁴ See **184** and the festoons on the neck and lower body of the *large* amphorae **197** and **196** whose lotus cuffs, in addition, have running dogs, chequers and wavy lines.

the pendent lotus or, less often, from both lotuses; and the cuffs become very narrow towards the ring¹⁷⁵.

The main frieze may be provided with flanking animals or sphinxes (*Fig. 20*), which we have also seen on amphorae by earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters but which is not repeated in the work of the other later painters¹⁷⁶.

Many scenes are composed in the usual way. An exception may be the departure of the warrior on Berlin F 1712 (**183**); if the warrior is indeed Amphiaraios, the scheme is a very abbreviated version of the usual one¹⁷⁷. The figures flanking the fight between Achilleus and Memnon vary greatly. They and their mothers may be flanked by two men, four men, two men and two women, two horsemen, etc. A notable feature of the Pointed-Nose Painter's representations of the subject is that the right-hand mother very often holds a spear in her left hand in a peculiar way: her left arm is twisted behind her back, so that the spear seems to be held at the right side, over the shoulder. There are other female figures in the same pose but without spear. Also the male seated in front of the chariot on **196** has an empty hand behind his back. Elsewhere in 'Tyrrhenian' we see the pose repeated once by the Fallow Deer Painter¹⁷⁸.

Komasts are usually naked, sometimes sexually aroused, men. The sole woman, on Louvre E 844 (*Fig. 20*, **184**), wears a short garment with a curving lower border; a comparable border is repeated on **189**.

Curiously, some of the warriors' shields on **184** have been drawn not with a compass but freehand (*Fig. 19*).

Human figures and satyrs may be rather wiry, thin or bony (*Fig. 22*)¹⁷⁹. Besides warriors, women and sphinxes sometimes have pointed noses (*Figs. 19-20*, *22-23*)¹⁸⁰.

Ladies may wear mantles over peploi with vertical black and red bands¹⁸¹. Vertical panel-bands are uncommon¹⁸². The lower border may be red or white, which is a new detail in the Group¹⁸³. Another popular kind of border is the row of tiny incised circles, as we have seen in the Kyllenios Painter's work¹⁸⁴. Old-fashioned border motifs occur as well: slipshod wavy lines and incised tongues which, hastily incised, resemble sloping handwriting¹⁸⁵.

A noteworthy komast appears on Louvre E 841 (**189**): his body is rendered frontally while his somewhat spread legs are seen from inside. Another uncommon feature of this amphora is the dinos and stand in the reverse scene with satyrs. It is also curious that the figure of Hermes seems to

be repeated twice on Kiel B 510 (**186**)¹⁸⁶. Once again a parallel can be cited by the Painter of Berlin 1686¹⁸⁷.

Some eyes are incised as a circle with one or two tear ducts in the form of angular incisions (*Fig. 20*)¹⁸⁸. Among other notable details of the incising are oblique chequers – combined with white dots or incised circles¹⁸⁹ – and rows of tiny circles on a warrior's thigh¹⁹⁰. A part of the mantle of the veiled lady on **189** is nicely folded, as are also the garments of Zeus, Hephaistos and the seated man in front of the chariot on **196**.

Like the other later 'Tyrrhenian' painters, the Pointed-Nose Painter made significant use of added white. Note the white 'cloves' or spots of horses (**185**) and centaurs (**198**); the satyrs' ejaculations (**185**); dots on the bridle (**183**), the rims of shields, crest-holders, helmets, greaves, hems and

¹⁷⁵ *E.g.* **187-190**, **193**. Sometimes, on the *small* amphorae, the eight-shaped stems slant: the left-hand stem from the left upward to the ring, the other from the ring downward to the right (**192**, **193**).

¹⁷⁶ *E.g.* the *normal* amphorae **184**, **187**, **188**. A sphinx on the *small* **191** has open wings which overlap each other. The hair overlaps the wing on a sphinx on **188** and two sphinxes on **194**.
¹⁷⁷ For Amphiaraios see I. Krauskopf, *Die Ausfahrt des Amphiaraios auf Amphoren der tyrrhenischen Gruppe*, in H.A. Cahn *et al.* (eds.), *Tainia, Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, Mainz 1980, 105-116.

¹⁷⁸ **183**, **186**, **187**, **197**. It concerns **243** by the Fallow Deer Painter.
¹⁷⁹ **188**, **189**.

¹⁸⁰ *E.g.* the woman overlapped by a chariot on **196**; or the sphinx on **188**.

¹⁸¹ **186**, **187**. See also the woman on the chariot on **196**. Outside the 'Tyrrhenian' Group, see a belly amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686, in Moon, colour plate II.

¹⁸² **193**, **196**, **197**.

¹⁸³ **183**, **187**, **196**.

¹⁸⁴ **183**, **186**, **197**. See also the circles and chequers on the shield on **196** and the circles on the first centaur's body on **198**. For the Kyllenios Painter see Section 2.5. Outside the Group the border occurs *e.g.* in the work of the Painter of Berlin 1686 (belly amphora, see n. 181, above), the Painter of Vatican 309 (Schefold 1978, 148, fig. 196), the Taleides Painter (*idem*, 189, fig. 254) and the Leagros Group (*idem*, 240, fig. 321).

¹⁸⁵ **183**, **189**, **196**.

¹⁸⁶ K. Schauenburg, in 'Zur Griechischen Mythen in der Etruskischen Kunst', *Jdl* 85, 1970, 28-81, notes two figures of Athena on a hydria in the Vatican (*ABV* 363.45) and two pairs of Apollo and Artemis on the Fallow Deer Painter's **235** (*idem*, 39).

¹⁸⁷ Moon, 54-56, no. 32.

¹⁸⁸ The first and last satyrs on **185**; slain warrior, horse, ram and some komasts on **187**; komasts on **184** and **189**; warriors and satyr on **188**.

¹⁸⁹ **183**, **186**, and the cushions of Zeus and the seated woman on **196**.

¹⁹⁰ **183**. J. Boardman, in: *An Anatomical Puzzle*, *AA* 1978, 330-333, suggests that the incised circles on the thigh depict old wounds caused by wild animals. Schauenburg 1965, 82, and in Hornbostel 1980, 69-71, lists examples of animals with these marks; see also the note on the Malibu krater in *CVA* 1, p. 51. Such marks were also added by the Fallow Deer Painter.

fillets (Fig. 20)¹⁹¹. Many rams and he-goats lack proper hooves¹⁹²; and, similarly, many panthers lack paws (Figs. 21-22). Their paws are reduced to thin projections of the legs bent against the ground-line, shaped like the end of a hockey stick¹⁹³.

The muzzles of rams may be 'very truncated' (Figs. 21, 47)¹⁹⁴; and some panthers have rather thick hind legs and tail¹⁹⁵. A detail of rams' heads is a double-stroke connecting the base of the ear with the forehead, which was also employed by the Timiades Painter; the ear is thin and small (Figs. 21, 47). And a Y-shaped stroke crosses the faces of some panthers (Fig. 21), as also occurs on panthers by the Castellani Painter and Guglielmi Painter. Two panthers on the *small* amphora in Malibu (192) have 'sleepy' eyes which are unique in this oeuvre, but which were very commonly rendered by the Fallow Deer Painter during his *early* and *middle* periods.

A characteristic trait of some sirens is that only one double-line crosses the tail (Fig. 45), instead of the two double-lines which are the rule in 'Tyrrhenian'¹⁹⁶. The added white of panther faces, marked by lines converging towards the eyes and diverging above the mouth, consists of three connected spots on the forehead, a vertical zone over the nose and one spot for the mouth (Fig. 46)¹⁹⁷. Such use of added white is paralleled in panthers by the Castellani Painter and by the Fallow Deer Painter. Quadrupeds may have white bellies¹⁹⁸.

Lastly the base-rays. Often these are very thin, like blades of grass, not too close together (Figs. 22-23). Only 183 and 197 have carefully painted rays of triangular form.

4.6 Inscriptions

All the inscriptions on the Pointed-Nose Painter's amphorae are nonsensical. Some inscriptions look quite similar because of their combinations of kappa and iota, for instance, 184 (Fig. 19) and 187¹⁹⁹. By contrast, some of the inscriptions on 189 consist of mere blobs instead of letters, a degree of carelessness which is without parallel among the inscriptions in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group.

4.7 Relative chronology

First the features of painting marking the *early*, *middle* and *late normal* amphorae are noted; then the development of the shape of the *normal* amphorae. Lastly, the *small* and *large* varieties are dealt with.

Berlin F 1712 (183) may be identified as *early* because the lotuses of the neck festoons have a central sepal; the painting is neat and luxurious,

with a figure scene in frieze II, and the base-rays are triangular. In addition, the figures move somewhat rigidly, which seems to reflect an unpractised hand. In the *middle* period the decoration of the neck varies – two festoons, a festoon and a cross or two crosses – as the Pointed-Nose Painter gradually abandons the festoon in favour of a cross as the ornament for the neck. The central sepal of the lotus may now be omitted. During this period the animals begin to be depicted without hooves and claws, whereas the tails of sirens continue to have a red zone bordered by two double-lines. The triangular rays become thin and grasslike. The inscriptions of the amphorae of the *early* and *middle* periods have recognizable letter-forms.

The necks of all the *late* amphorae show palmette-lotus crosses on both sides; the central lotus sepals may be missing (Figs. 22-23). The figures in the main scenes have become thin and wiry. Different species of animals have the same kind of leg and the sirens' tails may be streamlined. The rays are thin and the inscriptions may consist of unrecognizable letters.

The development of the shape of the *normal* amphorae is as weak and as elusive as that of their decorative scheme. No general pattern of change can be discerned in the dimensions, the only clear tendency being an increase in the diameter of the rim. Two *small* amphorae (191, 192) seem to be earlier than the others because their lotuses have three sepals and because the feet of some animals are well articulated. In my opinion, these were manufactured in the painter's *middle* period. On other *small* amphorae the central sepals of the lotuses are omitted and the animals' feet simplified. These amphorae would therefore seem to have been made during the painter's *late* period.

The *large* amphorae possibly date to the *middle* period or to the first years of the *late* period. Their festoons strongly resemble those of a *middle*-period amphora (184).

¹⁹¹ See 183, 186 and especially 198, where dots are applied even on the second centaur's moustache, and on the shoulder-line of the third.

¹⁹² E.g. the he-goat in frieze III of 185.

¹⁹³ Especially 184, 187, 189, 195 and most of the *small* amphorae.

¹⁹⁴ Noted by Bothmer 1944, 165. Especially 184, 187, 195.

¹⁹⁵ 184: frieze II, to the left of the sirens, and the one below it in III; 192, 193.

¹⁹⁶ 187, 189.

¹⁹⁷ *Normal* amphorae: below handle A/B of 187. *Small* amphorae: in the main friezes of 192, 194, 195; on 193 the zone is red.

¹⁹⁸ 184, 187, 195.

¹⁹⁹ Such inscriptions strongly resemble certain nonsense words on the Fallow Deer Painter's 232-235 and 242, for which see Section 6.6.

5.1 Introduction

The name-vase is Vatican 34526 (**217**), once in the Guglielmi collection, which Beazley discussed in some detail²⁰⁰. The inscription on Louvre E 831 (*Fig. 24, 211*) is probably the maker's signature, revealing that the painter's true name was ΔΙΕΣ.²⁰¹ It is the first known inscription of its kind in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group.

Seven amphorae previously attributed to the Guglielmi Painter have been deleted from my list. Whereas nine amphorae are attributed to him for the first time, as well as two of the four hydriai.

5.2 Oeuvre

a. Amphorae

Early period

- 199.** THE HAGUE 608/821. *ABV* 98.38, 683; *Para* 36, 37; *Add²* 26; Kluiver 1992, no. 6, figs. 23-29, 62 [D. von Bothmer]
200. MUNICH 1432. *ABV* 102.98; *Para* 36, 38; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
201. MUNICH 1431. *ABV* 102.99; *Add²* 27 [E. Kunze-Götte]
202. MONTPELLIER 149bis. *ABV* 102.102; *Add²* 27 [A.F. Laurens]

Middle period

- 203.** CAMBRIDGE 32.1. *ABV* 99.48, 684; *Add²* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
204. PARIS, LOUVRE E 833. *ABV* 95, 99.57, 684; *Para* 36, 38; Kluiver 1993, 192, fig. 3g [D. von Bothmer]
205. PARIS, LOUVRE E 834. (*Fig. 27*) *ABV* 100.69; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]
206. PARIS, LOUVRE E 835. *ABV* 101.82 [D. von Bothmer]
207. CHIUSI 1804. (*Figs. 48-49*) *ABV* 101.83; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
208. ORVIETO, FAINA 2664 (41). (*Fig. 26*) *ABV* 102.100, 684; *Para* 38; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
209. PARIS, NIARCHOS COLLECTION. *ABV* 102.103 (Roman market); *Para* 36, 39 [D. von Bothmer]
210. PARIS, LOUVRE E 830. (*Fig. 25*) *ABV* 102.105; *Para* 36, 39 [D. von Bothmer]
211. PARIS, LOUVRE E 831, fragmentary. (*Fig. 24*) *ABV* 103.108; *Para* 35, 39 (Bothmer: 'Castellani Painter'); *Add²* 27 [author]
212. ORVIETO, FAINA 2663. *ABV* 683.77bis [author]
213. BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA UNIVERSITY 73.6. *Para* 36, 40 (Swiss, private); *Add²* 28 [D. von Bothmer]
214. VENICE MARKET (Genova). *Para* 36, 41; Cat. Sotheby's, London, 28 June 1965, 45: 'Kyllenios Painter' [author]
215. OXFORD 1984.884/1072. *Annual Report of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum*, 1983-84, pls.

4, 5b; M. Vickers, *Museum Supplement, JHS* 112, 1992, 246, no. 9 [D. von Bothmer]

Late period

- 216.** MUNICH 1433. *ABV* 95, 98.37; *Para* 36, 37; *Add²* 26; [D. von Bothmer]
217. ROME, VATICAN 34526 (G 13). *ABV* 95, 99.56, 684; *Para* 36, 38; Kluiver 1993, 192, fig. 3f [D. von Bothmer]
218. PARIS, LOUVRE E 832. *ABV* 100.74 [author]
219. LONDON MARKET. *ABV* 101.85 [D. von Bothmer]
220. BOULOGNE 55. *ABV* 101.86; Moore 1972, 44, no. A 238 [D. von Bothmer]
221. VULCI VG 64216. (*Figs. 28-29*) *Para* 36, 41 (Vulci, Museo del Castello); *Add²* 28; Riccioni and Falconi Amorelli, 16-17, no. 27 [D. von Bothmer]
222. BASLE BS 466. (*Fig. 50*) *Para* 40 (Basle market *MuM*); Kluiver 1993, 194, fig. 12 [D. von Bothmer]
223. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10504 (and C 10696). *Para* 41 (Bothmer: Fallow Deer Painter) [author]
224. ROME, VILLA GIULIA 74961. Mayer-Emmerling, no. 165; Bartoloni, 206, no. 17, pl. 51 [author]

b. Fragments of amphorae

- 225.** ROME, VATICAN 166/35125, fr. *ABV* 683.105bis (ex Astarita, Naples) [author]
226. LEIPZIG T 4285, fr. CVA Leipzig 2, pl. 10.3-4 (Paul: 'Prometheus Painter') [author]
227. FLORENCE, fr. Ca. 7.0 x 14.0 cm. IA or B, Two feet to r.; foot and part garment to r.; dicing (2-3-2); below, at least 2 friezes: II, floral (white dots, central lotus sepals red); III, animals; lines: d-1. Unpublished [author]

c. Shouldered hydriai

Early period

- 228.** ROMAN MARKET (Basseggio). *ABV* 105.133 [author]

Middle period

- 229.** LEIDEN PC 44. *ABV* 105.132, 684; *Para* 36, 39 [D. von Bothmer]
230. TOKYO FUJI ART MUSEUM no. 30. H. 35.0; Diam. 26.5. *Fuji Art Museum. Exhibition of the Western European Ancient Pottery*. Fujinomiya-shi, 1973, no. 34 [author]

²⁰⁰ J.D. Beazley, F. Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Parte 1: Ceramica, Città del Vaticano, 1939, 25-26, where it is noted that **217** stylistically resembles **204** and **216**. Despite some confusion, the name 'Guglielmi Painter' has gained general acceptance and is therefore used here. Bothmer 1944, 165.H, 169-170, refers to him as the 'Komos Painter'. Then, in *ABV*, 95, Beazley referred to the 'Guglielmi Group' while reporting that Von Bothmer had changed the name to the 'Guglielmi Painter', although he continued to list the 'Guglielmi Group' in *Para*. More recently, however, Von Bothmer speaks of the 'Komos Painter' again; *JHS* 112, 1992, 246, no. 11.

²⁰¹ See Section 5.6, below.

Late period

231. PARIS, LOUVRE E 870. (*Figs. 30-31*) ABV 105.131; *Para* 36, 39 [D. von Bothmer]

d. Reattributed amphorae

- BERLIN 4841. Fallow Deer Painter (**251**)
- BERLIN F 1708. Castellani Painter (**160**)
- CIVITAVECCHIA 1706. Castellani Painter (**157**)
- CARLSRUHE B 2423 (200). Castellani Painter (**152**)
- LONDON MARKET (ex Küsnacht, Hirschmann G 40). Pointed-Nose Painter (**197**)
- LEIPZIG T 3323. Pointed-Nose Painter (**196**)
- ROMAN MARKET (Basseggio). Castellani Painter (**181**)

5.3 *Decorative schemes*

The rims of four amphorae are decorated, three with lotus-buds (*Fig. 28*), one with myrtle. Decorated rims are also a feature of some amphorae by the Fallow Deer Painter or the Castellani Painter, one of whom may have influenced the Guglielmi Painter²⁰². All his amphorae have festoons on the neck; roughly 50% of them are bordered by a line above and below²⁰³, whereas most others have a line only across the top²⁰⁴.

It is particularly characteristic that the lower borders of the main friezes are placed well above the greatest diameter (*Fig. 25*). The border consists of either a double-line or a diced band²⁰⁵.

Four amphorae have four lower friezes²⁰⁶; all the others have three. A festoon fills frieze II and the other ones show animals. The exceptions are a komos in the obverse half of frieze IV (**209**) or a horse-race and a jumper in frieze II (**224**).

Almost half the amphorae have a solid black band below the lowest animal frieze (*Fig. 25*). There are always base-rays, numbering from 12 to 23²⁰⁷. These are lower than the rays usually seen on other 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae, partly because relatively more space is occupied by the three lower friezes and the black band.

The hydriai (**228-231**) conform to the standard scheme: black-glazed with panels on the front of the shoulder and the belly as well as base-rays. There are shoulder tongues on top (*Figs. 30-31*) and usually a floral motif below²⁰⁸. The main panel is bordered above and below by double-lines, and on the left and the right by bands of ivy.

5.4 *Subjects and decoration*

Three subjects prevail: the komos, found most often on the reverse and once on a hydria shoulder (*Figs. 25, 29, 31*); the fight between Achilles and Memnon – Eos and Thetis are consistently flanked by horsemen (*Fig. 24*); and a battle scene filling the entire frieze (*Fig. 27*). A distinctive feature is

that each of these three subjects may twice be repeated on the same amphora²⁰⁹. It is also noteworthy that Herakles is rather unpopular. An exceptional picture is the homoerotic scene on Orvieto 2664 (**208**) showing men having sex (*Fig. 26*).

Some originality marks the larger scenes of fights and struggles. On **212** hoplites alternate with armed horsemen and on **217** Hermes or a herald stands between two fighting groups. A common trait of the depictions of Herakles and Nessos is that Deianeira appears to escape²¹⁰. Two armed centaurs come from the left on Munich 1433 (**216**), as if coming to help their comrade; some scenes of the same subject by the Castellani Painter and the Fallow Deer Painter also have such centaurs.

The lower friezes show the Group's usual selection of animals, except for the fact that rams are not so numerous.

Remarkable are the two lions overwhelming a deer on **202**. Another frieze has grazing geese (**208**), as earlier depicted, for instance, by Sophilos²¹¹.

Six amphorae have a palmette-lotus cross in the centre of frieze II or, once, frieze III²¹². A particularly odd addition is the small komast dancing between sirens in frieze II of Louvre E 830 (*Fig. 25, 210*)²¹³.

5.5 *Characteristics*

Most neck-festoons are constructed of five elements²¹⁴. Some are perfectly balanced and well

²⁰² Buds: **209, 216, 221**. Myrtle: **224**. Several outer rims are ribbed: see Kluiver 1992, 90, n. 99 (add Louvre E 831, **211**, to the list) and Kluiver 1993, 181, n. 20.

²⁰³ **199-201, 209, 217, 221, 224**. The festoon on **216** is placed between a double-line and a single line.

²⁰⁴ **205, 207, 208, 210, 211, 213, 214, 218, 222**.

²⁰⁵ The only borders of single lines are on **201** and **206**. Double-lines: **202, 205, 208, 212-214, 218, 219, 222, 226**. Others, the fragments **225** and **227** included, have diced bands. The lines between the lower friezes are commonly single; there are double-lines below all lower friezes on **200**. Thiersch, 50-51, his no. 47, notes that, therefore, this amphora is somewhat older than the others in Thiersch's group III, all of which are attributable to the Guglielmi Painter.

²⁰⁶ **209, 216, 221, 224**. Fragment **227**, with a festoon in frieze II, probably belongs to an amphora which had four lower friezes.

²⁰⁷ There are 13 on **203, 208, 212**; and 23 on **217, 221, 222, 224**.

²⁰⁸ According to Gerhard's drawing, there was not a festoon below the main frieze of hydria **228**. Hydria **230** has a festoon of only pendent palmettes and lotus flowers alternating.

²⁰⁹ Two komoi: **200-202, 209, 210, 221, 224**. Two duels between Achilles and Memnon: **207, 223**. Two fights: **205**.

²¹⁰ Cf. Mayer-Emmerling, 47f, nos. 8-9, 11.

²¹¹ E.g. Bakir, pls. 39-40; 62, figs. 115-116.

²¹² Frieze II: **199-202, 206, 223**. Frieze III: **225**.

²¹³ There are few rosettes among the animals: **211, 214**, one with sepals; **214**, group of four dots; **208, 223**, dot-rosettes. There is a spiral on **211**.

²¹⁴ Some amphorae, usually on the obverse, have six elements, for instance, **200** and **202**; others have four, usually on the reverse. The four-element festoon and the six-element festoon are not seen in combination on the same amphora.

formed, equalling the quality of those by the Prometheus Painter²¹⁵. In other festoons the Guglielmi Painter left out the central sepal of the lotus, as done by all the later painters apart from the Castellani Painter²¹⁶; and the rings may form a nearly horizontal row (*Fig. 28*)²¹⁷, as is very common in the work of the Fallow Deer Painter. At one end, the festoon commonly has an extra circular stem fragment; at the other end it may be joined to the black paint of the handle attachment. Rarely, an extra piece of stem added at the left or the right end curves up and down²¹⁸. The loops of the stems in the festoons of the Vulci amphora (**221**) are filled in with a red dot applied over white, which is exceptional (*Fig. 28*)²¹⁹.

A few of the komoi radiate vigorous sexual energy and belong, in my view, to the Group's freshest and funniest scenes, in which one easily recognizes the painter: vehemently gesticulating men dance with women, stand on one leg or make love to them, some in athletic positions. Some komasts play a double-aulos or hold flowers; and several vessels, mostly large, may be present²²⁰. Characteristic is the woman standing to the right before such a vessel; she bends her knees and looks round while a man enters her from behind²²¹. Most of the painter's komos scenes, however, are duller, the fresh and original elements having largely vanished (*Figs. 25, 29*). Few of them include vessels; once a woman shows her thigh by lifting her dress (**206**). It is notable that the horsemen on the left side of the fight between Achilles and Memnon may look round²²². In a less usual type of fight two groups of warriors confront each other in the center²²³; there are some comparable scenes by the Fallow Deer Painter and the Castellani Painter.

Amazons, Herakles and other warriors are all rather short, due to the reduced height of the frieze (*Fig. 27*). Some of the defeated combatants fall with their knees only slightly bent, the legs spreading in wide angles²²⁴; the victors seem to step on their opponents' calves, but the position of their feet is not clearly rendered²²⁵. Other combatants sink down on one heel while another falls to his knees²²⁶. The type of sword grip resembling a spoon recurs in the work of other later 'Tyrrhenian' painters, especially the Fallow Deer Painter's²²⁷.

Occasionally women hold torches²²⁸. There are many penguin-women; panel-band peploi are slovenly painted²²⁹. Both types of attire are much more popular in this work than in that of the Castellani Painter. On Chiusi 1804 (**207**) the painter also placed a panel-band on a himation, which seems to be a mistake, although a mantle on Louvre C 10504 (**223**) is decorated rather similarly²³⁰.

The quality of the painting and incising varies. Some komasts have hairlines consisting of many short vertical strokes²³¹; most of them wear fillets: an incised line, sometimes marked with white dots, or ivy; collar bones are either single strokes combined with incised nipples suggesting a foreshortened side view, or two lines with curved hooks (*Fig. 29*). Some komasts have the thumb and index finger extended while holding the other fingers clenched (*Fig. 29*)²³². Short strokes along the sides of their very round bellies suggest skin folds (*Fig. 23*)²³³. Distinctive is also the vertical incised line in the centre of warriors' corslets, while the corslets are, as usual, adorned with incised spirals on the chest and curves on the abdomen (*Fig. 27*)²³⁴. Generally, the lower border of a warrior's short chiton is indicated by a single continuous line; however, the Guglielmi Painter occasionally incised two lines, causing the garment to resemble a modern pair of shorts (*Fig. 27*)²³⁵.

²¹⁵ *E.g.* **200, 201**.

²¹⁶ More often in the pendent lotus: **223, 224** and hydria **231**.

²¹⁷ **221, 222, 224**.

²¹⁸ **202, 203, 211**.

²¹⁹ Also the festoon in frieze II.

²²⁰ Column-kraters on **200, 202, 208, 209, 222**; on the first two, a komast bends over the vessel. There is a high-footed cup on **200** and a kantharos on **201**.

²²¹ **200-202**.

²²² *E.g.* **207**.

²²³ It seems to me that the scene on **226** cannot be reconstructed as such.

²²⁴ *E.g.* **204, 205**, shoulder of **229**.

²²⁵ Amphora **222** and hydria **230**. On other examples these details are too sloppily painted to determine the position of the foot.

²²⁶ **203** (heel), **204** (knees).

²²⁷ Sword grips: **204, 205, 216, 222**. For the Fallow Deer Painter see below.

²²⁸ Amphora **199** and hydria **229**. See also the *large* amphora **197** by the Pointed-Nose Painter.

²²⁹ In a way which probably erroneously suggests that not the front but the side of the peplos is decorated: **199, 207, 217**. See also Dionysos on **208**.

²³⁰ On **203** the division of Andromache's panel-band into two disjointed sections must be an error (CVA Cambridge, pl. XXII).

²³¹ **200-202**. Such hairlines occur sparingly in other 'Tyrrhenian' oeuvres.

²³² *E.g.* the fourth figure on the obverse of **201**, the left hand of the komast bending over the krater on **202**, and several komasts on **221**. Partly clenched hands also occur in scenes with wedded pairs in chariots; see the woman on the left on the Guglielmi Painter's **228** and her counterpart on the Pointed-Nose Painter's **197**.

²³³ *E.g.* **209**.

²³⁴ Especially **205** and also **207** and **214**. With respect to amphora **206**, I am inclined to question the attribution to the Guglielmi Painter, although I cannot assign it to another 'Tyrrhenian' painter. Note that the left-hand mother is not a penguin woman, the horsemen have helmets, the combatants lack swords, and only one spiral adorns the corslet – details which are consistently treated differently by the Guglielmi Painter. The animals also show some divergent details.

²³⁵ **205, 207**.

Unusual are also the undulating incisions at the lower borders of some female garments on both **207** and **214**. Here the Guglielmi Painter probably tried to render slender, vertical, fluted folds. Nessos and komasts often have a red torso. Komasts may wear a kind of decorative white ribbon or garland (**224**). The white creatures depicted on the panels of some peploi, like the flying eagles of **199**, have elsewhere been reduced to crosses²³⁶.

Most diced bands have double-lines above and below and either two or three rows of dots (*Figs. 24-25, 29*)²³⁷.

The elements of the festoons in frieze II are rather closely spaced; the central sepal of the lotus may be omitted. On two amphorae the voids in the loops of the stem are white; on one of them red dots have been applied over the white, as seen also on the neck²³⁸. The lotuses of the Florence fragment (**227**) have red central sepals, which is exceptional. By contrast, the festoons of the hydriai are more loosely spaced and sometimes lack central lotus sepals²³⁹.

The animals are low and short, never elongated; therefore a great many of them fit into the narrow friezes of the amphorae. No other 'Tyrrhenian' painter covers so much of the surface with animals. Commonly the obverse half of frieze II shows five or six animals²⁴⁰, as a rule three sirens between two panthers. Elsewhere on the obverse side the symmetry is less emphatic; on the reverse it is nearly entirely lacking.

The animals display little movement. Action among the animals is limited to the lions attacking a deer on Montpellier 149*bis* (**202**).

The Guglielmi Painter's rams very occasionally resemble those by the Timiades Painter: a painted protuberance for the eye, symmetrical ear, double-stroke from ear to forehead and T-shaped mouth with double horizontal bar²⁴¹. Most rams, however, lack one or all of these details.

The details of the panthers' faces are regularly the same as those of the panthers by earlier 'Tyrrhenian' painters. The facial lines which converge and diverge are exceptional²⁴²; whereas lines converging towards the chin are normal (*Figs. 48, 50*). In addition, as seen on panthers' faces by many later painters, the lines are reduced to a 'Y'²⁴³. The cheeks are incised as full and rounded (*Fig. 48*); and there may be an almond-shaped incision, usually sloppily executed, inside each ear (*Figs. 48, 50*). Further, he-goats may have very hairy heads (*Fig. 49*); and, as in most later 'Tyrrhenian' oeuvres, quadrupeds may have white bellies²⁴⁴. White dots mark the necks of few panthers (*Fig. 50*), as they do the faces of some of panthers by the Pointed-Nose Painter²⁴⁵.

5.6 Inscriptions

In the Guglielmi Painter's inscriptions only the two words on Louvre E 831 (**211**) have meaning: ΔΙΕΣ ΠΟΕΤΕΣ (the first word retrograde, *Fig. 24*), which probably is the artisan's signature: 'ΔΙΕΣ (is) the maker'²⁴⁶. The lettering is thinner and smaller than that of the Guglielmi Painter's other inscriptions. And since all of them are nonsensical, undoubtedly the signature was written by someone else at the Guglielmi Painter's request. As noted by Professor C.J. Ruijgh, the absence of a verb like ΕΠΟΕΣΕΝ is peculiar. The word ΠΟΕΤΕΣ makes one first think of the potter, although the 'solo theory' explained in my second article, if correct, would mean that both functions were carried out by one man.

Apart from **207** and **209**, all the amphorae and hydriai bear inscriptions. These are generally of two kinds, as pointed out by Immerwahr: lengthy ones with many different letters and those of the NONO variety (*Figs. 25, 29*). The latter also appears on amphorae by the Fallow Deer Painter and, occasionally, in Attic black figure outside the 'Tyrrhenian' Group²⁴⁷.

5.7 Relative chronology

Below, I shall first point out the traits in the painting in the *early*, *middle* and *late* periods; then I

²³⁶ **208, 211, 217**.

²³⁷ Two exceptions: **207** (1-2-2) and **216** (3-3-2).

²³⁸ **221** (with red dots, as in the neck festoon) and **224**.

²³⁹ The stem on hydria **229** does not run behind all the elements; for the floral on **230**, see n. 208, above.

²⁴⁰ With a maximum of eight on **216**'s reverse.

²⁴¹ E.g. **201**, frieze IV's obverse.

²⁴² **201**, frieze II's obverse.

²⁴³ E.g. **224**, frieze IV's obverse; and **217**, frieze III's reverse.

²⁴⁴ **204, 213, 215, 216, 219, 224**.

²⁴⁵ On the Guglielmi Painter's **221** and **222**, and the Pointed-Nose Painter's **184**.

²⁴⁶ G.J.M. Bartelink confirms that ΠΟΕΤΕΣ, besides meaning poet, may have the more general meaning of 'maker'. C.J. Ruijgh agrees, observing that the name is ΔΙΕΣ, not ΑΙΕΣ as I thought at first. This personal name is attested several times, e.g. by F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917) 134, and in M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, I, 132f and II, 115. E. Pottier, CVA Louvre 1, pl. 2.4, 10, misreads the second word and mistakenly judges both words as 'Inscriptions simulées'. D. von Bothmer, in *Para*, 39, attributes the amphora not to the Guglielmi Painter but to the Castellani Painter. However, both the style of painting and the features of the shape point to the Guglielmi Painter.

²⁴⁷ Immerwahr, 42. Lengthy ones, e.g., **200** (maximum of 14 letters in one inscription), **201, 202**; and **228** (maximum of 21 letters, to judge from the drawing). The NONO variety, e.g., **204, 205, 210, 217, 218** and hydriai **229** and **231**; see also the Fallow Deer Painter's **243** and **251**. As I noted earlier (1992, 80), NONON also occurs in the Princeton Painter's work.

shall deal with the development of the shape. A note on the hydriai concludes this section.

The *early* amphorae have distinctive neck-festoons with sharply defined silhouettes and careful incising; they may have as many as six elements. The lotuses still have three sepals, and the rings are placed at two different levels. In quality they are comparable to some festoons by the Prometheus Painter. Some of the tongue-bands have more than 40 tongues on one side, which are therefore the most densely packed in the Group. The characteristic couples making love all belong to the early period; the komasts may have hairlines which consist of short vertical strokes. The diced band appears in the *early* period and has three rows of dots. There is a palmette-lotus cross in frieze II. The painting and incising of the animals is precise²⁴⁸; none of the quadrupeds has a white belly. Although this is also seen in later periods, some panthers on *early* work have converging and diverging facial lines. These amphorae bear the longest nonsense inscriptions.

The neck-festoons of the *middle* period are usually much sloppier; the lotus, however, continues to be provided with three sepals. The painting and incising, too, can be very slipshod, for instance as occurs on *Fig. 24*. Diced bands with two dot rows are now common. Most panthers' faces have converging vertical lines and, mainly in this period, almond-shaped incisions in their ears (*Figs. 48, 50*). From now on, quadrupeds may have white bellies. The number of rays falls to a minimum of 13.

Although some or all lotuses of every *late*-period festoon lack the central sepal, the painting and the incising of the festoons have become noticeably revitalized²⁴⁹. The festoons are neater and larger than in the *middle* period and the use of added white has increased (*Fig. 28*) only to accent the animals. The diced bands again have three rows of dots instead of two. The panther's faces show a further reduction in detail: the Y-shaped line is common. The number of rays increases to a maximum of 23. Although much of the painting is executed with more care than in the *middle* period, one easily sees that the Guglielmi Painter increasingly makes use of routine solutions.

The development of the shape is as follows. The *early* amphorae vary little in size; they include the Guglielmi Painter's highest and broadest amphorae. They have high, stiff necks and strongly curving shoulders. All the handles are two-reeded and some have rivet-bars, which appear only in this period. By comparison, the angle between the neck and shoulder of most *middle*-period amphorae is smoother. Body diameters have decreased and there are equal numbers of two-reeded, standard and circular-section handles²⁵⁰.

Some *late*-period amphorae again show the sharper angle between neck and shoulder, as seen in the *early* period. More often, however, angularity has generally decreased and the curve from the neck to the shoulder is almost continuous. The handles are of either the standard or the circular-section variety²⁵¹. The treatment of the rim during the *middle* and *late* periods is remarkable. Seven rims are horizontally ribbed, as in *Fig. 25*; five of them belong to the *middle* period, two to the *late* period. Four rims have painted decoration; one from the *middle* period, three are *late*. In sum: going from the *middle* to the *late* period the artisan replaced plastic ribs with painted decoration.

Lastly, the hydriai. The one in the Roman market (228) seems to be earlier than Leiden PC 44 (229). The very long inscriptions suggest that it goes in the *early* period, to which such inscriptions on the Guglielmi Painter's amphorae are largely confined. In turn, 229 and the Tokyo hydria (230) seem to precede Louvre E 870 (231): on each, the lotus still has three sepals and the handles are provided with imitation nails, a detail not repeated on Louvre E 870, which presumably may be assigned to the Guglielmi Painter's *late* period.

6 THE FALLOW DEER PAINTER

6.1 Introduction

The painter's name, established by D. von Bothmer, refers to the many deer with white dots on the back²⁵². The oeuvre numbers 22 vases: 17 normal neck-amphorae, fragments of two amphorae, a large neck-amphora, a column-krater and a volute-krater²⁵³. Six of the attributions are mine; one previously attributed amphora has been deleted.

6.2 Oeuvre

a. Normal amphorae

Early period

232. PARIS, LOUVRE E 846. (*Fig. 34*) ABV 100.77; *Para 38* [D. von Bothmer]

²⁴⁸ Note *e.g.* on 201 the neat curvature of the panther's ribs on the left side of the obverse of frieze II.

²⁴⁹ The fact that central sepals are omitted is not *per se* due to growing carelessness; it more probably reflects the stylistic trend. Kluiver 1993, sections 3.2.3, 3.3.6; and 192, fig. 4.

²⁵¹ On the development of the Guglielmi Painter's painting and potting see also Kluiver 1993, 187.

²⁵² Bothmer 1944, 165, attributing six amphorae and an amphora fragment.

²⁵³ No. 249 was first assigned by D. von Bothmer in 1972 to the Fallow Deer Painter and then reassigned in 1977 to the Pointed-Nose Painter.

233. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10503 (and ex Würzburg 170, fr.). (Fig. 33) *ABV* 101.84; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]
 234. PARIS, LOUVRE E 845. (Fig. 32) *ABV* 102.93; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]

Middle period

235. PARIS, LOUVRE E 847. (Fig. 36) *ABV* 97.23; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
 236. TARQUINIA RC 1043. (Figs. 35, 51) *ABV* 97.32; *Para* 37 [D. von Bothmer]
 237. LONDON B 47. *ABV* 101.88; Moore 1972, 43, No. A 231 [D. von Bothmer]
 238. BASLE MARKET. Hornbostel 1980, no. 48; *MuM* Cat. 63, 29 June 1983, no. 20; Carpenter 1984, n. 48 [D. von Bothmer]
 239. BRUSSELS, JLT 123. Kluiver 1992, no. 11, figs. 48-56, 67; Heesen, no. 1; *Mededelingenblad* Amsterdam 66-67, 1996, no. 1 [D. von Bothmer]
 240. BRUSSELS, JLT 168. (Fig. 52) Kluiver 1992, no. 10, figs. 38-47, 66; Heesen, no. 2; *Mededelingenblad* Amsterdam 66-67, 1996, no. 2 [author]

Late period

241. MUNICH 1428. *ABV* 98.40; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26; Carpenter 1991, fig. 226 [D. von Bothmer]
 242. MUNICH 1429. *ABV* 100.76; *Para* 38; *Add²* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
 243. MUNICH 1430. *ABV* 101.92; *Add²* 27; Johnston, 120, no. 5 [author]
 244. BASLE MARKET. Hornbostel 1980, 73-75, no. 49. [D. von Bothmer]
 245. BOLLIGEN, BLATTER COLLECTION, fragmentary. Blatter, figs. 1-2 (Bothmer in n. 4: 'Castellani Painter', and in Carpenter 1983, 286 and n. 32: 'Fallow Deer Painter') [D. von Bothmer]
 246. BOLLIGEN, BLATTER COLLECTION, fragmentary. (Fig. 53) Blatter, figs. 4-5; Carpenter 1983, n. 32 [D. von Bothmer]
 247. HOUSTON, MENIL FOUNDATION (on loan to Rice University). Hoffmann, 342f, no. 165 [D. von Bothmer]
 248. NEW YORK MARKET. *One Thousand Years of Ancient Greek Vases from Greece, Etruria & Southern Italy*, Cat. Royal-Athena Galleries, no. 66, *Art of the Ancient World*, Vol. VI, Part 1, November 1990, 8, no. 27.

b. Fragments

249. BRUNSWICK, BOWDOIN COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART 1913.25.1-3, fr. *ABV* 100.71; *Add²* 27; Bothmer in Moore 1972, 43: 'Fallow Deer Painter'; Bothmer 1977, 264: 'Pointed-Nose Painter' [author]
 250. PARIS, LOUVRE C 12070, 2 fr. (Boîte B). IA, part woman(?), penguin woman, leg and foot of warrior to r. with two spears; meaningless inscr.; dicing (2-3-2); II, part of palmette-lotus cross. Unpublished [author]

c. Large amphora

251. BERLIN INV. 4841, fragmentary. *ABV* 97.22; Bothmer, in: Moore 1972, 44; Bothmer 1976, 437, and Bothmer 1977, 264: 'Guglielmi Painter' [author]

d. Other forms

252. IZMIR 9634, fr. Volute-krater. Y. Tuna-Nöröling, 'Phokaia Attika Seramiginden Seçmeler', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 59, 1993, pls. 8-9; Y. Tuna-Nöröling, in: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Athenian Potters and Painters, Athens, 1-3.12.1994* (forthcoming) [author]
 253. MALIBU 86.AE.112, fragmentary. Column-krater. CVA 1, pls. 50.1-2, 51.1-2 [D. von Bothmer]

e. Reattributed amphora

- PARIS, LOUVRE C 10504 (and C 10696). Guglielmi Painter (223).

6.3 Decorative schemes

Like the Guglielmi Painter, the Fallow Deer Painter also sometimes decorated the rim (Figs. 33-34)²⁵⁴. Long palmette-lotus festoons, commonly with seven or eight elements, adorn the necks of almost all his amphorae (Figs. 32-34). About half the festoons are bordered by a horizontal line above and below; the others have a line only across the top. Once ivy replaces the tongues above the main frieze (249), as also occurs on an amphora by the Pointed-Nose Painter (183).

The lower border of the main frieze is at the point of the body's greatest diameter or, which is very unusual, slightly lower (Fig. 32)²⁵⁵. A diced band below the main frieze is the rule; once there is ivy instead (249), and once a double-line (237)²⁵⁶. Single lines divide the two lower friezes, which are usually filled with animals²⁵⁷. Without parallel in the Group are the double base-rays of the amphora in the New York market (248)²⁵⁸.

The large amphora Berlin 4841 (251) has three lower friezes instead of two; while the Izmir volute-krater (252) has two narrow friezes on the rim and one between its main frieze and the base-rays. Under each handle of the Malibu column-krater (253) there is 'a pair of reserved triangles, presumably rudimentary apotropaic eyes'²⁵⁹.

6.4 Subjects and decoration

Most subjects are the usual ones seen in the 'Tyrrenian' Group, although a degree of individual

²⁵⁴ Tongues: 232, 233, 240. Lotus buds: 248 and the large amphora 251. The top side of 240's rim is unpainted.

²⁵⁵ Lower e.g. on 234, 238, 239.

²⁵⁶ The diced bands are of the 2-3-2 or the 2-2-2 variety.

²⁵⁷ There are one or more double-lines on 233, 234, 245, 247, 248. There are three lower friezes on 244 and 247. A festoon fills frieze II of 238, a horse-race fills frieze II on 249.

²⁵⁸ For other, Attic and non-Attic, work with double rays see Mommsen, 28-31. The Fallow Deer Painter was possibly influenced by the Amasis Painter or the Affecter.

²⁵⁹ CVA Malibu 1, 50.

preference is discernible. Often the Fallow Deer Painter portrayed complex and simple fights on the obverse, among which the duel between Achilles and Memnon again figures prominently (*Figs.* 32-33), and on the reverse horse-races. Elsewhere we see a Calydonian Boar hunt, a wedded pair in a chariot and Herakles fighting one or more centaurs or Amazons, or rescuing Deianeira from Nessos. On the other hand, the oeuvre contains the Group's only gigantomachy which includes Herakles, and a remarkable representation of the death of Tityos (*Fig.* 35)²⁶⁰. In another notable scene two females and two males shoot arrows at three hoplites (*Fig.* 36)²⁶¹. The Fallow Deer Painter's picture of Eriphyle's death, on Berlin 4841 (251), is one of the most impressive of all figure scenes by any of the 'Tyrrhenian' painters.

In the subsidiary friezes there are occasionally scenes of human figures or humans among the animals: a horse-race (249), a horse-race and a symposium (251), repeated on the volute-krater (252), and animals and two females (242).

Among the subsidiary creatures we find many with wings: sirens, standing and squatting sphinxes and swans. Panthers and, of course, deer are also numerous. All other kinds of animal and creature are uncommon or absent.

6.5 Characteristics

The neck-festoons have more elements than any in the Group. In most of them, the rings, very small, are situated at the same level, and the lotuses are higher and lower than the palmettes, which remain confined to the area around the halfway point of the neck (*Figs.* 32-34)²⁶². In these disorderly, one might say, 'agitated', festoons, parts of the stem seem to form a chain. It is also very characteristic that some palmettes have perfectly smooth semicircular contours²⁶³. Other festoons are more conventional: the rings are placed at two levels and the palmettes have slightly lobbed contours²⁶⁴. In each of these varieties lotuses may lack the central sepal²⁶⁵.

There are three noteworthy aspects of the composition of the scenes in the main friezes. Many are very asymmetrical. On Louvre E 845 (*Fig.* 32, 234) a woman stands to the left of the central group of Achilles, Memnon and their mothers, whereas there is a horseman on the right²⁶⁶. The Basle market amphora (238) shows combatants both in the centre and on the left, whereas onlookers occupy the right side. Brussels JLT 168 (240) has combatants on the left and a warrior chasing a centaur on the right. Behind the central group of Herakles and Nessos on Munich 1428 (241), Athena stands with three conversing people; on the right an armed

centaur charges. Second, some of the battle scenes are of the type found on an amphora by the Castellani Painter (151) and on one by the Guglielmi Painter (226): two groups of combatants meet each other in the centre²⁶⁷. Third, a horse-race may show an element not included in any other 'Tyrrhenian' portrayals of the theme: a woman with a spear (Athena?) on Louvre E 845 (234) and flying birds on Munich 1428 (241).

Within the 'Tyrrhenian' Group the Fallow Deer Painter renders human movement most convincingly. Warriors, including Herakles, regularly run or jump through the air, with legs far apart, frequently landing on the calf of their adversary²⁶⁸. The defeated warriors may kneel with one or both legs bent back under the buttocks while holding their shields behind them (*Figs.* 33-34, 36). The Fallow Deer Painter made regular use of the pose, which finds a parallel within the Group only on an amphora by the Kyllenios Painter (who may therefore have been influenced by the Fallow Deer Painter)²⁶⁹. Most warriors are naked; others wear short chitons; only a few are equipped with corslets (*Figs.* 32-33, 36). Sword grips may have round knobs, resembling spoons²⁷⁰, as in the Guglielmi Painter's work. At least seven heroic or divine figures by the Fallow Deer Painter are armed with bows and arrows, which is an exceptionally high number (*Figs.* 35-36)²⁷¹. The crests and holders of many helmets are higher than usual in the Group (*Figs.* 35-36)²⁷².

Herakles always wears the lion's head as helmet and the skin's dangling legs are always placed next to each other²⁷³. On the volute-krater (252) Herakles

²⁶⁰ Also the Prometheus Painter's 27.

²⁶¹ Beazley, *ABV* 97.23, notes: 'uncertain subject (Gigantomachy: Apollo and Artemis with Giants).' K. Schauenburg, in *Jdl* 85, 1970, 39, suggests that Apollo and Artemis are each depicted twice.

²⁶² Rings at one level; e.g. 237, 247, 248.

²⁶³ E.g. 235, 242, 248.

²⁶⁴ 236, 238-240.

²⁶⁵ The festoon on the reverse of 233 looks different because the painter has used a thick brush.

²⁶⁶ In addition, the numbers of onlookers on the left and the right side of a scene differ, but this occurs commonly in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group.

²⁶⁷ 232, 235, 242.

²⁶⁸ For warriors see e.g. 238-240, 249, 251; for Herakles see e.g. 247. See also Apollo and Artemis on 236, and the figures on the right side of 251's obverse.

²⁶⁹ Fallow Deer Painter: 233, 235, 238, 247, 249, 252; Kyllenios Painter: 109.

²⁷⁰ E.g. the Fallow Deer Painter: 237, 239, 242 (both in white), 249, 251, 252.

²⁷¹ 235, 236, 248. A female on 251's obverse may hold a bow or snake; cf. Thiersch, 57, and Mayer-Emmerling, 102f.

²⁷² E.g. 234.

²⁷³ This fact contradicts the development proposed by Bothmer 1957, 12f, and repeated by Mayer-Emmerling, 41, who writes:

steps on the Amazon's calf and grasps her crest holder; in the same manner the warriors on **249** and **251** dispatch their enemies.

The komasts on Munich 1430 (**243**) and the Malibu column-krater (**253**) have similarly shaped hands on which thumbs and fingers may be equally long. Some details of the garments stand out. The himatia of the Niobe on Tarquinia RC 1043 (*Fig. 35*, **236**) and the woman behind the centaur on Brussels JLT 168 (**240**) fall down on both sides of the arm. As the reader has probably noticed, one of the most popular articles of clothing in the Group is the short garment or dress with vertical panel-band; interestingly, in this oeuvre the panel-band adorns only the longer peplos²⁷⁴.

There is also noteworthy incising. Typical are the tightly fitting helmets resembling old-fashioned bathing caps which correspond with the silhouette of the head and have only the lower edge incised (*Fig. 36*)²⁷⁵. Incised scales adorn many shields, inside or out (*Fig. 34*), and whirligig blazons are common; two small palmettes may mark the ends of the *porpax* (*Fig. 34*)²⁷⁶. These armbands, all narrow, are almost never incised over the arm, as would be logical, but appear instead to be overlapped by the arm (*Figs. 33-34, 36*). Many helmets have double strokes along their lower front side and a small curve near the corner behind the eye²⁷⁷. Sheaths, often hatched, hang from baldrics consisting of two crinkly lines. Corslets may have a single large incised spiral on the upper half and a vertical stroke and a curve on the lower half²⁷⁸. Although most of these traits are individually found in the work of other 'Tyrrhenian' artisans, their particular combination is characteristic for the Fallow Deer Painter. The eared helmet on Brussels JLT 168 (**240**) is unique in the group; note also the guards on a warrior's thigh on Brussels JLT 168 and the rows of small circles on the thighs of warriors on the Basle market amphora (**238**), Brussels JLT 168 (**240**) and the Malibu krater (**253**)²⁷⁹.

With respect to the portrayal of the human body, the following may be remarked. Many eyes of males are large circles with simple or triangular tear ducts. Some ears of males vaguely recall those which are characteristic for the Castellani Painter, who was perhaps influential: see the bridegroom's ear on **245** and the ear of the dead warrior on **238**. On amphora **248** Herakles and the centaurs have moustaches; and long strands of hair emerge from underneath many helmets (*Fig. 35*)²⁸⁰. On many torsos one nipple is incised, with a short curve below; and the phalli are incised more naturalistically than occurs in other oeuvres, where they are more simply formed, like the number 3 with a flat top.

Further, I draw attention to the large incised rosette on short chitons (*Fig. 36*)²⁸¹, and to the borders and crest holders consisting of small incised squares filled with tiny circles²⁸². Nearly always vertical incising marks the forelocks of horses (*Figs. 32-33*)²⁸³.

Oblique lines may be incised over textile or other surfaces, alternating with red stripes (*Figs. 33, 35*). This kind of decoration appears not only on various garments (himatia, chitons showing from underneath corslets, peploi, cloths covering syposiasts) but on sheaths and horses' manes, see for instance Louvre E 845 (*Fig. 32, 234*). Thiersch remarks that the 'lines and stripes' on the garments of **233** and **236** are details which appear more commonly in later Attic black-figure painting²⁸⁴.

Remarkable blazons are the side-view heads of he-goats near the rims of profile shields (*Fig. 32*), calling to mind the Castellani Painter's white blazons on **143**, **180** and **181**²⁸⁵. White clove-shaped spots enliven many horses.

The subsidiary animals by the Fallow Deer Painter can easily be recognized, especially the panthers whose heads may be especially small (*Fig. 33*). Heads, necks and ears of most fallow deer are thin and long (*Figs. 34, 52*)²⁸⁶; some have impressive antlers (*Figs. 33, 51*)²⁸⁷.

Cocks standing turned to the right may have triangular tails, as on **239**²⁸⁸. Many sphinxes and swans

'Die Hinterbeine... fallen erst parallel zwischen den Beinen des Herakles herab, dann wird je eins vor und hinter dem vorgezogenen Bein des Helden sichtbar.'

²⁷⁴ **234, 239, 245, 251.**

²⁷⁵ Especially **235**.

²⁷⁶ Scales: **232, 237, 239, 240, 242, 253**. Whirligigs: **239, 246-248**. Incised scales, of course, also appear in contemporaneous work made outside the Group; e.g. a belly amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (Schefold 1978, 106, fig. 132). Palmettes: **232-234, 240, 249**.

²⁷⁷ Helmets showing both details: **237, 239, 247, 249, 251, 233, 234**.

²⁷⁹ For literature on thigh guards see Schauenburg 1965, n. 21. For the incised circles see n. 190, above.

²⁸⁰ **236, 238, 239, 242, 249, 252, 253.**

²⁸¹ **235, 251.**

²⁸² **235, 238, 239, 249, 251**; and a *porpax* on **237**.

²⁸³ E.g. **236, 244**.

²⁸⁴ Thiersch, 123: 'Am lehrreichsten ist hier wieder das Exemplar in [Tarquinia (**236**)] das auf den Mänteln der Leto und Niobe sogar schon die langen roten aufgemalten Streifen zeigt, die sonst erst den ganz spätf. Stil angehören.' See e.g. work by the Antimenes Painter (Schefold 1978, 170, fig. 223 or a vase in the Leagros Group (*idem*, 233, fig. 312). See also the oblique red lines on an onlooker's mantle on **243**.

²⁸⁵ Fallow Deer Painter: **234, 251** (warrior with rosettes on chiton).

²⁸⁶ E.g. the reverse of **233, 234**. They strongly resemble the deer by the Painter of Amsterdam 2148; see e.g. Brijder 1983, pl. 59d, and Brijder 1991, pls. 166d-f.

²⁸⁷ **232, 233, 236, 241, 247.**

²⁸⁸ Cocks combined with a lotus bud, as on this amphora, recur on **235**.

spread their wings upward, in such a way that they overlap.

Some incised details of the animals are also particular to the Fallow Deer Painter. Panthers may have 'sleepy' eyes (Fig. 52); these eyes are not circular but consist of two bent lines²⁸⁹. On the faces of panthers the two vertical lines may be parallel, with or without extra whiskers, as on Louvre C 10503 (233, Cf. Figs. 51 and 52) or they may converge and diverge, as on the amphora in Houston (247). A detail not seen elsewhere in 'Tyrrhenian' is one or two curves on the forehead combined with two downward diverging lines as on 245-246 (Fig. 53). Some quadrupeds have double-lines indicating the shoulder²⁹⁰; and, finally, the Fallow Deer Painter gave a siren long strands of hair (240), as seen on many warriors.

There may be two red zones instead of one on the spread wings of sirens (236, 248). Added white indicates the rows of dots on the backs of deer²⁹¹, a zone on some panthers' faces²⁹² as in the work of the Castellani Painter and Pointed-Nose Painter, the stripes along the bellies of quadrupeds²⁹³, clove-shaped spots on their flanks, and, occasionally, rams' horns²⁹⁴.

The rays, finally, are thin, low and numerous: from 25-40, with a high average of about 30 per amphora. Only the two-tier rays of 248 are triangular.

6.6 Inscriptions

Inscriptions, all meaningless, appear on almost every vase, with a slight preference for the obverse. T.H. Carpenter has observed that they were probably written by different hands²⁹⁵. He also maintains that there are some non-Attic letterforms in 'Tyrrhenian' nonsense inscriptions, for instance the *vau*. Immerwahr, however, calls this letter U-shaped digamma, regards it as being an Attic letterform and observes that it is characteristic of the Fallow Deer Painter's nonsense inscriptions²⁹⁶; but it seems to me, and Professor C.J. Ruijgh agrees with me, that the letter is a carelessly written kappa, as illustrated, for instance, in Fig. 36²⁹⁷.

6.7 Relative chronology

My reconstruction of the chronology is mainly based on three criteria: the development of the neck festoon, the amount of natural movement displayed by the figures in the main frieze and the details of the panthers' faces²⁹⁸.

In *early* work the festoons are particularly easy to recognize: the rings are painted very close to the halfway point of the neck, lotuses have three sepals, and the palmettes have short leaves. The single exception is seen on the reverse of 234; both festoons of this amphora are detailed and very precisely painted.

The figures of the main friezes appear to move rather unnaturally. They walk or stand, the stiff legs apart, sink on a knee with the knees bent in straight angles, or sink backward on a heel. Panthers have two converging lines across the face, some extra incised lines for whiskers, and 'sleepy' eyes.

The earliest amphora seems to be 234. In addition to having neat festoons and rigid figures in the main frieze, many figures have incised contours (Fig. 32).

Most of the *middle*-period work is interesting and attractive. Four of these amphorae, showing the best painting and incising of later 'Tyrrhenian', bear the conventional variety of festoon on the neck²⁹⁹. The *early* variety of festoon continues in use during the *middle* period, though more sloppily painted, side by side with the newer one³⁰⁰. The lotus in both varieties still has three sepals.

The figures in the main friezes of most *middle*-period amphorae take giant steps (warriors, 238, 239; Herakles, 240; pursuers and the pursued, 236; attackers, Figs. 35-36). The outlines of many figures on 236 are incised, but the scene is too well depicted to be *early* (Fig. 35 and the heads on Fig. 51). The higher quality of the painting and the movements of the warriors on 249 and 251 make it almost certain that they also belong to the *middle* period.

Further, during this period panthers most often continue to have 'sleepy' eyes (Fig. 52), two converging vertical lines, and additional incisions for whiskers. On 237 and 239 there are panthers whose converging lines diverge again and their eyes are circular; as shall be argued below, these are the latest amphorae of the *middle* period. The panther below the conversing men on the left side of the

²⁸⁹ E.g. 232-234, 236, 239, 240.

²⁹⁰ 240, 247, 248. Some animals in the main friezes may also have a double-line marking the shoulder; e.g. the boar on 238, centaurs on 240, 248, and several horses.

²⁹¹ E.g. 247.

²⁹² 242-244.

²⁹³ 241-243.

²⁹⁴ Cloves: 242. White ram's horn: 235, 242.

²⁹⁵ Carpenter 1984, n. 48.

²⁹⁶ Immerwahr, 43.

²⁹⁷ The letter is often combined with iota; therefore these nonsense words resemble other 'words' on amphorae by the Pointed-Nose Painter, for which see Section 4.6, above. See the curved K2 on p. 66 of L.H. Jeffery - A.W. Johnston, *The Local Script of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1990.

²⁹⁸ Amphorae with tongues or buds on the rim are not restricted to a specific phase, as we saw in the Guglielmi Painter's oeuvre, but are spread over the painter's career.

²⁹⁹ 236, 238-240. The rings are arranged on two levels, further apart from each other than usual in the oeuvre; see Section 6.3, above. These are probably by the Fallow Deer Painter because such smoothly contoured palmettes, which do not occur in other 'Tyrrhenian' oeuvres, appear also on 236's obverse.

³⁰⁰ 235, 237.

obverse scene of **239** is the Group's most elastic and muscular animal.

We can recognize *late* amphorae by the fact that the lotuses are not provided with central sepals and that the palmettes have perfectly smooth contours, apart from **244**. Only **241** still shows the variety of festoon which appeared in the *middle* period.

The Fallow Deer Painter's mature work can be seen in the lithe and varied movements of the figures in the main friezes of the *late* amphorae **247** and **248**; however, other *late* work shows a marked decline. Lastly, all *late* panthers have circular eyes (Fig. 53); in most cases the vertical lines on the face converge and diverge. The somewhat different details on **245** and **246** (Fig. 53) are closest to the *late* variety because of the circular panthers' eyes and the diverging lines on their faces³⁰¹.

7 THE DATING OF THE LATER PAINTERS

7.1 Introduction

In my previous article I suggested that the Prometheus Painter invented the 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphora and argued that he probably worked from 570/565 to c. 555. By comparison, the Timiades Painter and the Goltyr Painter started a bit later, both working from c. 565 to c. 550. I refer to the work of these three artisans as *early* 'Tyrrhenian'³⁰².

In the following discussion of the *later* 'Tyrrhenian' painters it will become clear that, to a great extent, they chronologically overlap the three *early* painters. The Kyllenios Painter probably began his career towards 560, somewhat later than the Timiades Painter and the Goltyr Painter, and he may have continued until the years immediately after the mid-century. The Castellani Painter, Guglielmi Painter and Fallow Deer Painter are a bit later; they probably worked from c. 560 to c. 545. Although the Pointed-Nose Painter was a late starter, he stopped at about the same time as the other later painters, probably working from c. 555 to c. 545 B.C.

The criteria for dating the later 'Tyrrhenian' painters are set out directly below, followed in Sections 7.2-6 by discussions of the chronology of each painter.

My starting point is the fact that many lotuses in the festoons, on the necks and below the main frieze, have two sepals instead of three. It seems that only the Castellani Painter invariably included the third, central, sepal; whereas the four other later 'Tyrrhenian' painters frequently omitted it. For several reasons, almost all the amphorae by those four painters can be placed in their *late* periods. In my opinion, this fact can be taken as a general reference point for the late periods of these four painters.

More than once it has been noted that the reduction in the number of sepals, from three to two sepals, in Attic black-figure lotuses starts before 550 B.C.³⁰³; H. Mommsen observes that even some lotuses on the François vase (570/565) lack central sepals³⁰⁴. E. Kunze-Götte however, commenting on the Guglielmi Painter's amphora Munich 1433 (**216**), suggests that the central sepal in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group's lotuses is not omitted before c. 550: 'Deutlich zeigt das Ornament den sich um die Jahrhundertmitte vollziehende Übergang von den dreiblättrigen zur zweiblättrigen Lotosblüte'³⁰⁵. It needs to be emphasized that the later 'Tyrrhenian' painters adhered to a decorative scheme which goes back to the century's first quarter³⁰⁶, so that by about 550 their work would have been old-fashioned. Therefore I doubt that they were inclined quickly to adopt a new trend in Attic black-figure like the two-sepal lotus; instead they would more likely have stuck to the older formula for a longer time, conforming to the practice of the majority of Attic black-figure painters. And since the two-sepal lotus occurs only rarely in Attic black-figure before the middle of the century, it seems most likely that it was not adopted by our 'Tyrrhenian' painters before that time, *i.e.* c. 550 B.C. The Amasis Painter may be taken as an example: all his amphorae with three-sepal lotuses are dated to c. 560-550; whereas those with two sepals are dated to c. 550 or later³⁰⁷.

With this in mind, I conclude that the absence of lotuses with three sepals on the amphorae assigned to the *late* periods of the Kyllenios Painter, Pointed-Nose Painter, Guglielmi Painter and Fallow Deer Painter indicates that the *late* period of most of them must have begun no earlier than about 550 B.C.

The oeuvre of the Castellani Painter and the *early* and *middle* periods of the other four painters are dated by other features. Rare combinations of subjects on the obverse and the reverse occur in the

³⁰¹ Also favouring a *late* date for **245** are the moustaches of Hermes, the bridegroom and Dionysos, repeated only on the centaurs and the Herakles of the *late* amphora **248**.

³⁰² Kluiver 1995, 80, Section 6.1.2.

³⁰³ Boardman and Schweizer in 'Clay Analyses of Archaic Greek Pottery', *BSA* 68, 1973, 281: 'The lotus has a central leaf [sepal] or spike. This is normal in Attic down to about 550, already being omitted often by that date.' Boardman 1980, 203, suggests that the central sepal may be already omitted around 560.

³⁰⁴ Mommsen 1975, 38, n. 201, with further references; see *Vaso François*, figs. 106-107, 112-113.

³⁰⁵ *CVA* Munich 7, 22.

³⁰⁶ See Kluiver 1995, 78f.

³⁰⁷ Bothmer 1985, *passim* and 239. Interestingly, Bothmer 1985 dates the Amasis Painter's olpai with three-sepal lotuses to the painter's middle period (c. 550-530).

work of more than one painter. Comparisons of some stylistic details are also useful. Sometimes it seems that one painter influenced another, or that two painters were literally working in close proximity to each other. Lastly, some black-figure painters from outside the 'Tyrrhenian' Group are taken into account.

7.2 The Kyllenios Painter

The Kyllenios Painter has sometimes been associated with the Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter and Goltyr Painter, the initiators of the Group³⁰⁸. It seems to me, however, that his *late* work, which, as noted, shows two-sepal lotuses, should in part be dated to the 540s. And because his extant oeuvre numbers only 18 amphora, being one of the Group's smallest oeuvres, it seems most probable that he did not work for a longer period than did the Timiades Painter and the Goltyr Painter who, as I argue in my previous article, worked from c. 565-550 B.C.³⁰⁹. Both these observations make me suppose that he probably started his career shortly after c. 565. Furthermore, there are indications that the beginning of the Kyllenios Painter's career occurs some time during the Prometheus Painter's *middle* period, towards 560³¹⁰. An *early* amphora by the Kyllenios Painter (105) and a *middle*-period by the latter (11), c. 565-560, show the same combination of Herakles and Nessos on the obverse and galloping centaurs on the reverse. Some chronological overlap is also evident, for example, from the combination of peplos and himation which is characteristic attire of the Prometheus Painter's figures³¹¹. The influence of the Fallow Deer Painter on the Kyllenios Painter's amphora 109 provides no assistance in dating the latter's oeuvre because the distinctive pose of falling warriors holding a shield behind their backs occurs in all periods of the Fallow Deer Painter's career. It simply suggests an overlap in time. A last argument concerns the influence that the Kyllenios Painter seems to have had on his earlier colleague the Prometheus Painter. This influence is discernible during the Prometheus Painter's *late* period when, like the Kyllenios Painter, he incised a spearhead over a warrior's shield (21) and painted double-lines between friezes (22bis). If the Kyllenios Painter began his career much earlier than shortly before 560, we might expect to see these or other correspondences also in the Prometheus Painter's *middle* period. In conclusion, the Kyllenios Painter was probably active from near 560 down to the first years of the second half of the century.

7.3 The Castellani Painter

The *very early* and *early* periods of the Castellani Painter have many affinities with the oeuvres of

the Prometheus Painter and the Goltyr Painter. The relation with the former is interesting but relatively less important because the details we find in the work of both painters, like the additional sections of stems at ends of festoons on the neck, and, above all, lions showing their tongues, as on 129 by the Castellani Painter, occur throughout the Prometheus Painter's career. Therefore they are useless for the dating of the Castellani Painter's periods. On the other hand, they strongly suggest that the two painters worked in each other's proximity for quite some time.

The link with the Goltyr Painter, however, is more informative. That painter's typical type of ram's mouth during his *late* period, consisting of horizontally incised lines, is paralleled in the Castellani Painter's *very early* and *early* periods, but not later³¹². The correspondence seems therefore to indicate that not only did the respective periods of the two painters overlap in part but also that the Castellani Painter's *very early* period may have begun more or less at the same time as the Goltyr Painter's *late* period, that is, c. 560³¹³.

A starting date of c. 560 seems also to apply to the *very early* amphora 123 which has the remarkable panthers with tails emerging between the thigh and haunch; comparable panthers are found on an unattributed neck-amphora, Malibu 86.AE.53, which Shapiro associates with Lydos and which he also places at c. 560³¹⁴.

It also seems significant that details of the Castellani Painter's *early* amphora 145 find parallels in early work by Lydos, dated by Tiverios from shortly before 560 to c. 555. These include the contour of the elbow visible underneath one of the onlooker's himation, the barber's-pole stripes on

³⁰⁸ E.g. Bothmer 1977, 264, and Immerwahr, 41-42. Carpenter 1983, 280 and n. 5, is not certain that the painter is one of the earliest. Mayer-Emmerling, 159, writes about the dinos fragments in the Blatter collection (Section 2.8, above): 'Aus der Hand des Kyllenios-Malers stammt die älteste Tyrrhenische Arbeit'. However, as we have seen in that section, the dinos, in my opinion, is not by the Kyllenios Painter.

³⁰⁹ Kluiver 1995, 81-83.

³¹⁰ Fewer vases seem to have been made in the Kyllenios Painter's *early* period. Although it parallels the Prometheus Painter's *middle* period, it begins slightly later.

³¹¹ Kluiver 1995, 62 and fig. 31. See also n. 308, above.

³¹² A similar influence is seen in the Timiades Painter's *late* period (c. 555-550), when occasional rams with that kind of mouth occur.

³¹³ In Kluiver 1995, 82, the Goltyr Painter's work is dated in its entirety to c. 565-550; however, dates are not proposed for each of the three periods. If we take into account the small number of vases from his *early* and *middle* periods, it seems reasonable that these two periods date to c. 565-560; and his *late* period (in which many more amphorae seem to have been made) is c. 560-550 B.C.

³¹⁴ See Section 3.5, above.

his garment and several hands indicated by an incised spiral. In addition, another early piece by Lydos – neck-amphora Florence 70995 – may be cited.

It shows, on one shoulder, a symposium and, on the other shoulder, the Judgement of Paris, with a small owl between the legs of Hermes, two subjects which appear in the Castellani Painter's *very early* and *early* periods but which are not attested in the oeuvre of any other 'Tyrrhenian' painter³¹⁵. Moreover, the sole owl in the Group, as mentioned, appears on an *early* amphora by the Castellani Painter (131)³¹⁶. Presumably the Castellani Painter and Lydos knew each other's work at the beginning of their careers.

Therefore, since we must allot some time from c. 560 onwards for the *very early* work of the Castellani Painter, I propose that his *early* period partly overlaps the early period of Lydos, that it started before c. 555 and ended before c. 550.

This implies that the painter's *opus magnum*, the large amphora 180, was made somewhat before the mid-century³¹⁷. Such a date is reasonably close to that of a Siana cup in the manner of the Heidelberg Painter, Berlin 3402, assigned by H.A.G. Brijder to 'probably from around or shortly after 550 B.C.'³¹⁸. It has an uncommon detail in the composition, as also occurs on the obverse of 180's neck: one of the duelling warriors step over a slain warrior lying at their feet.

The Castellani Painter's *middle*-period amphorae therefore probably date to around 550, and his *late* work to the rest of the first half of the 540s. That the *late* work was made after 550 B.C. seems to be supported by Thiersch, who remarks with regard to 160 that the combination of a black band and a lotus band above the rays foreshadows the scheme of the newer type of neck-amphorae decorated with volutes and palmettes below the handles³¹⁹.

I would argue that the Castellani Painter stopped manufacturing pottery in about 545. Somewhat later, towards 540, painters learned how to portray foreshortened blazons on profile shields; however, these are not found in the Castellani Painter's extant *late* work, whereas a blazon on one of his *late* amphorae (181) is rendered in profile³²⁰.

In sum, the Castellani Painter work may be assigned to c. 560-545.

7.4 The Pointed-Nose Painter

As described above, rams' heads by the Pointed-Nose Painter, although they may have truncated muzzles, resemble those by the Timiades Painter. Despite the fact that the details of rams' heads hardly changed during the Timiades Painter's career, the correspondence can be used to date the

work of the Pointed-Nose Painter more precisely. Since the Pointed-Nose Painter, with an extant oeuvre of 16 amphorae, seems to have been the Group's least productive artisan, he cannot have been active longer than or even as long as the Timiades Painter. Further, since the Pointed-Nose Painter's *late* work – and perhaps some of his *middle*-period work – probably dates to the years after 550 B.C., it seems acceptable to suppose that the two painters worked in each other's proximity during the Timiades Painter's *late* period, c. 555 to 550 B.C. Therefore we may conclude that the Pointed-Nose Painter began his career in c. 555, and that his *middle* and *late* periods fall around 550 B.C.

There are other links suggesting that the career of the Pointed-Nose Painter spans the years shortly before and after 550. As remarked, resemblances can be noted between the Pointed-Nose Painter's *middle*-period amphorae and work by the Painter of Berlin 1686, dated c. 550. Especially the scenes in which Hermes appears twice are probably uncommon enough for the purpose of dating³²¹. In addition, the Painter of Berlin 1686 may adorn female garments with alternating red and black vertical zones, rather similar to attire by the Pointed-Nose Painter, and both painters may portray fallen warriors covered by their shields. Note also that both painters may or may not provide their lotuses with central sepals.

A relation with the Fallow Deer Painter is unmistakable. Since we can identify at least one association with the Fallow Deer Painter in each of the Pointed-Nose Painter's three periods, it can be concluded that the two painters worked close to each other for the greater part of their careers. The ivy-borders below the main friezes of an *early* amphora

³¹⁵ Mayer-Emmerling, 167, thinks that the Castellani Painter may have copied the Judgement of Paris from Lydos' columnkrater in the British Museum, 1948.10-15.1 (Tiverios, pl. 8a).

³¹⁶ The Castellani Painter's symposia may go back to work by the Omaha Painter, which Shapiro, 29, calls a 'slightly older contemporary of Lydos, who exerted an important influence on him.' According to Moon, 41, the Omaha Painter's name-vase (CVA Omaha 1, pls. 10-11), was once thought to be by the Castellani Painter.

³¹⁷ Cf. Carpenter 1991, fig. 267.

³¹⁸ Brijder 1991, 433.

³¹⁹ Thiersch, 66, no. 60. The buds are of an early variety: upright, every other bud connected, alternately closed and open, the open ones with white centres, the others outlined in red, two short horizontal incisions below each bud. They are not too far from the Affecter's *type 1* which occurs only in his early work: see Mommsen, 34. A lotus band is also found on 181 by the Castellani Painter.

³²⁰ The blazons on Lydos' late oinochoe Berlin 1732 (towards 540) are foreshortened. See Tiverios, pl. 57b; Boardman 1980, fig. 68.

³²¹ Pointed-Nose Painter: 186. For the work of the Painter of Berlin 1686 see Moon, 54, no. 32.

by the Pointed-Nose Painter (183) and a *middle*-period amphora by the Fallow Deer Painter (249) are extremely uncommon and may therefore indicate a date of c. 555 for both amphorae. The sleepy panthers' eyes, described above, frequently appearing in the Fallow Deer Painter's *early* and *middle* periods, are also once seen on a *middle*-period amphora by the Pointed-Nose Painter (192). Lastly, the curious white markings of panthers' faces, also described above, are features of the *late* work of both painters; and with one or two exceptions, all the amphorae with such panthers also have two-sepal lotuses.

In short, the Pointed-Nose Painter probably worked from about 555 to 545 B.C.

7.5 The Guglielmi Painter

The Guglielmi Painter's *early* period may be dated to c. 560 and slightly later. His komoi with erotic elements bear resemblances to such scenes by the Timiades Painter and the Prometheus Painter, but appear, however, to be stylistically a bit later because the figures display greater agility and the three-quarter and side views of torsos are more skillfully rendered. As I argued in my previous article, both the Prometheus Painter and the Timiades Painter probably began to depict such scenes between c. 565 and 560³²². The Guglielmi Painter's *early* and *middle* periods, it would therefore seem, date to c. 560-550 B.C.

The dating of the painter's *late* work to the period 550-545 allows for this suggestion.

In addition, the incised details in the panthers' face continue, in part, to be related to such details in the faces of panthers by the *early* 'Tyrrhenian' painters, as we have already noted³²³.

A final reason for dating the late period to the 540s is found in the period's nonsensical inscription NONON which reappears on an amphora by the Princeton Painter whose work, according to J. Boardman, 'occupies the third quarter of the sixth century'³²⁴.

In conclusion, the Guglielmi Painter's work probably dates to c. 560-545 B.C.

7.6 The Fallow Deer Painter

As explained, the Pointed-Nose Painter, beginning in c. 555, worked for his entire career in the proximity of the Fallow Deer Painter. It seems to me, however, that the Fallow Deer Painter, because his oeuvre is larger, started earlier, probably around 560; and that his *middle* period began in the middle of the 550s. The *late* work may be dated to c. 550-545 or even perhaps closer to 540 B.C because the diagonal red bands on garments seem to be the

closest link in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group with later black-figure painting and because the quality of some of the Fallow Deer Painter's *late* amphorae is generally poor, regarding both potting and painting³²⁵.

The Fallow Deer Painter and the Castellani Painter, it appears, both worked from c. 560 to 545. They employed the unconventional composition of two groups of fighting warriors confronting each other. As it seems, the Fallow Deer Painter, who used the composition in all three periods of his career, inspired his colleague, who used it only around 550 B.C (151).

In conclusion, the Fallow Deer Painter, like the Castellani Painter and the Guglielmi Painter, probably was active during the period c. 560-545 B.C.

³²² Kluiver 1995, 81-82.

³²³ See Section 5.5, above.

³²⁴ Boardman 1980, 63. See also Kluiver 1992, 80.

³²⁵ E. Kunze-Götte, CVA Munich 7, dates Munich 1429 (242) 'Gegen 540'.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF SUBJECTS

Kyllenios Painter

Mythology

Achilleus ambushes Troilos: **112, 119**; Amazonomachy: **108**; Athena's birth: **107**; Centaurs: **105**; Herakles and Hydra: **109, 110**; – and Nessos: **105**; – frees Prometheus: **115, 121**; Herakles' apotheosis: **113**; Herakles: unexplained: **120**; Riders on winged horses: **106**; Satyrs and maenads: **118**; Trojan soldiers: **119**; Theseus fights Minotaur: **111**.

Other scenes

Athletes: **116**; Fight (three duels): **104, 107-109, 115-117, 121(?)**; Hoplites: **118**; Horse-race: **106, 110-112, 114, 117**; Komos: **120**; Monomachy: **104**.

Castellani Painter

Mythology

Achilleus ambushes Troilos: **167**; Amazonomachy: **131, 135, 136, 149, 151, 156, 161, 163, 169, 177, 181**; Amphiaraios' departure: **180**; Apollo and Artemis shoot Niobids: **138, 147**; Centauromachy: **131, 154**; Dionysos or Hephaistos on a donkey: **125**; Dionysos with satyrs and maenads: **180**; Hephaistos' return: **181**; Herakles and Amazons: **123, 125, 128, 132-134, 137, 144, 157, 180**; – and Hydra: **181**; – and centaurs: **123, 173**; – and Nessos: **138, 150, 153**; Paris' judgment: **172, 179**; Perseus and Gorgons: **136**; Ransom of Hektor: **130**; Satyrs and maenads: **124, 126, 129, 137, 143, 147, 149, 179**; Theseus fights Minotaur: **166, 168**; Trojan soldiers: **167**.

Other scenes

Bridal procession: **122, 127, 139, 140, 161**; Chariot-race: **141, 180**; Fight: **124, 129(?)**, **143, 158, 160, 164-166, 169, 171, 174, 175**; Foot-race: **150, 176**; Herdsman and bulls: **173**; Horse-race: **152, 157, 165, 176**; Komos: **122, 128, 132, 135, 139, 140, 142, 144, 151, 153, 155, 156, 158, 160, 162, 168, 170, 171, 174, 175, 177, 178**; Man in biga: **145**; Men and women (conversing): **134, 159, 163, 164**; Men with drinking horn waiting in line: **130, 170**; Monomachy: **145, 152, 154, 178, 180**; Mounted warriors: **127, 133**; Symposium: **126, 141, 142, 155**; Tripod, betw. mounted archers: **172**; Warrior arming: **180**; Warrior mounting chariot: **159**.

Pointed-Nose Painter

Mythology

Achilleus fights Memnon: **183, 186, 187, 197**; Amphiaraios' (or warrior's) departure: **183, 196**; Centauromachy: **198**; Herakles and Nessos: **186**; Satyrs and maenad: **185**; Unexplained: **189** (women, dinos on stand, running man, satyrs), **196**.

Other scenes

Bridal procession: **197**; Fight: **184**; Foot-race: **198**; Horse-race: **185**; Komos: **184, 187, 189**; Satyr: **188**; Warrior: **188**; Dancing maenad: **191, 193**.

Guglielmi Painter

Mythology

Achilleus fights Memnon: **206, 207, 211, 214, 219, 223**; Amazonomachy: **204, 217, 222**; Calydonian Boar hunt: **226**; Centauromachy: **216**; Dionysos in vineyard: **208, 211**; Herakles and Amazons: **203, 229**; – and Nessos: **199, 213, 216**; Gigantomachy with Herakles **230**; Satyrs and maenads: **214**; Theseus fights Minotaur: **228**.

Other scenes

Bridal procession: **228, 229**; Fight: **205, 212, 217, 218, 220, 226**; Horse-race: **203, 204, 213, 215, 219**; Komos: **199, 200, 202, 206, 209, 210, 212, 215, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 231**; Love-making: **200-202, 208**; Monomachy: **231**.

Fallow Deer Painter

Mythology

Achilleus fights Memnon: **232, 233, 239, 243, 246, 250(?)**, **253**; Apollo and Artemis shoot the Niobids: **236**; Eriphyle's death: **251**; Gigantomachy with Herakles: **247**; Herakles and Amazons: **244, 252**; – and Nessos: **240, 241**; – and centaurs: **248**; Calydonian Boar hunt: **238**.

Other scenes

Mounted warriors: **235**; Bridal procession: **245**; Fight: **234, 237, 238, 240, 242, 249, 251, 252**; Horse-race: **232-234, 236, 241, 244, 245, 247, 249, 251, 252**; Komos: **243, 253**; Monomachy: **237, 239, 242, 248**; Symposium: **251, 252**; Unexplained (Gigantomachy?): **235**.

APPENDIX 2: CONCORDANCE WITH *ABV* AND *PARA*

ABV

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 95.1- 53 | 99.52- 87 | 102.105- 210 | 39 Louvre- 110 |
| 95.2- 167 | 99.53 – O.L.L. Group | 102.106- 60 | 40 Frankfort- 136 |
| 95.3- 54 | 99.54 – O.L.L. Group | 103.107- 189 | 40 Leipzig- 147 |
| 95.4- 44 | 99.55 – O.L.L. Group | 103.108- 211 | 40 Louvre- 119 |
| 95.5- 37 | 99.56- 217 | 103.109- 118 | 40 Hamburg- 138 |
| 95.6- 7 | 99.57- 204 | 103.110- 185 | 40 Frankfort- 154 |
| 95.7- 130 | 99.58- 108 | 103.111- 48 | 40 Swiss priv.- 213 |
| 95.8- 180 | 99.59- 169 | 103.112- 170 | 40 Hobart- 173 |
| 96.9- 196 | 99.60- 157 | 103.113- 159 | 40 Kassel- 153 |
| 96.10 – O.L.L. Group | 99.61- 151 | 103.114- 91 | 40 Amsterdam- 63 |
| 96.11- 23 | 100.62- 88 | 103.115- 92 | 40 Louvre- 19 |
| 96.12- 183 | 100.63- 89 | 103.116- 93 | 40 Basle market- 222 |
| 96.13- 1 | 100.64 – O.L.L. Group | 103.117- 193 | 40 Louvre- 137 |
| 96.14- 107 | 100.65- 152 | 103.118- 29 | 40 New York- 30 |
| 96.15-1995, n. 113 | 100.66- 158 | 103.119- 41 | 40 Cerveteri- 62 |
| 96.16- 8 | 100.67- 175 | 103.120- 70 | 41 Venice market- 214 |
| 96.17- 9 | 100.68- 4 | 104.121 – not Tyrrh. | 41 Louvre- 223 |
| 96.18- 38 | 100.69- 205 | 104.122 – Tyrrh? | 41 Montclair- 64 |
| 96.19- 55 | 100.70- 116 | 104.123 – not Tyrrh. | 41 Basle market- 174 |
| 96.20- 10 | 100.71- 249 | 104.124- 32 | 41 Great Neck- 171 |
| 96.21- 86 | 100.72- 184 | 104.125- 33 | 41 New York- 64 |
| 97.22- 251 | 100.73- 124 | 104.126- 35 | 41 Laon- 99 |
| 97.23- 235 | 100.74- 218 | 104.127 – Archippe ptr. | 41 Louvre- 65 |
| 97.24- 18 | 100.75- 117 | 104.128 – not Tyrrh. | 41 Louvre- 66 |
| 97.25- 181 | 100.76- 242 | 104.129 – Archippe ptr. | 41 Maplewood- 95 |
| 97.26 – O.L.L. Group | 100.77- 232 | 104.130 – not Tyrrh. | 41 Vulci- 221 |
| 97.27- 45 | 101.78- 78 | 105.131- 231 | 41 Villa Giulia- 67 |
| 97.28- 2 | 101.79- 56 | 105.132- 229 | 41 Louvre- 111 |
| 97.29- 115 | 101.80- 104 | 105.133- 228 | 41 Philadelphia market- 71 |
| 97.30- 121 | 101.81- 40 | 105.134 – not Tyrrh. | 42 Stanford- 155 |
| 97.31- 168 | 101.82- 206 | 105.135- 182 | 42 Rome- 72 |
| 97.32- 236 | 101.83- 207 | 105.1- 98 | 42 Lucerne market- 83 |
| 97.33- 27 | 101.84- 233 | 105.1- 104 | 42 Louvre- 49 |
| 98.34- 122 | 101.85- 219 | 105.2- 153 | 42 Lucerne market- 176 |
| 98.35 – Open | 101.86- 220 | 105.3- 106 | 42 Basle market- 141 |
| 98.36- 150 | 101.87- 187 | 105.2 – Tyrrh? | 42 Basle market- 161 |
| 98.37- 216 | 101.88- 237 | 105.3 – not Tyrrh. | 42 Munich- 140 |
| 98.38- 199 | 101.89- 28 | 106.4 – Tyrrh? | 42 Louvre- 139 |
| 98.39- 11 | 101.90- 80 | 683.51bis- 61 | 42 Rome- 100 |
| 98.40- 241 | 101.91- 90 | 683.51ter- 125 | 42 Basle market- 101 |
| 98.41- 39 | 101.92- 243 | 683.60bis- 94 | 42 Ostermundigen – not Tyrrh. |
| 98.42- 131 | 102.93- 234 | 683.60ter- 134 | 42 Louvre – unattrib. |
| 98.43- 79 | 102.94- 188 | 683.60quater- 135 | 43 Altenburg – unattrib. |
| 98.44- 46 | 102.95- 57 | 683.72bis- 160 | 43 Aarau – unattrib. |
| 98.45- 132 | 102.96- 58 | 683.77bis- 212 | 43 Milan – unattrib. |
| 98.46- 47 | 102.97- 13 | 683.105bis- 225 | 43 Boston – Archippe Painter |
| 98.47- 133 | 102.98- 200 | 683.124bis – O.L.L. Group | |
| 99.48- 203 | 102.99- 201 | | |
| 99.49- 12 | 102.100- 208 | <i>PARA</i> | |
| 99.50- 123 | 102.101- 59 | 39 Havana- 172 | |
| 99.51- 3 | 102.102- 202 | 39 Rome – not Tyrrh. | |
| | 102.103- 209 | 39 Frankfort- 109 | |
| | 102.104- 82 | | |

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- Add² = T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*, Oxford, 1989
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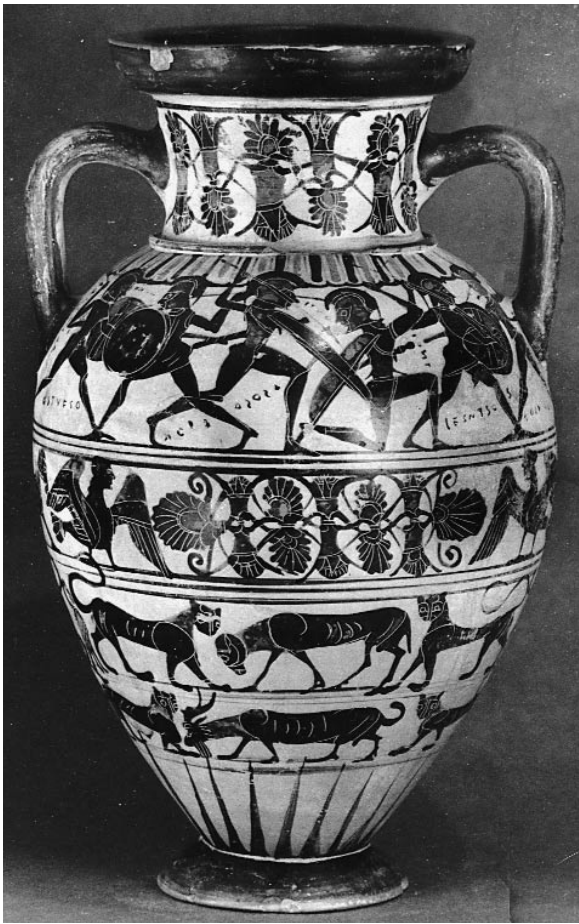


Fig. 1. Kyllenios Painter, 117, A

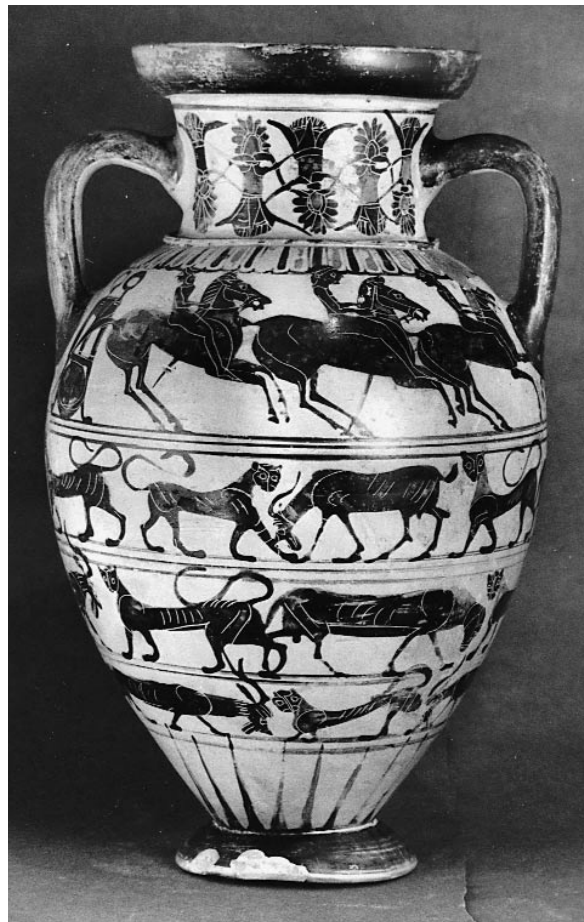


Fig. 2. Kyllenios Painter, 117, B

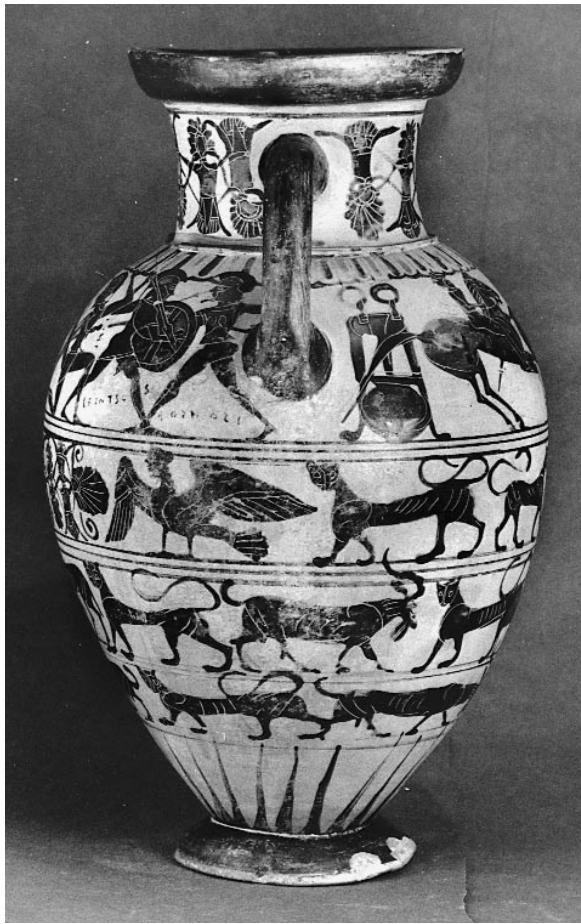


Fig. 3. Kyllenios Painter, 117, A/B

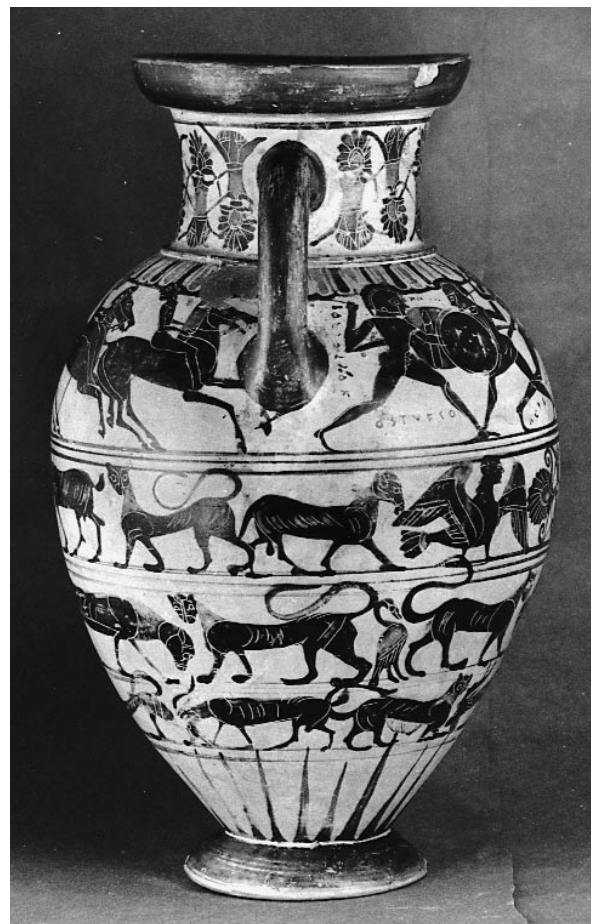


Fig. 4. Kyllenios Painter, 117, B/A

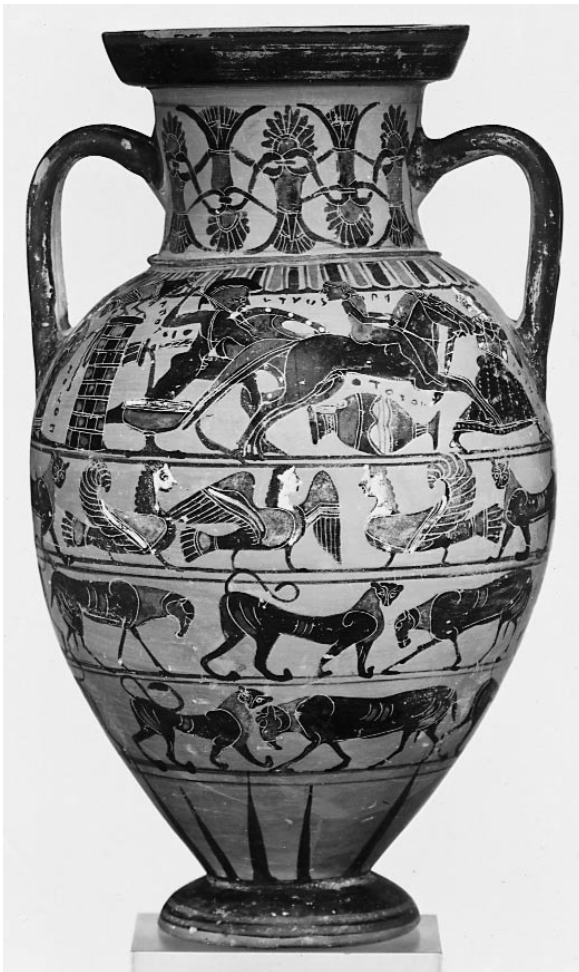


Fig. 5. Kyllenios Painter, 112, A (Photo by D. Widmer, Basle)

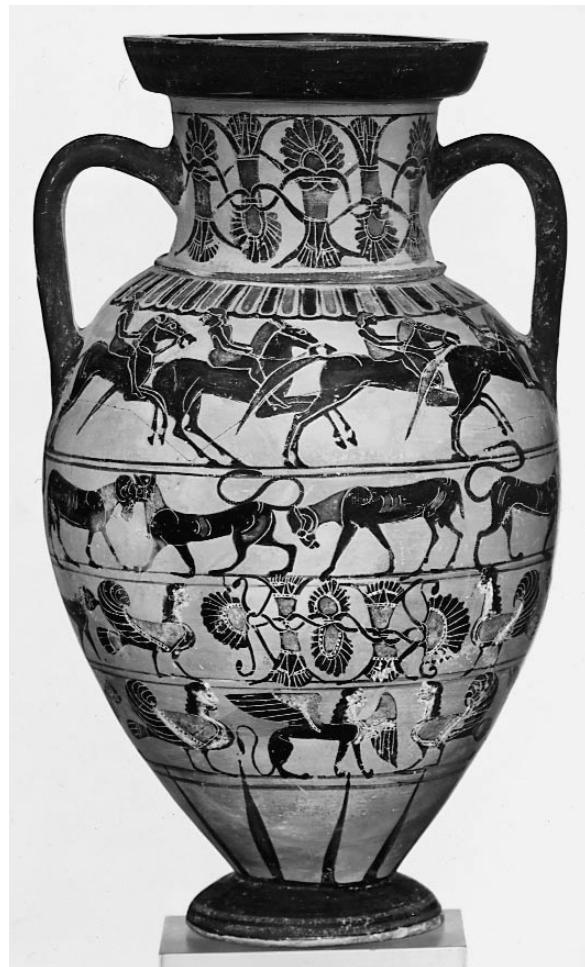


Fig. 6. Kyllenios Painter, 112, B (Photo by D. Widmer, Basle)



Fig. 7. Kyllenios Painter, 120, IA, centre

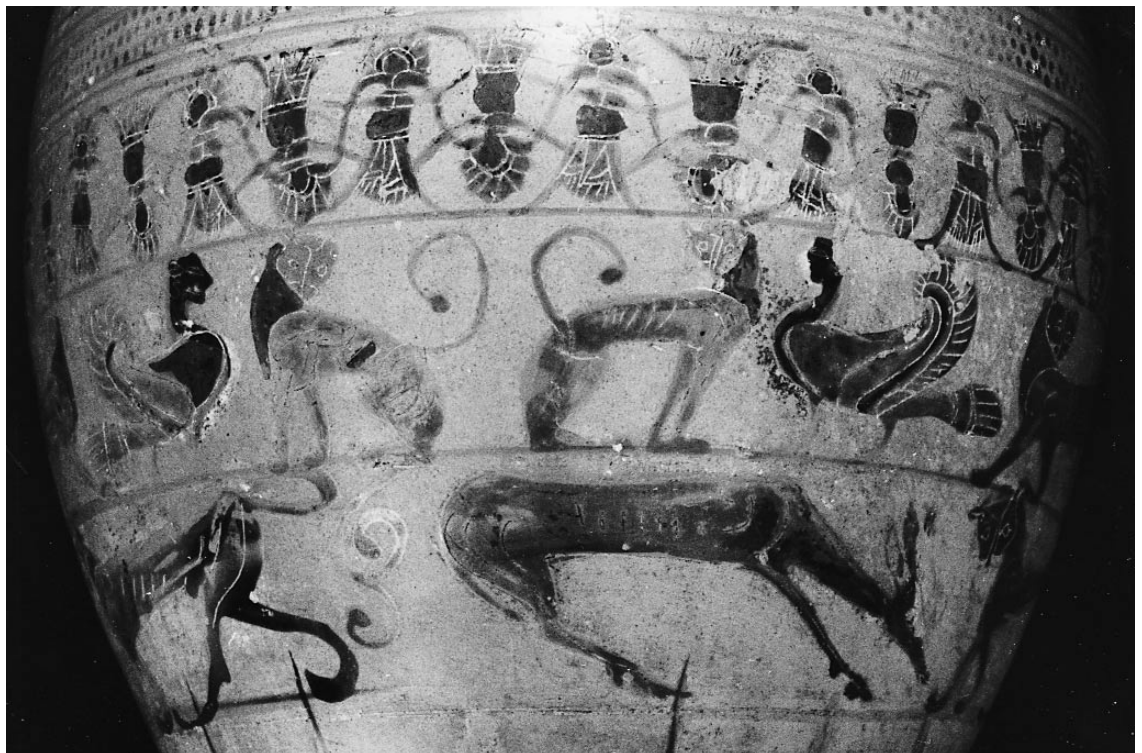


Fig. 8. Castellani Painter, 123, II-IV

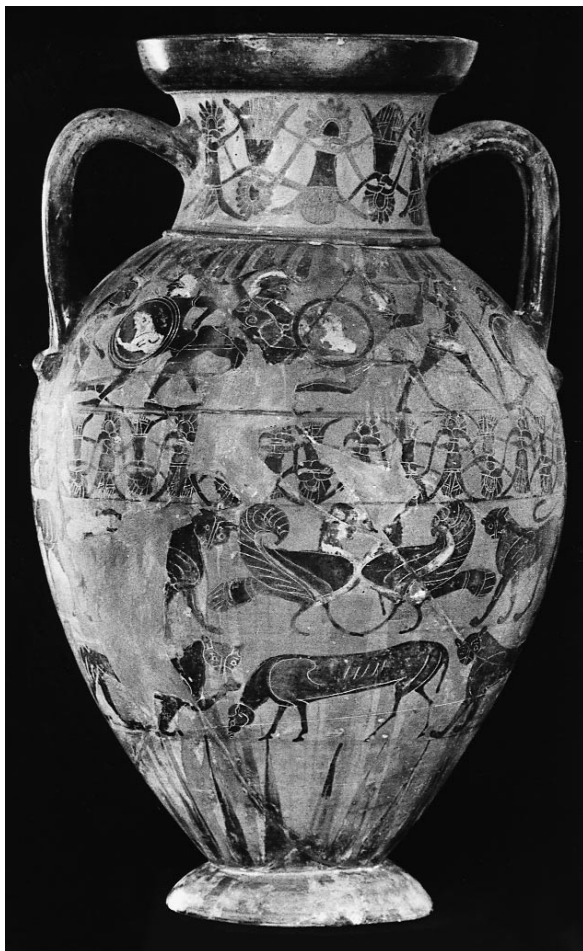


Fig. 9. Castellani Painter, 124, A



Fig. 10. Castellani Painter, 124, IB, right

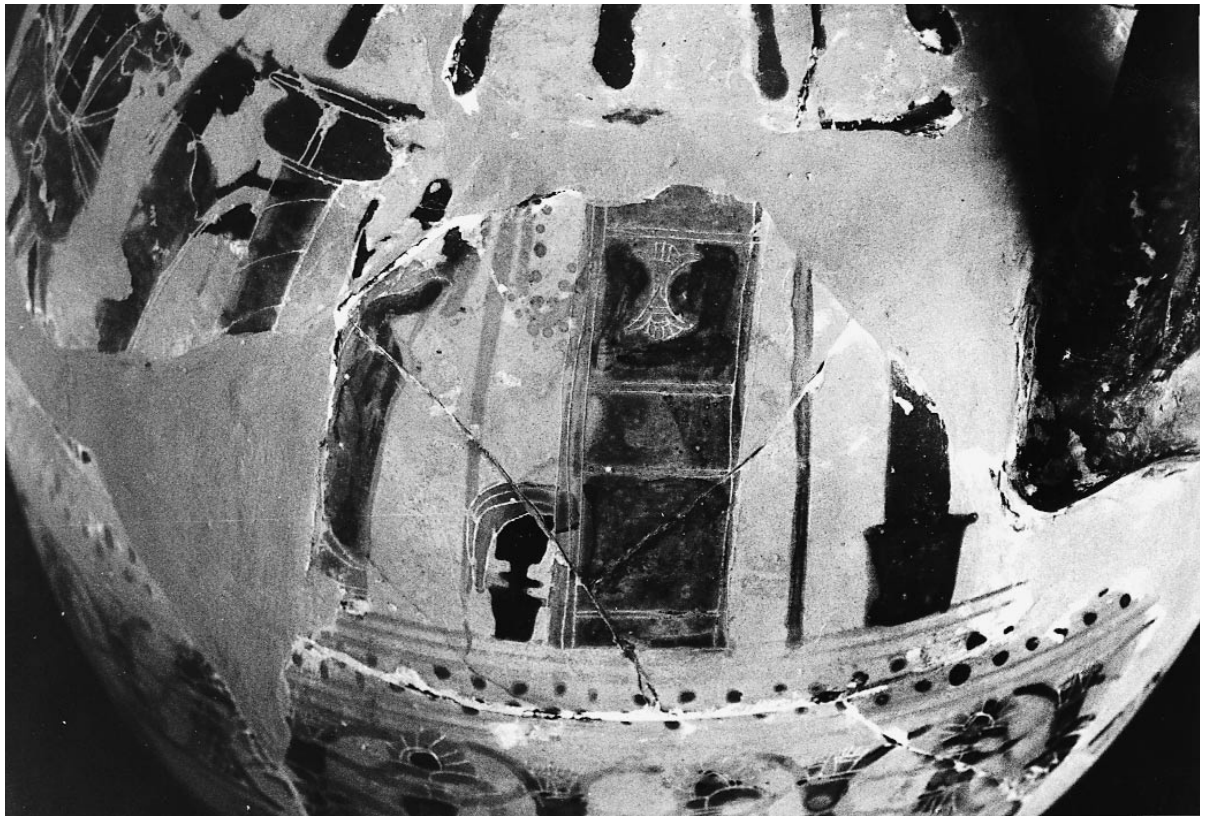


Fig. 11. Castellani Painter, 127, 1A, right

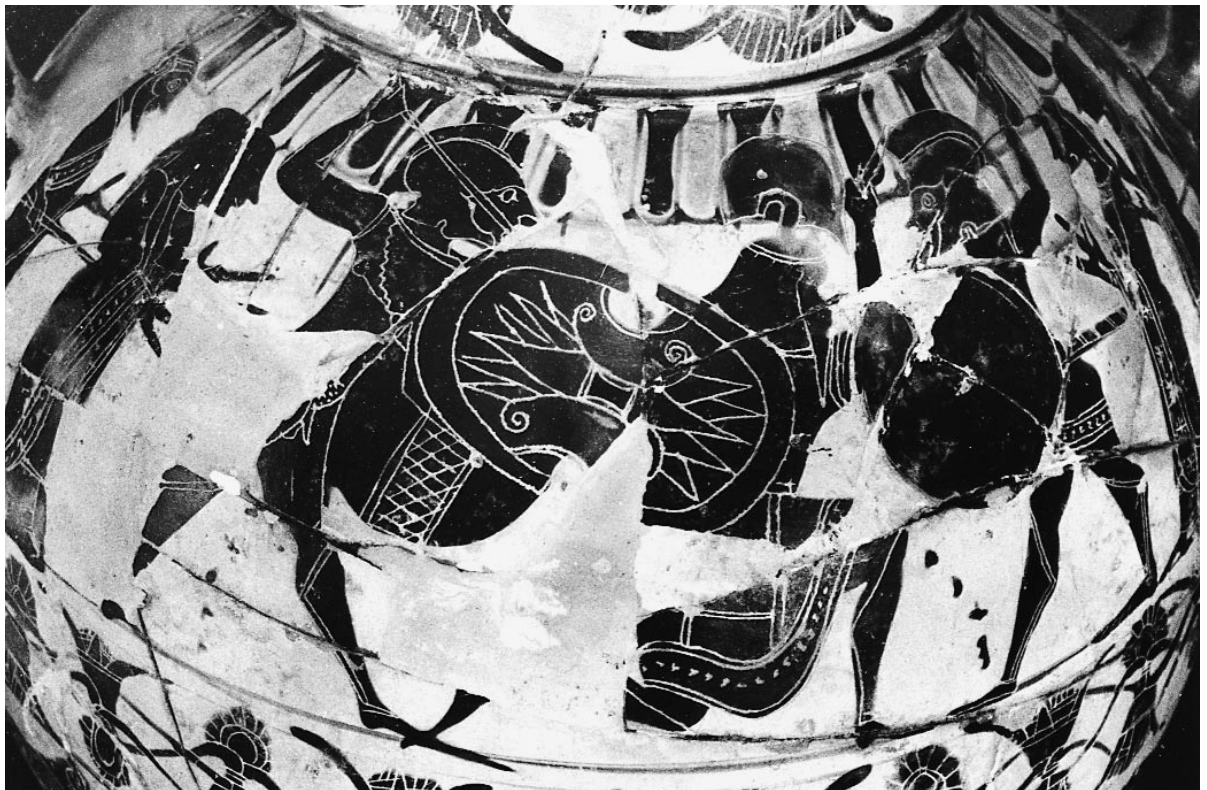


Fig. 12. Castellani Painter, 156, 1A, centre

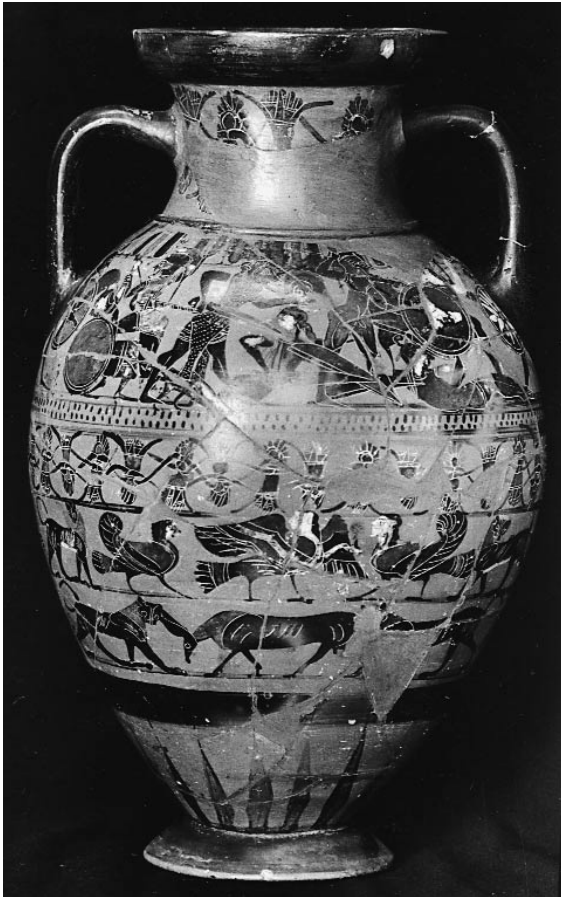


Fig. 13. Castellani Painter, 157, A



Fig. 14. Castellani Painter, 159, IB

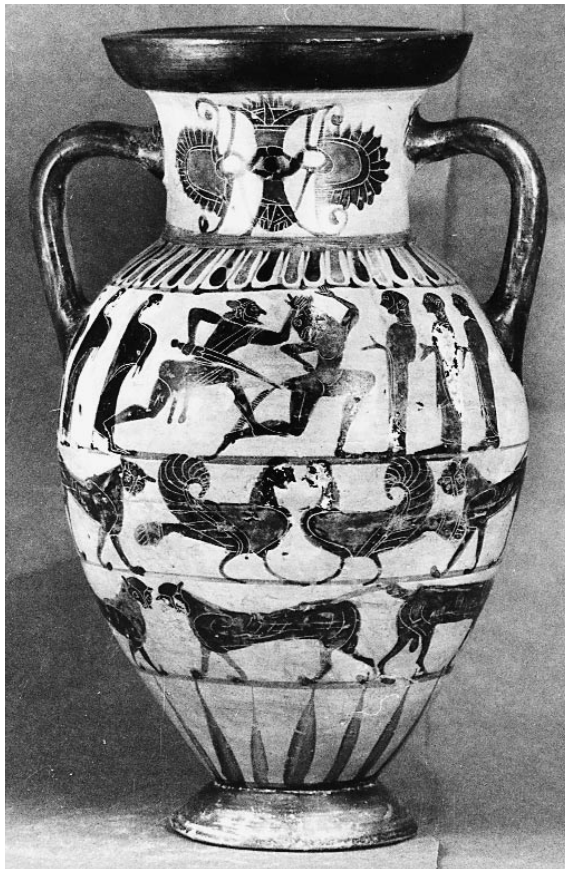


Fig. 15. Castellani Painter, **168**, A (slender)



Fig. 16. Castellani Painter, **170**, 1A (slender)

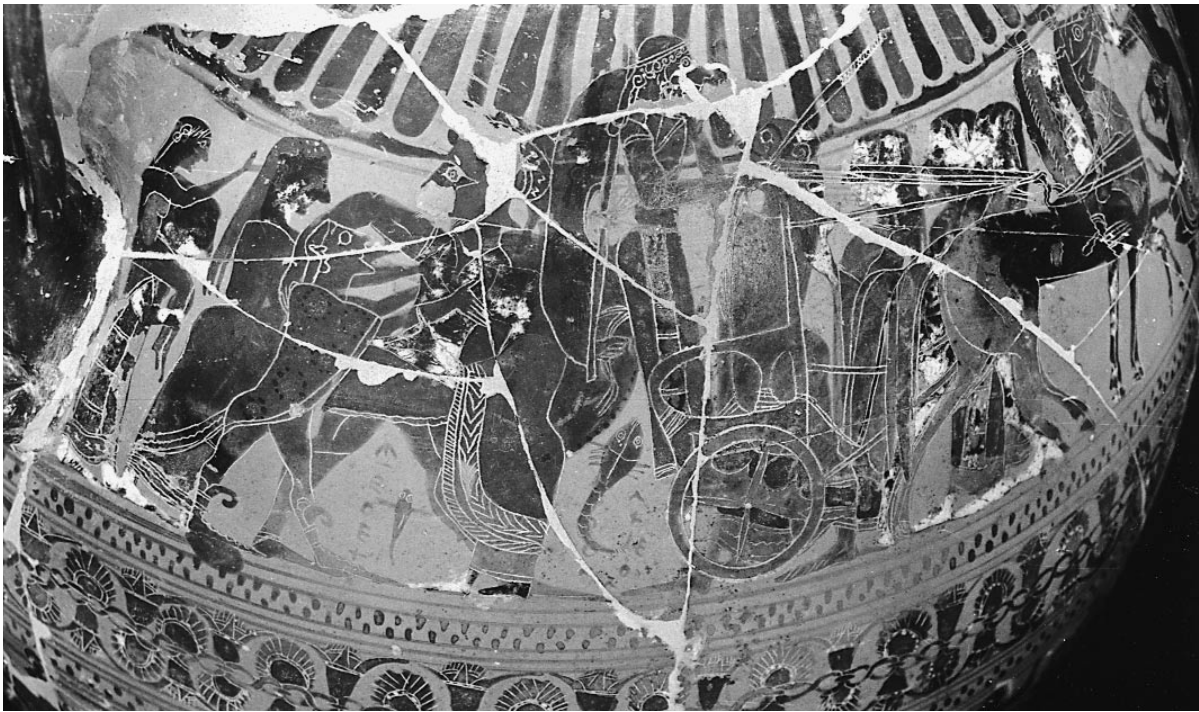


Fig. 17. Castellani Painter, 180, IA, left



Fig. 18. Castellani Painter, 180, IA, right



Fig. 19. *Pointed-Nose Painter*, 184, IA, right



Fig. 20. *Pointed-Nose Painter*, 184, IB, centre



Fig. 21. *Pointed-Nose Painter*, 184, friezes II-III, below handle A/B

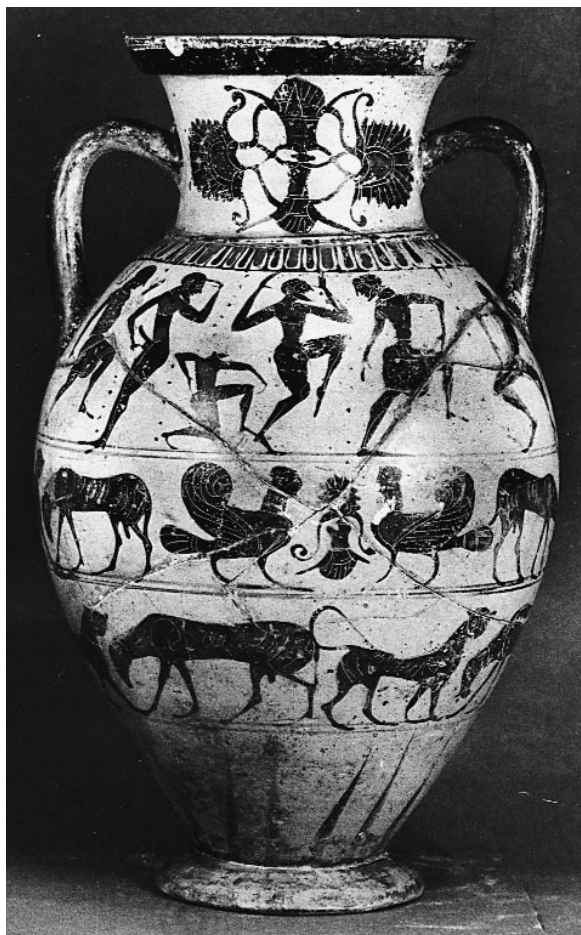


Fig. 22. *Pointed-Nose Painter*, 189, A

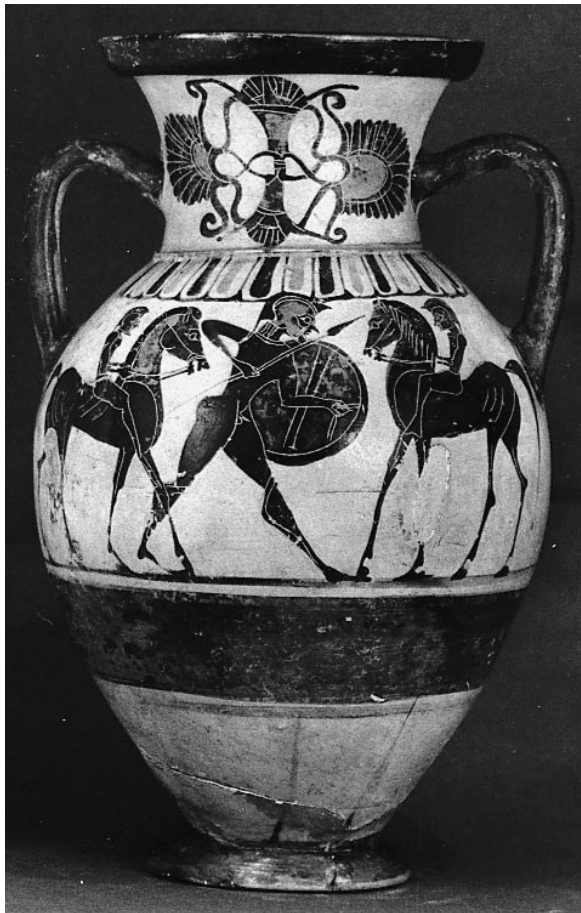


Fig. 23. *Pointed-Nose Painter*, 188, A



Fig. 24. *Guglielmi Painter*, 211, IA, centre

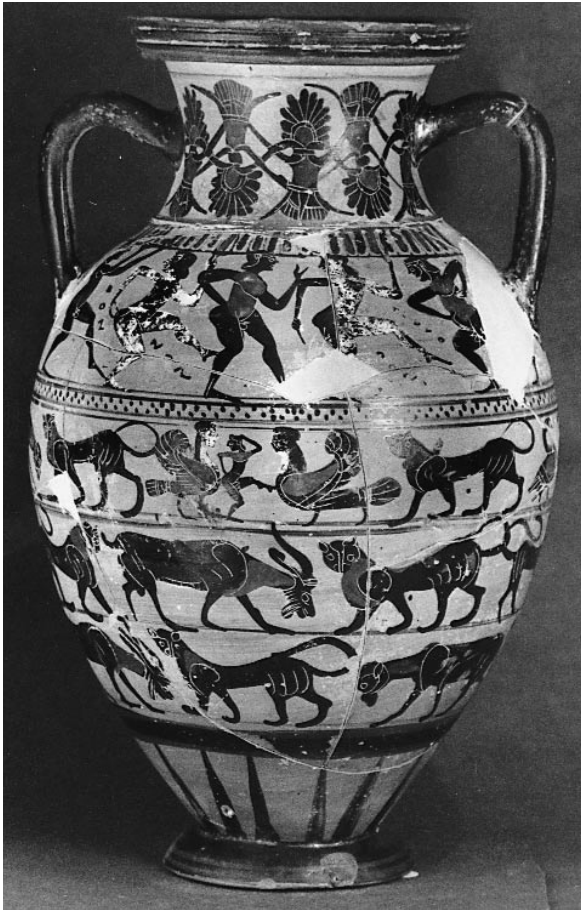


Fig. 25. Guglielmi Painter, 210, B



Fig. 26. Guglielmi Painter, 208, 1A, centre



Fig. 27. Guglielmi Painter, 205, IB, left



Fig. 28. Guglielmi Painter, 221, neck A



Fig. 29. Guglielmi Painter, 221, 1A, centre



Fig. 30. Guglielmi Painter, 231



Fig. 31. Guglielmi Painter, 231, shoulder

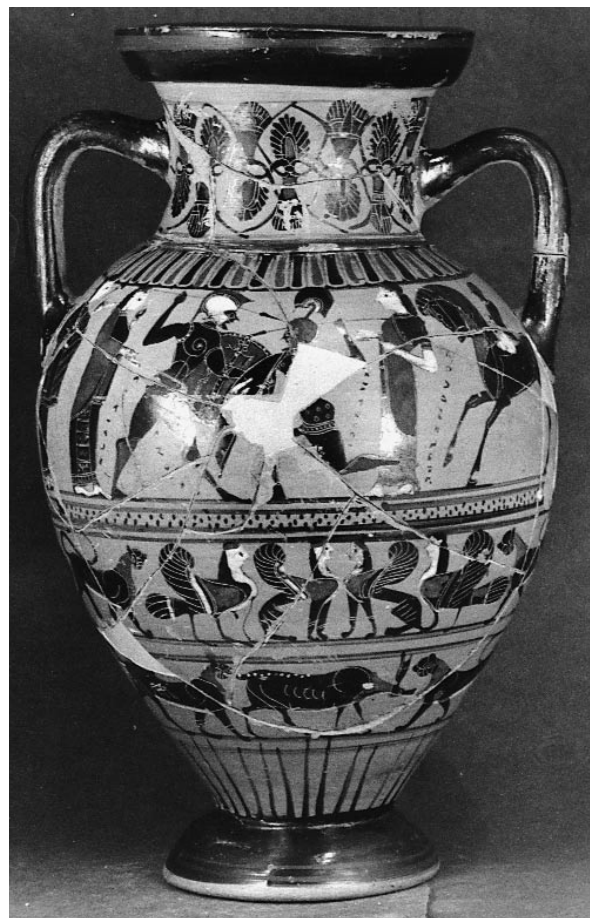


Fig. 32. Fallow Deer Painter, 234, A

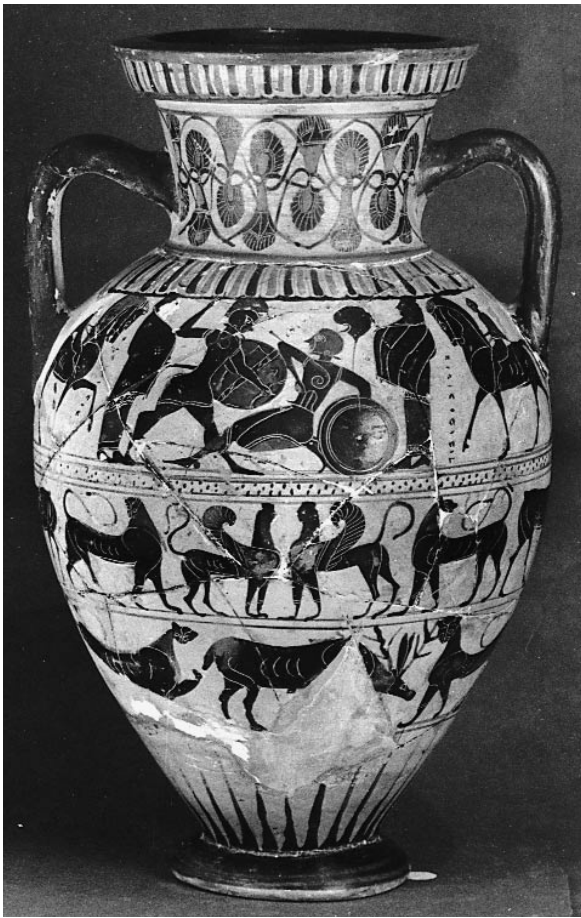


Fig. 33. *Fallow Deer Painter*, 233, A

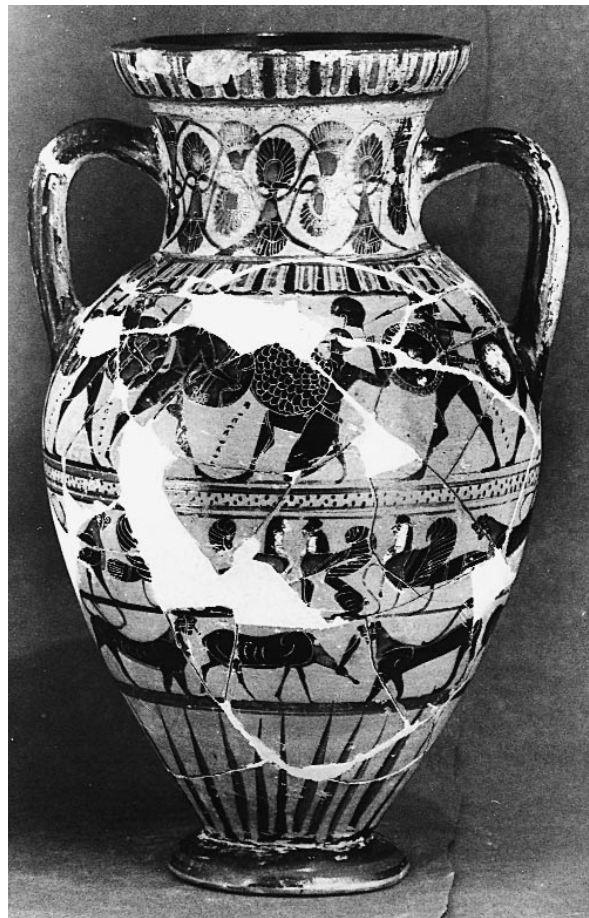


Fig. 34. *Fallow Deer Painter*, 232, A

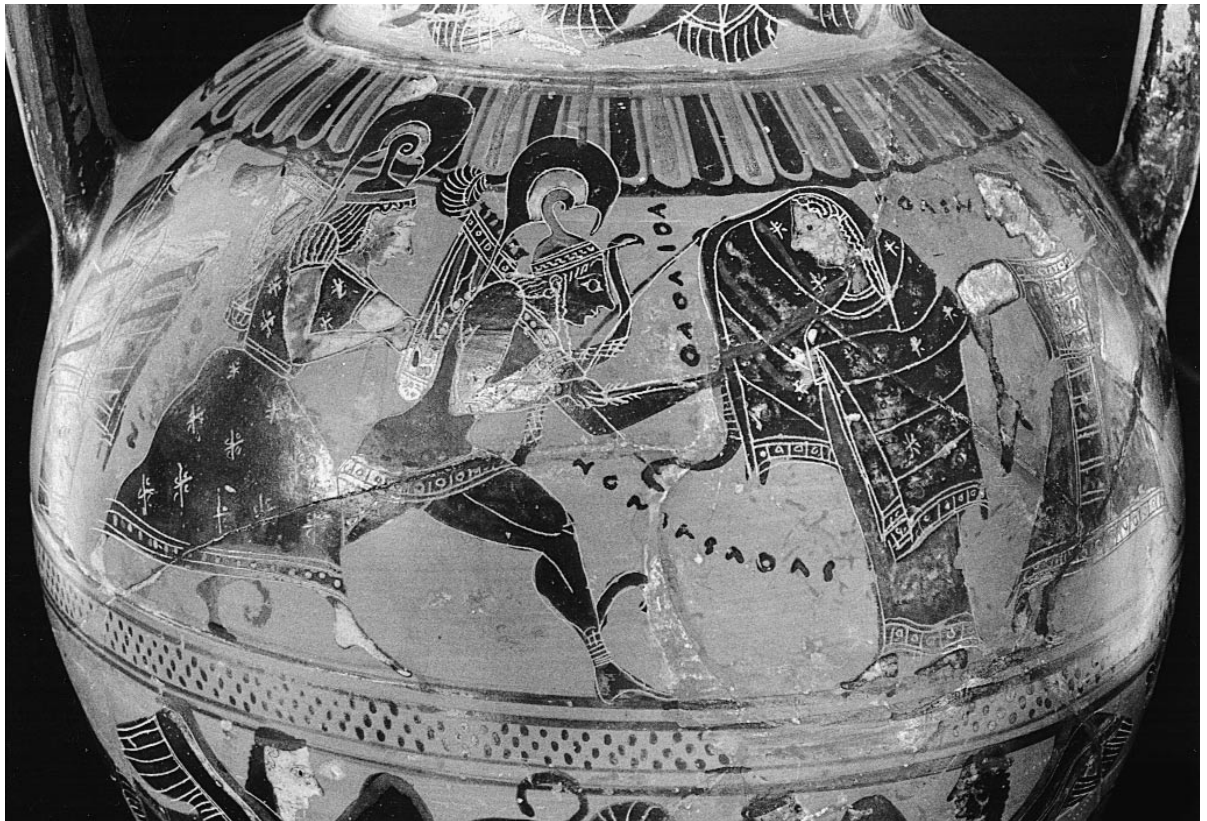


Fig. 35. Fallow Deer Painter, 236, IA, centre



Fig. 36. Fallow Deer Painter, 235, IA, centre



Fig. 37. Kyllenios Painter, 112



Fig. 38. Kyllenios Painter, 107



Fig. 39. Kyllenios Painter, 115



Fig. 40. Castellani Painter, 131



Fig. 41. Castellani Painter, 145

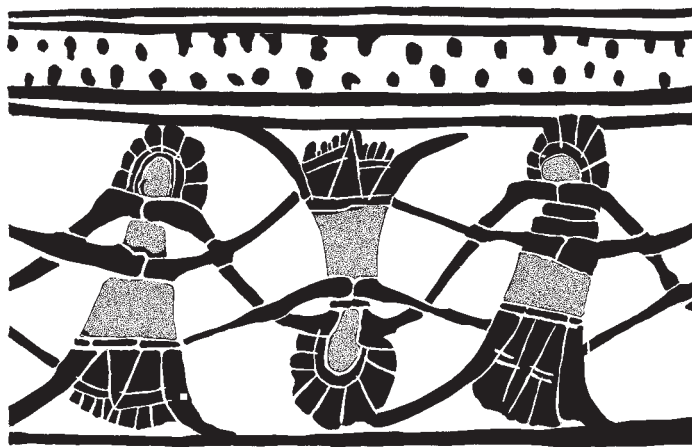


Fig. 42. Castellani Painter, 154



Fig. 43. Castellani Painter, 152



Fig. 44. Castellani Painter, 157



Fig. 45. Pointed-Nose Painter, 187



Fig. 46. Pointed-Nose Painter, 187

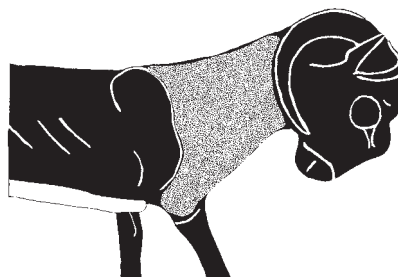


Fig. 47. Pointed-Nose Painter, 187



Fig. 48. Guglielmi Painter, 207



Fig. 49. Guglielmi Painter, 207



Fig. 50. Guglielmi Painter, 222



Fig. 51. Fallow Deer Painter, 236



Fig. 52. Fallow Deer Painter, 240



Fig. 53. Fallow Deer Painter, 246

The Popularity of Painting Sport Scenes on Attic Black and Red Figure Vases: a C.V.A.-Based Research – Part A

E. Goossens & S. Thielemans¹ (with a statistical note by O. Thas)

“Nach den Gesetzen des Marktes wurde das produziert, was der Handel absetzen konnte; die Häufigkeit des Themas Sport ist somit ein untrügliches Indiz für das ihm entgegengebrachte Interesse” (Decker 1995, 194)

I. OBJECTIVES AND METHOD

It is the *purpose of this study* to create a picture of the popularity of painting sport scenes on Attic black and red figure vases. In particular, the iconography (the different sports) will be compared with the style (black or red figure), the dating and the form of the vases. The mutual comparison among these various aspects will also be considered.

The scope of the study is limited to the vases published in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA); all the available volumes have been examined². Thanks to the work of Webster³, the general results of the study can, to a certain extent, be compared with a somewhat related research based on the works of Beazley⁴. The vases, published in the CVA as non-Attic or not black or red figure, are accepted as such and are omitted here. The selection of the sport scenes has been carried out based primarily on the published photographs, only subsequently the text has been consulted. It has not always been possible to have complete confidence in the text: the necessary decision about the interpretation as sport/not sport or as a certain sport, has always been carried out based on as many as possible arguments (see II). Especially in the older volumes, photographs are sometimes of inferior quality; if in addition the text offers no conclusive information about the interpretation of the scene, it has been omitted.

In representing the results, visual clarity was the primary objective. The multitude of data is represented by a *large number of graphics*. In “IV” and “V”, text intentionally plays only a secondary role.

The *contents of the article*: after the quantitative treatment of the popularity of picturing sport scenes in general (IV), the data of the specific graphics (generally one for each sport, in the last series one for each quarter of a century) are considered (V). This is preceded by an explanation of the selection criteria, by which scenes were or were not

included in this research, and the criteria used to distinguish the pictures of the different sports (II). A list of all selected pictures follows (III). Chapter II is of considerable length, but because of the character of the information it has more than just an introductory significance for this article. It may help to differentiate the scenes with sport or not in another context, and to decide which sport is meant in doubtful cases. In the shorter “Part B”, the interesting problems of the combination of several sports in one scene/on one vase (VI) and of the large number of vases with sport scenes that were exported (VII) will be studied. In addition, some suggestions to explain the many remarked-upon phenomena, the evaluation of numerous existing suggestions to explain the popularity of (picturing)

First of all, we would like to thank most cordially O. Thas and M. Van den Broeck, respectively for their help with the statistics and the informatics. We realize that without their indispensable and tireless help the article would have been impossible in the present form.

We also express our gratitude to em. Prof. Dr. H. F. Mussche and Prof. Dr. R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer for their support and advice; to the former and Mrs. D. Vanhove for creating our initial interest in the subject.

Finally, we would like to thank M. Dumont for corrections of the English and B. Drieskens, M. Goossens and I. Koenraadt for their interest shown on several occasions.

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² For the list of the examined volumes, see note 61.

³ Webster 1972.

⁴ Webster 1972, XIII mentions as the basis for his research Beazley (1956 & 1963) and Haspels 1936, and notices: “I have only occasionally mentioned either unattributed vases or later attributions”. He limits himself to the 6th and 5th century (B.C., cf. all the datings in this article).

For the explanation of the utility of the data offered by Webster as comparable material for this study, see IV.

We limited our study to the CVA, because it offers the largest available abundantly illustrated collection of Attic black and red figure pottery. A detailed study of the works of Beazley (with later addenda) and a systematic examination of all the (available) catalogues from museums and exhibitions have not been undertaken for this article. The announced completion and online availability of the Beazley Archive Database will largely improve the possibilities to do this successfully and more efficiently in the near future.

sport in general and the different sports in particular will also receive attention⁵ (VIII). A general conclusion will round-off the article (IX).

The *datings and the terminology of the forms of the vases* have necessarily been made uniform to enable the inclusion of these data, that originated from a large number of different CVA volumes, in the graphics.

The decision has been made to group the *datings* in quarters of centuries:

- * a dating from the CVA (because of the nature and size of this research, those datings have generally been accepted), that falls within a quarter of a century (with an accuracy from 1 to 25 years), is included in that quarter of a century;
- * a dating “around” the division between two quarters of a century (for example 525) is included in the following quarter. The same applies to datings that balance on such a division between two quarters (for example 530-520). Unbalanced dating distributions, however, are generally included in the quarter in which they have been dated for the greater part.

The in the CVA undated specimens are only dated by the authors when a painter was mentioned in the CVA itself or when Beazley⁶ assigned the vase to a painter.

Only the eight quantitatively most important *forms of vases* in this study (amphora, krater, hydria, kylix, skyphos, cup/skyphos, lekythos and oinochoe) are separately included in the graphics. Those eight forms all appear in seven cases (sports). The exceptions are the race in armour and the pankration (cf. their limited number in this research) and wrestling (only the cup/skyphos is missing). It has not always been possible to maintain the terminology of the forms from the different volumes of the CVA, and the general classification of Richter and Milne⁷ is used. The pelike is added to the amphora, of which it is a variant⁸; the kalpis, as Beazley⁹ applied, to the hydria; the olpe to the oinochoe¹⁰. As they appear in Richter and Milne, the names kylix (“cup” in Agora XII¹¹) and skyphos are used, except for the subdivisions (see Agora XII) “cup-skyphos” and “stemless cup” that are separately grouped as cup/skyphos. The “various” are: alabastron, kantharos, kyathos, psykter, pyxis, rhyton and stamnos; all in Richter and Milne. In addition to this, the category “mug” of the Agora XII¹² is used; Richter and Milne included this form in the “Cups of Various Shapes”. The dinos is not, as is sometimes done, united with the krater, but separately added to the “various”. Lids are added to the “various” and not to the vase to which they belong. Three forms

could not be included in one of the used categories; their CVA names (“Schüssel”, “Beckenuntersatz” and “small pot”) are added to the “various”¹³.

Because it is the purpose of this article to examine the *popularity of painting sport scenes* (for each sport and in general) on vases, and not the popularity of vases with sport scenes, an important remark has to be made. A vase with a picture of one sport discipline, by one or more practitioners, is added only once as a sport scene to the category of that sport. A vase with the picture of more than one sport, however, is added as a sport scene to all the categories of the pictured sports. The result is that the number of sport scenes (a “sport scene” in this article is one or more pictures of one sport on one vase) is higher than the number of vases. For the purpose of this research these sport scenes are included in the graphics in chapter V (for each sport specifically), and IV (for sport in general, as the sum of the graphics for each sport).

The *program of the sacred games in Olympia* was limited and imitated by most of the other festivals in the Greek world. It consisted of running (foot-race: two short – stadion and diaulos – and one longer race – dolichos –, plus the race in armour), three combat sports (boxing, wrestling and pankration), two hippic sports (horse-race and chariot-race) and the pentathlon. The pentathlon was composed of the three throwing sports (discus throwing, javelin

⁵ The attention in “Part B” will also go to the question of the utility of terms such as amateuristic, aristocratic, democratization and professionalization to explain the popularity. The enlightening and strongly argued vision of Pleket 1974, to which we may already integrally refer here, contrasts with most of the other (certainly older) treatments of this issue.

⁶ In Beazley 1956; 1963 or 1971.

⁷ Richter & Milne 1935.

⁸ Richter & Milne 1935, 4.

⁹ Beazley 1956, XI and 1963, IL

¹⁰ Beazley 1956, XI.

¹¹ Sparkes & Talcott 1970.

¹² Sparkes & Talcott 1970.

¹³ The “various” for each sport (respectively black / red figure) are:

- * discus throwing: 1 alabastron and 1 kantharos / 1 alabastron, 2 mugs and 1 “small pot”;
- * javelin throwing: 1 alabastron and 1 kantharos / 1 “Beckenuntersatz”;
- * the long jump: 1 alabastron, 1 kantharos and 1 stamnos / 4 mugs, 2 rhyta, 2 stamnoi and 1 “Beckenuntersatz”;
- * foot-race: 1 kantharos and 1 stamnos / –;
- * race in armour: –;
- * boxing: 1 kantharos and 2 stamnoi / 3 stamnoi;
- * wrestling: 1 stamnos / 1 psykter, 1 stamnos and 1 mug;
- * pankration: –;
- * horse-race: 2 dinoi, 1 kyathos, 1 pyxis, 1 lid and 1 “Schüssel” / –.
- * chariot-race: 1 dinos, 1 kyathos, 1 pyxis, 2 stamnoi and 5 lids / –;

throwing and the long jump), a foot-race (stadion) and wrestling. The program was repeated for different age groups; in Olympia for men and boys, in other places mostly for three age groups¹⁴. The program remained almost unchanged from the end of the 7th century (the vases with sport scenes in this article begin from the first quarter of the 6th century) until the end of its existence, except for the introduction of the race in armour in 520. In this study the different sports of this program in Olympia (the program was similar in the three other Panhellenic sacred games: in Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea) have been used. Some exceptional, seldom pictured, sports were added to the program after 520 and will not be treated here. The detailed evolution of the program is as follows¹⁵:

- 1st Olympiad (776): stadion,
- 14th Olympiad (724): diaulos,
- 15th Olympiad (720): dolichos,
- 18th Olympiad (708): pentathlon, wrestling,
- 23rd Olympiad (688): boxing,
- 25th Olympiad (680): chariot-race with four horses,
- 33rd Olympiad (648): horse-race, pankration,
- 37th Olympiad (632): boys' foot-race, boys' wrestling,
- 38th Olympiad (628): boys' pentathlon (only for this Olympiad),
- 41st Olympiad (616): boys' boxing,
- 65th Olympiad (520): race in armour,
- 70th Olympiad (500): chariot-race with two mules (until the 84th Olympiad),
- 93rd Olympiad (408): chariot-race with two horses,
- 96th Olympiad (396): competition for trumpeters and heralds,
- 99th Olympiad (384): chariot-race with four colts,
- 128th Olympiad (268): chariot-race with two colts,
- 131st Olympiad (256): colt-race,
- 145th Olympiad (200): boys' pankration.

II. CRITERIA FOR SELECTION AND DIFFERENTIATION

1. General

Scenes with sport and at the same time a *mythological reference* are not treated in this study. If some creatures or names on vases betray one or another mythological context, the picture is ignored. Some representations of which the text or the picture itself makes clear that they are "possibly" mythological, are also not considered. Although the appearance of the winged goddess Nikè is mythological too, vases with the picture of athletes in the presence of that goddess (as the

deity of *victory*) are taken into account, if it was clear enough which specific sport is meant¹⁶. Other scenes with athletes shown after their victory (e.g. with tripod) are also included if the reference to their specific sport is clear enough. Thus, for instance, the representations of athletes adorned with wreaths but without any indication for one sport or another, are not used for this research.

The presence of *women* in any case, sporting or not, is not tolerated on the vases that are taken into account for this study¹⁷. The representations of women exercising are not very common, their competitions were separated and their presence was not allowed on competitions for men only.

Athletes, pictured within a *palaistra*, but without a clear indication for the practising of one particular sport, are not permitted either. Athletes with strigilis for instance are ignored, although one or more objects suggesting sports competition (e.g. jumping weights and an aryballos) could be distinguished on the background. After all, these objects do not give an indication for one specific discipline¹⁸; they indicate the context of the palaistra in general. Pictures with the portrayal of *armed men or weapons*, inappropriate to sporting scenes, are rejected¹⁹. Mostly, those scenes are military. Of course, a javelin is permitted when an *acontist* is meant.

Many times one can see *coaches, supporters, admirers or judges* together with athletes. Sometimes several of these figures wear a long himation and/or they are seated. Coaches, or trainers, often carry a stick or a staff. Dogs are pictured together with athletes²⁰.

In any case, the *complete sports atmosphere* must be sufficiently clear. There have to be sufficient arguments in favor and no apparent arguments against the interpretation of a picture as being a sport scene. One or several mortal "naked" (see further) men must be present on the vase in a phase of their sporting activity. A discus thrower with a discus, an *acontist* with a javelin (without any other military equipment), a jumper with jumping weight(s) – except for some vases, see note 33 –, a racer in armour with shield and/or helmet and/or legguards (without any other military equipment; in the CVA these pictures are many times consid-

¹⁴ For example Harris 1972, 20.

¹⁵ For example Yalouris 1982, 84 and Van Looy 1992, 82. The latter adds the mare-race in the 71st Olympiad (until the 84th Olympiad).

¹⁶ Athletes with Nikè mostly appear on red figure vases.

¹⁷ For example Boardman 1974, 211 ("there may be admiring bystanders – never women") and Van Looy 1992, 149: it was forbidden for women to attend the games, they were not even allowed to cross the Alpheios.

¹⁸ See also Webster 1972, 208.

¹⁹ Except for CVA GB 6, pl. 26(2), obviously a discus thrower.

²⁰ See for example CVA I 50, pl. 19(4-6): athletes practising the three throwing sports together with a dog.

ered as being from a hoplite). Runners and wrestlers do not have any specific outfit. Boxers mostly use leather thongs around their wrists or hands, pankratiasts sometimes. Only horsemen sitting on their horse, without military equipment are treated. The charioteer may not carry weapons and is standing alone on his chariot.

Sometimes it is not clear if sport (and what kind of it) is meant, because of the poor or fragmentary *conservation of the vase*. In that case, the vase could not be taken into account.

Although some authors find it unusual that *two totally different pictures concerning content* are painted on both sides of a vase²¹, this opinion is rejected for this study. In the CVA there are sufficient pictures of vases which on one side show, for example, a mythological scene and on the reverse a sport scene. The selection for this study is based upon the individual (sport) scenes, not thematically upon the whole vase.

Sport scenes on *panathenaic amphorai* are not taken into account. After all, those vases are necessarily black figure and evidently show a sport scene. Therefore, they would give an incorrect view on the popularity of painting sport scenes on Attic black and red figure vases.

2. Throwing, Running and Combat Sports

Nudity

Many scientific works have already been devoted to the nudity of Greek athletes²². Normally an athlete who is practising a throwing, running or combat sport is shown naked on the vases. However, they did not always exercise naked. Either in 720 or in 652 the first athlete would have run naked at the games in Olympia²³. In times previous, the athletes are supposed to have worn a loincloth or a girdle²⁴. Although most of the vases show athletes naked from the beginning of the black figure pottery on, there are some pictures of athletes – from the end of the sixth century – with loincloths²⁵. Beazley²⁶ called the group of vases the “Perizoma group”, after the classical Greek word for “loincloth”. Thucydides wrote: “for in early times, even in the Olympic games, the athletes wore girdles about their loins in the contests, and it is not many years since the practise has ceased”. Plato expressed himself in the same sense²⁷. Many authors have already discussed the interpretation of both, the representations of the Perizoma group and the words of Thucydides and Plato. The question is whether the athletes, sometime at the end of the sixth century, suddenly used loincloths again, or always had been using them, or whether the loincloth had totally disappeared from the seventh century onwards²⁸. Some authors do agree with this last opinion, saying that the Perizoma vases were desti-

nated for the Etruscan market and that the athletes were for that reason dressed²⁹. These problems are not further taken into consideration here, because it is not in the intention of this study to ascertain whether the athletes practised naked in reality, but rather to investigate how they were pictured on the vases. There is no doubt that almost all the athletes on Attic black and red figure pottery were pictured naked and in this study, the criterion naked/not naked is sometimes used to distinguish athletes from other men. For instance, the picture of a fully dressed man or a man carrying a dress on his arm who is running, is not interpreted as being an athlete. Only the clothed athletes of the vases from the “Perizoma group” are included in this research. Exceptional pictures of athletes in other dresses are omitted³⁰.

Throwing sports

The throwing events that were held during the Olympic games, were discus throwing, javelin throwing and the long jump.

²¹ For example CVA, GR 4, 56.

²² For a useful article on nudity in classical art and the place of athletic nudity in particular, see Bonfante 1989.

²³ The date of 652 is mentioned among others by Crowther 1982, 165, who also prefers the older date, and Thuillier 1988, 33. For more literature see for example Mc Donnell 1991, 183 n. 2 (with 724 as third possible date). Most of the time the 15th Olympiad (720) is mentioned: Daremberg & Saglio 1877, 521; Ridington 1935, 85; Harris 1964, 64; Jüthner 1968, 49; Bengtson 1972, 37; Harris 1972, 19; Crowther 1982, 163; Sweet 1987, 124-125; Thuillier 1988, 32-33; Mc Donnell 1991, 183; Vanhove 1992, 66; Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 53. See as well Bonfante 1989, 552-553.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ See for example Gardiner 1930, 57; Jüthner 1968, 50; Boardman 1974, 211; Mann 1974, 177; Ebert 1980, 95; Crowther 1982, 167; Poliakoff 1987, 165-166 n.12; Sweet 1987, 124; Guiraud & Bordier & Garric 1988, 93; Thuillier 1988, 34-38 and 40-42; Mc Donnell 1991, 185 and following pages; Vanhove 1992, 66.

²⁶ Beazley 1956, 343. In this study for example CVA, F 10, pl. 77(1).

²⁷ Thucydides, I, VI, 5 (translated by Smith 1962); Plato, Politeia, V, 452c-d (“but to be serious, and reminding them that it is not long since the Greeks thought it disgraceful and ridiculous, as most of the barbarians do now, for men to be seen naked”; translated by Shorey 1963).

²⁸ For further information about this problem see for example Drees 1962, 126-129; Jüthner 1968, 50; Mann 1974, 177-178; Crowther 1982, 167-168; Thuillier 1988, 34 and following pages; Mc Donnell 1991, 185 and following pages.

²⁹ For example Langlotz 1932, 63; Webster 1972, 197; Simon 1977, 107 (L328); Kossatz-Deißmann 1982, 74-75; Bonfante 1989, 564; Mc Donnell 1991, 186-189; Decker 1995, 194. See for the nudity or dress during the practice of sports, especially in Etruria, also Thuillier 1985, 368 and following pages. Also for a foreign market, but not specifically for Etruria, opts Sweet 1987, 124. Langlotz 1977, 428 even thinks about the work of Greek artists in Italy. The thesis of the adaptation to Etruscan taste is rejected by for example Crowther 1982, 167 and Guiraud & Bordier & Garric 1988, 93.

³⁰ See for example CVA, CH 3, pl. 43(3) – running – and I 50, pl. 10(10) – wrestling –.

Jumping was a throwing exercise as well, because it was considered as “throwing one’s own body”. The pole vault, though known in Greece, did not belong to the usual events and is, therefore, not taken into account for this study³¹. Jumpers nearly always used (two) jumping weights. Athletes holding one jumping weight or two jumping weights in one hand are also involved in this research. Some vases from the CVA, on which the long jump is pictured without the use of weights, are included as well³².

Running sports

The Greeks knew various kinds of running events. Beside the usual foot-race, with different distances, the torch-race and the race in armour were also practised. Of these only the foot-race itself and the race in armour belonged to the official items on the program of the Olympic games, and are allowed in this study³³. Athletes in the typical starting position, are evidently included.

Runners in armour originally wore shield, helmet and legguards. At a later stage, the legguards were omitted³⁴, and, according to some authors, such as Jüthner and Harris³⁵, the helmet as well. Neumann³⁶ also claims that, after a time, helmet and legguards were omitted and that only the shield was maintained. Webster³⁷ notes that it is not always easy to distinguish runners in armour from running hoplites; in this study no military equipment except shield, helmet and legguards is accepted.

Combat sports

The combat sports held within the scope of the Olympic games were boxing, wrestling and pankration.

As Harris³⁸ remarks, it is sometimes difficult to determine what kind of combat sport is pictured on the vases. Because of the different fighting positions and grips, the difference between boxing and wrestling is often rather easy to make. The problem is to decide whether pankration is pictured or not³⁹. Pankration was a combat sport in which many things were permitted: a kind of boxing and wrestling at the same time, with other more specific features. The fact that only boxers should wear thongs round their hands or wrists, is no definitive criterion. Although most of the authors do not mention the use of thongs by pankratiasts, and although some of them explicitly say that they did not wear them⁴⁰, Poliakov⁴¹ writes in his monograph that they sometimes did use them⁴². Moreover, Poliakov⁴² says that boxers were not obliged to wear thongs, and therefore they did not always do so. The picture of a person holding thongs or winding them around his fists, however, is included as being the picture

of a boxer, since this is the more likely suggestion. Beside the difficult distinction between boxing and pankration, the difference between wrestling and pankration is equally not always easy to determine. Gardiner⁴³, for example, writes that the essential difference between wrestling and pankration lies in the intention: the wrestler had to throw his opponent on the ground, while the aim of the pankratiast was to put his opponent in such a position that he was compelled to admit defeat. According to Harris⁴⁴, wrestlers fought standing upright while pankratiasts competed on the ground. This was not always the case. Poliakov⁴⁵ admits that most of the vase painters show wrestlers standing upright, because this better fits on the surface of the vase, but that wrestling could also be practised on the ground. Since there were but few rules used in the pankration, this sport too could be practised standing upright as well as prone.

For this study, the wearing of thongs around hands or wrists could not help to distinguish between pankration and boxing. On the other hand, this criterion sometimes helps to differentiate between pankration and wrestling (and most of the time for the distinction between boxing and wrestling as well). “Boxing on the ground” is assumed as pankration.

³¹ For example Laporte & Bultiauw 1992, 106.

³² For example CVA GB 5, pl. 31 (6); GB 9, pl. 52(4); I 14, pl. 4 (2); I 38, pl. 147(2) and NL 5, pl. 147 (5). In all these cases the suggestion of the CVA has been followed. Based on such pictures, some authors suppose that during antiquity also the “running jump” – without jumping weights – has been practised, see for example CVA NL 5, 45-46.

³³ Torch-race for example at the Panathenaia and the Prometheia (Webster 1972, 200).

³⁴ Laporte & Bultiauw 1992, 114.

³⁵ Jüthner 1968, 122, where he also mentions that vases only show practitioners of the race in armour with helmet (and shield); Harris 1964, 74. In this article, however, some figures with helmet, shield and legguards are considered as being practitioners of the race in armour, see for example CVA D 21, pl. 65(3); DDR 3, pl. 10(1); F 17, pl. 14(5); GB 6, pl. 25(1).

³⁶ Neumann 1977, 37-38. Cf. most recently Decker 1995, 71.

³⁷ Webster 1972, 198.

³⁸ Harris 1964, 101.

³⁹ See also Poliakov 1987, 5-6.

⁴⁰ For example Daremberg & Saglio & Pottier 1907, 755 and 758; Bruckner 1954, 38; Harris 1964, 106; Rudolph 1965, 78; Harris 1972, 26; Decker 1995, 91.

⁴¹ Poliakov 1987, 56. Harris 1964, 101 mentions: “We are generally told that if the fighters are wearing thongs, they are boxers, if not, the event is the pankration, but this is surely to attribute too much significance to the presence or absence of a few lines on the vase.”. The insufficient quality of a photograph or not enough details in the text can make the thongs undiscernible.

⁴² Poliakov 1987, 70.

⁴³ Gardiner 1906, 4.

⁴⁴ Harris 1972, 26. Cf. Rudolph 1965, 78 and most recently Decker 1995, 81 & 91-92.

⁴⁵ Poliakov 1987, 33-34.

In general, pictures are said to represent pankration when they could not be interpreted as being a permissible manoeuvre of either boxing or wrestling.

3. *Hippic Sports*

Nudity

In antiquity, horsemen rode naked as well as dressed and both were painted on vases, but it is difficult to be sure which representations are connected with sport and which are not. Even Anderson, who devoted an entire book to horseriding in classical Greece, does not seem to draw a clear distinction. He writes that the Greeks did not have any specific riding dress because of the gentle climate in their country. Dressed riders usually wore a short chiton, over which was sometimes a chlamys. Further, he writes that many young men did ride naked, *especially* when racing their horses or schooling them in the training grounds⁴⁶.

Additionally, also elsewhere⁴⁷ was opted for a horse-race, *because* the horsemen were young, naked and did not carry spears.

Nevertheless, riders are often represented wearing a short chiton, in a sporting context⁴⁸: “nudity” is here not a definitive criterion. Maul-Mandelartz⁴⁹ writes that after 720, riders were also subjected to practise naked. But she mentions, as well, various examples of vases on which dressed horsemen are pictured in a clearly agonistic sphere⁵⁰.

In this study, all the naked horsemen are taken into account. Thereby, also those riders in a short chiton, since the context in which they appear is largely the same as for the naked riders. Horsemen wearing boots and/or hat⁵¹ and/or some other dress are rejected. Anderson⁵² assumes that in a warm country such as Greece, for practical reasons, trousers or breeches were not a desirable attire for riding; one may ask if riding naked was more practical.

The case is much easier for charioteers; in races they wore a long (white) chiton. Exceptional pictures with naked charioteers or charioteers in other dresses are omitted.

Horse-race

Several riders on their horses moving in one direction are without any problem considered as a sport scene. One rider on a horse (even when not or slowly moving) is considered as sport if no iconographic argument for the contrary or doubt could be found. The pictures of horses with riders that move to each other are also accepted. In this article, pictures of one or more men standing next to their horse(s) are never accepted as being sport, since their interpretation is too diverse and the sportive context is generally too uncertain.

Rather frequent is the representation of horsemen together with runners in a single scene. In that case,

training exercises may be pictured⁵³. Those pictures are not at all unusual and are taken into account in this study. The representation of horse-races together with chariot-races is not unusual either⁵⁴. The presence of birds on horse-race scenes would be indicative for speed⁵⁵; the same applies to chariot-races.

Chariot-race

Only those pictures which clearly reflect a sportive context are taken into account for this study⁵⁶. The representations of a chariot-race in presence of the goddess Athena in complete military equipment, are omitted. After all, it is difficult to connect these representations with the four Panhellenic sacred games (the program at Olympia was the basic assumption of this study). They could refer to other games, or be connected with mythological/military scenes⁵⁷.

According to Webster⁵⁸, harnessing the chariot only occurs on black figure vases. In that case it is not always clear whether daily life (sport or not), or a mythological scene is pictured. If no argument could be found, according to which one could doubt the connection with sport, those pictures are included in this study.

There were a few types of chariot-races. Representations of the so-called “apobates race”⁵⁹ (chariot-race together with running hoplite), are rejected here, because the race did not appear as an official event in the in this article considered sports program.

III. LIST OF THE INCLUDED PICTURES

In the following list, the references to the CVA⁶⁰ are grouped according to the different sports.

⁴⁶ Anderson 1961, 85-87.

⁴⁷ CVA GR 4, 65.

⁴⁸ For example Brijder 1975, 161 and several pictures from the CVA

⁴⁹ Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 53 n. 144.

⁵⁰ Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 50, 52 and 77.

⁵¹ Sometimes athletes who are not practising hippic sports wore a head gear. These, however, were taken into account, see Boardman 1975, 220.

⁵² Anderson 1961, 85.

⁵³ For example Brijder 1975, 161; Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 172 and following pages; CVA USA 25, 51.

⁵⁴ For example Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 79-80.

⁵⁵ Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 60.

⁵⁶ Webster 1972, 192, however, states that one can only have complete certainty about the non-mythological, sportive context when the picture appears on a panathenaic vase.

⁵⁷ See also Webster 1972, 184 (concerning Athena with horse-races) and 195 (with chariot-races).

⁵⁸ Webster 1972, 189.

⁵⁹ See for example Webster 1972, 195.

⁶⁰ List of the examined volumes: A 1-4; B 1-3; CDN 1; CH 1-7; CS 1-2; CY 1-2; D 1-66; DDR 1-3; DK 1-8; E 1-6; F 1-35; GB 1-17; GR 1-4; H 1; I 1-69; J 1-2; N 1; NL 1-7; NZ 1; PL 1-10; R 1-2; S 1-4; USA 1-30 and YU 1-4.

Within each sport, a distinction between black and red figure has been made. The international abbreviations of the countries are used and the numbering is continuous for each country (not for each museum). Only the clearest picture of a scene with sport is listed.

1. Throwing Sports

Discus throwing

* Black figure: CH 4, pl. 42(6); D 30, pl. 52(1-2); DK 3, pl. 105(3); F 8, pl. 55(6); F 10, pl. 71(10); F 17, pl. 107(8); GB 5, pl. 67(1); GB 8, pl. 87(3); GR 3, pl. 48(1), 49(2); I 17, pl. 1(2); I 18, pl. 15(6); I 23, pl. 8(1); I 50, pl. 19(4); USA 16, pl. 49(4); USA 17, pl. 26(2).
 * Red figure: A 1, pl. 33(2-3); A 2, pl. 73(3); A 2, pl. 90(4); B 2, pl. 10(2); CH 6, pl. 14(1); D 1, pl. 5(5); D 5, pl. 18(11); D 12, pl. 170(2); D 12, pl. 192(1); D 12, pl. 196(1); D 12, pl. 204(1-2); D 13, pl. 22(1); D 18, pl. 68(3); D 20, pl. 218(3); D 21, pl. 55(1); D 30, pl. 84(4); D 35, pl. 37(1-2); D 46, pl. 17(5); D 54, pl. 4(5); D 54, pl. 8(1); D 54, pl. 13(1-2); D 60, pl. 43(3); DDR 3, pl. 16(1), 18(3); DK 3, pl. 128(1); DK 3, pl. 140(2); E 2, pl. 22(2); F 8, pl. 28(5); F 15, pl. 14(7); F 15, pl. 20(6); F 17, pl. 1(5); F 17, pl. 8(7); F 17, pl. 20(6,7); F 17, pl. 21(5); F 28, pl. 40(1); F 28, pl. 42(1); F 28, pl. 52(2); F 28, pl. 55(3); F 28, pl. 63(2); F 28, pl. 64(4); F 30, pl. 5(1); GB 3, pl. 17(1); GB 3, pl. 22(4); GB 3, pl. 23(1); GB 3, pl. 24(1); GB 4, pl. 3(2); GB 6, pl. 26(2); GB 7, pl. 47(3); GB 7, pl. 74(1); GB 9, pl. 62(4); GB 11, pl. 5(2); GB 12, pl. 28(6); GB 15, pl. 39(1-2); GB 17, pl. 46(a-b); GR 1, pl. 10(1); I 2, pl. 15(2); I 2, pl. 16(1); I 8, pl. 5(60); I 8, pl. 8(212); I 8, pl. A(4); I 10, pl. 7(5); I 13, pl. 41(3); I 13, pl. 45(4); I 13, pl. 57(5); I 14, pl. 6(1); I 16, pl. 6(4); I 23, pl. 15(9); I 23, pl. 15(11); I 25, pl. 7(1); I 26, pl. 15(2); I 47, pl. 1(2); I 57, pl. 45(3); NL 5, pl. 144(2); NL 7, pl. 188(2); PL 1, pl. 17(2); PL 2, pl. 9(1); PL 3, pl. 1(11); PL 3, pl. 1(16); USA 1, pl. 12(1); USA 5, pl. 38(1); USA 8, pl. 47(2), 48(2); USA 8, pl. 47(3), 49(1); USA 8, pl. 48(1); USA 8, pl. 53(2); USA 28, pl. 9(1).

Javelin throwing

* Black figure: CH 3, pl. 43(2); CH 4, pl. 35(3); CH 4, pl. 35(4); D 11, pl. 11(1); D 15, pl. 38(3); D 30, pl. 52(1); D 34, pl. 27(1-2); F 5, pl. 32(9); F 10, pl. 71(10); F 10, pl. 84(5-6); F 15, pl. 3(6); F 15, pl. 3(7); F 17, pl. 105(7); F 17, pl. 107(8); GB 4, pl. 45(8); GB 8, pl. 87(3); I 9, pl. 16(1); I 17, pl. 1(2); I 18, pl. 12(2); I 18, pl. 15(6); I 23, pl. 5(7); I 40, pl. 2(1); I 50, pl. 19(5-6); I 54, pl. 9(1); I 61, pl. 38(7); NL 6, pl. 1(3); R 1, pl. 26(2); USA 3, pl. 14(5); USA 11, pl. 14(22); USA 12, pl. 10(1-2); USA 16, pl. 49(3-4); USA 17, pl. 17(2); USA 17, pl. 26(2).
 * Red figure: A 3, pl. 122(2); B 2, pl. 6(3); B 2, pl. 10(2); B 2, pl. 14(c,d); CH 1, pl. 7(4); CH 1, pl. 12(8); CH 6, pl. 14(1); CH 6, pl. 20(2); D 5, pl. 20(4); D 7, pl. 26(2); D 12, pl. 197(2); D 12, pl. 204(1-2); D 13, pl. 22(1-2); D 18, pl. 69(1); D 18, pl. 71(3-4); D 21, pl. 55(1); D 21, pl. 63(3); D 21, pl. 76(2); D 21, pl. 97(1); D 22, pl. 105(2-3); D 29, pl. 52(1); D 30, pl. 68(2); D 54, pl. 13(2); D 54, pl. 16(7); D 60, pl. 37(7); DDR 3,

pl. 16(1); DDR 3, pl. 25(6), 26(1); DDR 3, pl. 37(2); DK 3, pl. 128(1); F 2, pl. 24(2); F 6, pl. 6(11); F 6, pl. 6(16); F 8, pl. 28(5); F 9, pl. 40(11); F 10, pl. 96(2); F 15, pl. 20(4,6,9); F 17, pl. 1(6); F 17, pl. 20(1); F 20, pl. 51(4); F 28, pl. 41(2); F 28, pl. 50(1); F 28, pl. 63(2); GB 3, pl. 2(5); GB 3, pl. 3(7); GB 3, pl. 15(4); GB 3, pl. 22(4); GB 4, pl. 3(2); GB 6, pl. 26(1); GB 7, pl. 74(1); GB 15, pl. 38(1-2); GB 15, pl. 50(2); GB 17, pl. 46(a,b); GR 2, pl. 12(4); GR 2, pl. 13(4); I 2, pl. 15(2); I 2, pl. 34(5), 36(2-3); I 5, pl. 10(2); I 8, pl. 1(13); I 8, pl. 15(266); I 8, pl. 23(178); I 10, pl. 7(5); I 13, pl. 40(4); I 13, pl. 41(3); I 13, pl. 45(4); I 13, pl. 57(5); I 16, pl. 7(4); I 17, pl. 1(1); I 17, pl. 23(1); I 23, pl. 22(4); I 25, pl. 7(1); I 26, pl. 15(1); I 26, pl. 20(1); I 28, pl. 17(5); I 28, pl. 17(6); I 28, pl. 43(1); I 30, pl. 92(2); I 33, pl. 128(1,3); I 33, pl. 129(1-3); I 33, pl. 130(1-2); I 33, pl. 134(2-3); I 37, pl. 4(2); I 37, pl. 14(2); I 38, pl. 156(1,3); I 39, pl. 29(1); I 57, pl. 45(4); I 64, pl. 15(4); NL 6, pl. 5(4); NL 6, pl. 61(5); PL 1, pl. 17(1); PL 2, pl. 9(1); USA 1, pl. 20(1-2); USA 5, pl. 39(1); USA 8, pl. 49(1); USA 10, pl. 26(1); USA 17, pl. 52(2).

The long jump

* Black figure: CH 3, pl. 43(1); CH 3, pl. 54(2); CH 4, pl. 43(3); D 11, pl. 11(2); DK 3, pl. 105(3); DK 3, pl. 115(3); F 5, pl. 47(5); F 8, pl. 55(6); F 10, pl. 71(3); F 10, pl. 77(1); F 17, pl. 107(3); GR 3, pl. 48(1), 49(2); GR 4, pl. 22(1-2); I 17, pl. 1(2); I 41, pl. 9(1); I 50, pl. 19(5); USA 16, pl. 49(3); USA 17, pl. 17(2); USA 24, pl. 7(4).
 * Red figure: A 1, pl. 8(1-3); A 2, pl. 90(4); A 3, pl. 122(2); B 2, pl. 10(2); B 2, pl. 16(1); CH 1, pl. 8(3-4); CH 6, pl. 14(1); CH 6, pl. 20(1); D 4, pl. 14(2); D 4, pl. 15(3); D 5, pl. 11(2); D 6, pl. 89(3); D 11, pl. 26(2); D 12, pl. 192(2); D 13, pl. 22(1-2); D 21, pl. 63(3-4), 65(6); D 22, pl. 144(1,3); D 30, pl. 68(1); D 35, pl. 37(1); D 49, pl. 13(2); D 54, pl. 13(2); DDR 1, pl. 36; DDR 3, pl. 16(1), 18(1); DDR 3, pl. 25(4); DDR 3, pl. 37(1); DK 3, pl. 128(1); DK 3, pl. 140(2); DK 4, pl. 169(3); F 2, pl. 15(3); F 2, pl. 22(2); F 2, pl. 24(2); F 3, pl. 14(4); F 9, pl. 49(6); F 15, pl. 20(6); F 28, pl. 32(2,4); F 28, pl. 34(4); F 28, pl. 55(3); F 28, pl. 57(4); F 28, pl. 62(1); F 28, pl. 70(1); F 28, pl. 73(1); GB 3, pl. 6(2); GB 5, pl. 31(6); GB 6, pl. 25(4), 26(2); GB 6, pl. 26(1); GB 9, pl. 52(4); GB 15, pl. 38(1-2); GB 15, pl. 50(2); GB 17, pl. 46(a,b); GR 2, pl. 12(7); GR 2, pl. 16(2); I 2, pl. 15(2); I 2, pl. 16(1); I 2, pl. 29(2); I 4, pl. 5(2); I 4, pl. 6(3); I 5, pl. 6(1,3); I 8, pl. 1(13); I 8, pl. 2(4); I 8, pl. 5(63); I 8, pl. 9(166); I 8, pl. 9(174); I 8, pl. 23(178); I 13, pl. 57(5); I 14, pl. 4(2); I 14, pl. 24(4); I 23, pl. 18(1-3); I 25, pl. 7(1); I 28, pl. 1(5); I 28, pl. 25(14); I 28, pl. 26(4); I 30, pl. 76(1); I 30, pl. 92(2); I 30, pl. 94(2); I 33, pl. 124(2); I 33, pl. 128(3); I 33, pl. 138(2); I 37, pl. 15(2); I 38, pl. 121(1,3); I 38, pl. 124(1); I 38, pl. 132(4); I 38, pl. 147(2); I 39, pl. 21(1); I 39, pl. 25(1); I 43, pl. 5(5); I 60, pl. 39(1-2); I 64, pl. 15(3); NL 5, pl. 147(5); NL 6, pl. 1(1), 2(3); NL 6, pl. 21(3); NL 7, pl. 182(3); PL 2, pl. 9(1); PL 2, pl. 9(2); USA 5, pl. 38(1); USA 8, pl. 48(2); USA 8, pl. 49(1); USA 8, pl. 54(1); USA 8, pl. 60(6); USA 21, pl. 33(2).

2. Running Sports

Foot-race

* Black figure: B 2, pl. 21(13); B 3, pl. 27(15); CDN 1, pl. 29(10-11); CH 3, pl. 71(11); CH 3, pl. 71(13); CH 3, pl. 71(15); CH 4, pl. 35(6-7); CH 4, pl. 42(1), 43(1); CH 4, pl. 42(6); CS 2, pl. 39(5); D 15, pl. 44(2); D 17, pl. 38(8); D 26, pl. 21(6-7); D 31, pl. 169(2); D 32, pl. 346(1); D 39, pl. 40(1-2); D 42, pl. 30(3); D 45, pl. 19(1); D 48, pl. 42(1); D 56, pl. 29(3-4); D 56, pl. 29(5-6); D 57, pl. 51(1-2); D 60, pl. 22(5-6); D 61, pl. 30(2); D 65, pl. 7(2); DDR 2, pl. 5(1); DDR 2, pl. 35(9); DK 3, pl. 105(3); DK 3, pl. 117(3); E 3, pl. 11(6); E 3, pl. 14(1); F 3, pl. 13(11); F 5, pl. 36(13,18); F 10, pl. 67(1-2); F 10, pl. 71(1); F 10, pl. 77(1); F 12, pl. 77(4); F 13, pl. 15(7); F 14, pl. 83(5,9); F 14, pl. 86(9-10); F 18, pl. 137(3); F 20, pl. 20(5); GB 8, pl. 87(3); GB 12, pl. 14(2); GR 3, pl. 5(4); GR 3, pl. 36(1-2); GR 3, pl. 47(4); GR 4, pl. 15(1-2); I 3, pl. 25(12); I 3, pl. 50(5); I 9, pl. 18(4); I 18, pl. 2(4); I 18, pl. 5(1); I 18, pl. 5(3); I 20, pl. 39(4); I 26, pl. 25(2-3); I 35, pl. 18(1); I 35, pl. 18(3); I 35, pl. 19(1); I 47, pl. 6(1); I 50, pl. 4(1-2); I 56, pl. 10(2); I 61, pl. 9(2); I 61, pl. 9(4); I 61, pl. 38(1); I 61, pl. 38(2); I 61, pl. 38(3); I 61, pl. 38(4); I 61, pl. 38(5); I 61, pl. 38(6); I 61, pl. 44(3); I 65, pl. 35(16); NL 4, pl. 59(3,4); NZ 1, pl. 20(1); PL 3, pl. 2(2); PL 3, pl. 3(8); PL 4, pl. 18(1-2); R 2, pl. 16(1-2); S 3, pl. 31(4); USA 4, pl. 21(1); USA 8, pl. 11(9); USA 25, pl. 97(1).

* Red figure: CH 1, pl. 7(4); CH 6, pl. 26(3); D 11, pl. 26(3); D 20, pl. 218(3); DK 4, pl. 160(2); F 17, pl. 7(5); F 20, pl. 33(3); F 28, pl. 52(2); F 28, pl. 55(3); I 5, pl. 10(1); I 10, pl. 7(5); I 13, pl. 45(4); I 16, pl. 3(1); I 25, pl. 7(1); I 41, pl. 1(2); NL 6, pl. 5(4); NL 7, pl. 173(1); PL 1, pl. 41(7).

Race in armour

* Black figure: D 32, pl. 347(1); F 16, pl. 14(5-6); I 43, pl. 1(2).

* Red figure: A 1, pl. 3(4); A 2, pl. 72(1); CH 6, pl. 1(2); CH 6, pl. 10(3), 12(1); D 11, pl. 24(2); D 18, pl. 68(1); D 21, pl. 65(3); D 22, pl. 105(4); D 34, pl. 35(3); D 54, pl. 4(4); DDR 3, pl. 10(1); DDR 3, pl. 10(3); DDR 3, pl. 11(1-2); F 8, pl. 34(7); F 9, pl. 40(3); F 17, pl. 14(5); F 17, pl. 16(5); F 20, pl. 28(2); F 20, pl. 33(8); F 20, pl. 47(3); F 28, pl. 57(1); F 30, pl. 5(2); GB 6, pl. 25(1); GB 17, pl. 69(b); I 5, pl. 46(1); I 30, pl. 85(2); I 30, pl. 89(1-4); NL 5, pl. 121(1-2); NL 6, pl. 28(1); NL 6, pl. 32(3); NL 7, pl. 181(1); USA 6, pl. 20(1).

3. Combat Sports

Boxing

* Black figure: B 1, pl. 10(3); CH 3, pl. 43(1); D 10, pl. 39(6); D 17, pl. 20(3); D 48, pl. 28(2); D 57, pl. 31(1,3); F 2, pl. 6(1,4); F 2, pl. 10(5); F 5, pl. 47(5); F 8, pl. 55(8,11); F 10, pl. 71(3); F 10, pl. 77(1); F 12, pl. 75(2); F 12, pl. 78(1); F 14, pl. 93(3); F 16, pl. 13(4,6); F 17, pl. 102(3,6); F 19, pl. 181(1); F 30, pl. 5(1); GB 5, pl. 67(1); GB 5, pl. 72(1); GB 8, pl. 96(1); GB 12, pl. 10(12); GR 3, pl. 48(1); GR 4, pl. 22(3-4); I 2, pl. 16(4); I 18, pl. 14(2); I 26, pl. 22(1); I 26, pl. 23(2); I 26, pl. 30(5); I 42, pl. 13(1); I 45, pl. 18(1); I 50, pl.

5(2); I 50, pl. 10(3); I 69, pl. 57(4); J 2, pl. 40(1); USA 4, pl. 20(1); USA 4, pl. 24(2); USA 8, pl. 11(9); USA 11, pl. 13(20); USA 12, pl. 37(2); USA 15, pl. 17(2); USA 24, pl. 7(4).

* Red figure: A 1, pl. 8(2); A 2, pl. 53(1); B 1, pl. 3(2); B 2, pl. 6(4); D 12, pl. 174(2); D 21, pl. 55(1); D 21, pl. 76(1); D 21, pl. 97(2); DK 3, pl. 126(1); F 17, pl. 11(4); GB 3, pl. 6(1-2); GB 4, pl. 3(2); GB 16, pl. 18(4); GB 17, pl. 25(a-b); GB 17, pl. 47(b), 48(a); GB 17, pl. 68(b), 69(a-b); I 2, pl. 34(2); I 4, pl. 5(2); I 5, pl. 1(1); I 8, pl. 5(57); I 8, pl. C(1); I 13, pl. 49(1); I 14, pl. 7(3-4); I 25, pl. 7(1); I 28, pl. 18(1); I 38, pl. 124(4); J 1, pl. 2(2-3); NL 6, pl. 32(4); USA 1, pl. 12(2); USA 6, pl. 20(1); USA 17, pl. 42(2); USA 17, pl. 51(1), 52(1).

Wrestling

* Black figure: B 1, pl. 2(5); CH 3, pl. 43(1); D 5, pl. 5(6); D 17, pl. 20(4); D 32, pl. 344(1-2); D 45, pl. 33(2); D 57, pl. 31(5,6); D 57, pl. 32(1,3); D 57, pl. 32(8); DDR 2, pl. 35(10); F 2, pl. 6(2-3); F 5, pl. 40(1,3); F 12, pl. 75(2); F 12, pl. 78(1); F 13, pl. 15(7); F 19, pl. 181(1); F 20, pl. 14(6); F 20, pl. 24(3); F 30, pl. 5(1); GB 5, pl. 72(1); GB 8, pl. 87(3); GB 11, pl. 2(1); I 17, pl. 4(2); I 18, pl. 14(1); I 50, pl. 3(1); NL 1, pl. 4(2); USA 24, pl. 7(4).

* Red figure: D 6, pl. 55(3-4); D 52, pl. 27(1); DK 4, pl. 160(2); F 12, pl. 47(2); F 15, pl. 21(7); F 28, pl. 63(2); GB 3, pl. 6(1); GB 3, pl. 46(9); GB 16, pl. 18(3); GR 2, pl. 16(1); I 2, pl. 34(1); I 5, pl. 5(1,3); I 8, pl. C(2); I 16, pl. 3(1); I 30, pl. 85(1,3); I 40, pl. 1(1); NL 6, pl. 33(6); PL 2, pl. 12(4); PL 6, pl. 4(1-2); USA 6, pl. 20(1).

Pankration

* Black figure: D 48, pl. 10(2).

* Red figure: DDR 3, pl. 18(2); GB 17, pl. 69(c); I 8, pl. 5(56); USA 1, pl. 11(1); USA 6, pl. 18(1).

4. Hippic Sports

Horse-race

* Black figure: B 1, pl. 12(3); B 3, pl. 27(15); CDN 1, pl. 31(2-3); CDN 1, pl. 36(5,6); CH 3, pl. 43(3); CH 3, pl. 52(1); CH 4, pl. 30(3); D 3, pl. 7(4); D 3, pl. 8(3), 9(1); D 3, pl. 32(1); D 3, pl. 36(1), 37(1); D 5, pl. 4(3); D 5, pl. 4(5); D 5, pl. 5(5); D 7, pl. 6(4); D 9, pl. 136(4-6); D 10, pl. 32(2); D 10, pl. 42(6); D 15, pl. 38(3); D 15, pl. 44(2); D 17, pl. 38(8-9); D 17, pl. 40(4); D 32, pl. 323(2); D 34, pl. 25(5); D 41, pl. 22(1-2); D 44, pl. 34(2); D 45, pl. 15(2); D 57, pl. 50(3); D 57, pl. 51(1-2); D 57, pl. 51(5-6); D 57, pl. 52(2-3); D 57, pl. 52(8-9); D 61, pl. 7(4); DDR 2, pl. 38(1); DK 3, pl. 117(3); E 3, pl. 12(1); F 1, pl. 2(9); F 1, pl. 3(7); F 1, pl. 3(9); F 1, pl. 4(14); F 2, pl. 10(3); F 2, pl. 19(1-2); F 3, pl. 3(1); F 4, pl. 9(3,6); F 4, pl. 11(8); F 5, pl. 32(6); F 5, pl. 32(9); F 5, pl. 36(13,18); F 9, pl. 64(4); F 9, pl. 65(1); F 10, pl. 67(1-2); F 12, pl. 75(1); F 12, pl. 77(6); F 12, pl. 78(2); F 14, pl. 83(2); F 14, pl. 90(12-13); F 16, pl. 14(5-6); F 17, pl. 107(6); F 18, pl. 128(1); F 19, pl. 170(4); F 19, pl. 194(1-2); GB 2, pl. 15(9); GB 6, pl. 17(7); GB 8, pl. 75(1); GB 8, pl. 96(1); GB 9, pl. 10(2); GB 9, pl. 13(4); GB 11, pl. 22(1); GB 11, pl. 23(1); GR 3, pl. 6(2); GR 3, pl. 10(1,3); GR 3, pl. 36(1-2); GR 3, pl. 36(3-4); GR 3, pl. 47(4-6); GR 4, pl. 50(6); GR 4, pl.

60(4-5); GR 4, pl. 61(2-3); I 1, pl. 2(2); I 9, pl. 18(4); I 18, pl. 2(1); I 18, pl. 2(4); I 18, pl. 4(2); I 18, pl. 5(1); I 18, pl. 5(2); I 18, pl. 5(3); I 18, pl. 5(4); I 18, pl. 6(2); I 19, pl. 1(1); I 20, pl. 28(3); I 20, pl. 39(4); I 23, pl. 10(4); I 23, pl. 11(1); I 26, pl. 1(2); I 36, pl. 7(1); I 36, pl. 8(2); I 41, pl. 4(1); I 50, pl. 4(1-2); I 56, pl. 11(3); I 56, pl. 13(5); I 56, pl. 36(2); I 61, pl. 33(3), 35(1); I 61, pl. 59(1-2), 60(3); I 65, pl. 14(3); J 2, pl. 49(2); N 1, pl. 17(1); NL 3, pl. 12(1); NL 4, pl. 59(3-4); NZ 1, pl. 25(3-6); NZ 1, pl. 31(7); PL 3, pl. 1(4); PL 3, pl. 2(2); PL 4, pl. 19(5); PL 4, pl. 35(2); PL 4, pl. 37(4); S 3, pl. 31(4); USA 2, pl. 9(2); USA 5, pl. 17(3); USA 8, pl. 41(3); USA 11, pl. 33(50), 42(50); USA 12, pl. 2(1-2); USA 15, pl. 6(1); USA 16, pl. 15(1-2); USA 17, pl. 21(2); USA 19, pl. 73(3); USA 19, pl. 86(2-3); USA 23, pl. 17(1-2); USA 23, pl. 24(1-2); USA 25, pl. 91(3); USA 25, pl. 97(1-2).

* Red figure: A 3, pl. 116(3); CH 1, pl. 12(11); D 20, pl. 225(3); D 22, pl. 103(1-2); F 12, pl. 47(1); GB 7, pl. 65(3); I 10, pl. 7(2); I 10, pl. 8(5); I 10, pl. 10(1); I 17, pl. 11(2-3); I 26, pl. 22(4); I 30, pl. 73(2); I 31, pl. 9(4).

Chariot-race

* Black figure: B 1, pl. 6(3); B 1, pl. 12(2); B 1, pl. 12(3); B 2, pl. 21(27); CDN 1, pl. 32(1-2); CH 2, pl. 7(2); CH 3, pl. 67(1-2); CH 4, pl. 38(1); CH 4, pl. 51(16); D 3, pl. 15(3); D 3, pl. 30(1); D 3, pl. 34(1), 35(1); D 3, pl. 40(1); D 7, pl. 10(5); D 7, pl. 10(8); D 7, pl. 14(6); D 10, pl. 41(12); D 11, pl. 4(2); D 11, pl. 22(1-2); D 12, pl. 177 (1); D 31, pl. 158(1-4); D 32, pl. 344(3); D 34, pl. 23(3-4); D 34, pl. 23(5-6); D 37, pl. 426; D 46, pl. 11(8); D 47, pl. 50(1-3); D 61, pl. 20(1); DDR 2, pl. 37(1-2); DK 3, pl. 111(11); E 1, pl. 10(1); E 1, pl. 30(6); E 3, pl. 8(1); F 2, pl. 5(5); F 2, pl. 6(1-4); F 2, pl. 8(4); F 2, pl. 9(10); F 3, pl. 3(8); F 5, pl. 39(1); F 8, pl. 57(18); F 9, pl. 61(1); F 9, pl. 64(4); F 12, pl. 75(1); F 17, pl. 109(2); F 17, pl. 110(4); F 17, pl. 119(4); F 19, pl. 154(3); F 19, pl. 169(1-2); F 19, pl. 169(3-4); F 24, pl. 10(1,4); GB 5, pl. 70(3); GB 6, pl. 22(27); GB 6, pl. 22(39); GB 8, pl. 75(1); GB 8, pl. 76(1); GB 8, pl. 87(1); GB 8, pl. 91(2); GB 9, pl. 12(1); GB 14, pl. 23(4); GB 14, pl. 39(1); GB 14, pl. 40(3); GB 15, pl. 25(1); GR 1, pl. 10(10); GR 1, pl. 10(14); GR 1, pl. 10(16); GR 3, pl. 19(2); I 3, pl. 26(1-2); I 3, pl. 26(6), 27(1); I 3, pl. 54(1,3); I 7, pl. 26(2-3); I 7, pl. 9(1-2); I 7, pl. 39(3); I 9, pl. 2(5); I 10, pl. 21(4); I 20, pl. 25(4); I 20, pl. 38(3); I 20, pl. 38(4); I 23, pl. 11(9); I 26, pl. 21(6); I 26, pl. 25(4); I 35, pl. 31(1); I 36, pl. 22(1); I 42, pl. 10(2); I 42, pl. 11(1); I 42, pl. 25(1); I 42, pl. 41(4); I 42, pl. 42(1); I 50, pl. 13(9-10); I 50, pl. 14(1-2); I 61, pl. 10(1-2); I 61, pl. 17(2), 19(2); I 61, pl. 82(1-2); J 2, pl. 55(2-3); J 2, pl. 7(1); N 1, pl. 28(5-6); NL 1, pl. 5(4); NL 3, pl. 6; NL 4, pl. 101(9-10); NL 4, pl. 101(11-12); NL 4, pl. 102(5-6); PL 2, pl. 4(1); PL 3, pl. 1(1); R 1, pl. 29(11); USA 4, pl. 38(3); USA 8, pl. 8(2); USA 8, pl. 12(2); USA 8, pl. 43(1); USA 10, pl. 8(1); USA 10, pl. 11(2); USA 11, pl. 6(7), 7(7); USA 11, pl. 14(22); USA 12, pl. 10(1-2); USA 12, pl. 13(2); USA 14, pl. 5(2); USA 14, pl. 49(2); USA 16, pl. 45(4-5); USA 17, pl. 27(2); USA 18, pl. 21(8-10); USA 19, pl. 81(3); USA 19, pl. 84(3); USA 19, pl. 85(3); USA 21, pl. 19; USA 23, pl. 41(3); USA 23, pl. 9(3); USA 23, pl. 56(1).

* Red figure: D 20, pl. 225(3); DDR 3, pl. 17(1-2); GB 7, pl. 72(2); I 4, pl. 8(2); I 5, pl. 36(1); NL 5, pl. 146(1); PL 3, pl. 1(21).

IV. THE POPULARITY OF PAINTING SPORT SCENES: GENERAL GRAPHICS

1. Introduction

The information from the CVA is included in *graphics* according to the following aspects:

- style
- dating and relation style-dating
- form
- relation style-form
- relation dating-form

This information has been processed according to a *statistically valid method*⁶¹. The interpretation of the graphics is based upon the results of the employed method. Starting from the largest category (for instance the quarter of a century in which most of the sport scenes from a specific discipline were classified), the most important group according to a specific aspect was attained by adding to the largest category all categories which do not show significant differences with this largest category. Categories marked with an asterisk (*) show no significant differences either with at least one category beyond the most important group. In other words, these categories can be considered as being relatively less important than those without (*). For the results and the exact numbers, the reader is referred to the graphics themselves. Every attempt to explain the observations will be part of “Part B”. The confrontation of the results from the graphics with each other will be treated in “Part B” as well. This introductory information is also admissible for “V”.

Some *results of the work of Webster* are, owing to some affinities in intention and because of the large quantity of included pictures, suitable for general comparison with the results of this study: “It is interesting to compare the figures quoted above for horsemen. 437 black-figure vases have horsemen and 287 red-figure vases; 199 black-figure vases have athletes, and 1371 red-figure vases,” and “we see the change in popularity; horsemen in the black-figure period and athletes in the red-figure period”⁶². These numbers can be explained by the differences in research method (i.a. a more precise limitation of the research object in this study).

For a comparison with the conclusions of Webster, only his chapters 14 (“Horsemen and Chariots”) and 15 (“Athletics”) are suitable. The results of his investigation, as far as they are significant here, are given

⁶¹ See the Appendix.

⁶² Webster 1972, 214 & 215.

| | black figure | red figure | | | | |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | $\frac{1}{4}$ 6 | $\frac{1}{4}$ 5 | $\frac{2}{4}$ 5 | $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 | $\frac{4}{4}$ 5 |
| amphora | 84 | 9 | 33 | 17 | 42 | 5 |
| krater | 2 | 0 | 40 | 21 | 28 | 4 |
| hydria | 6 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| cups | 31 | 223 | 312 | 305 | 145 | 60 |
| lekythos | 59 | 0 | 5 | 25 | 2 | 0 |
| oinochoe | 6 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 23 | 15 |
| various | 12 | 13 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| total | 200 | 250 | 412 | 381 | 240 | 84 |

in adapted form (see table above). A detailed comparison, however, is unfortunately impossible. First of all, an evaluation of the last mentioned chapter:

- * Only 8 of the 10 sports, taken into account for this article, are included (no hippic sports). There are, as in this study, no panathenaic prize amphorai involved in the table above⁶³; but equally no “victorious athletes” are included by Webster, contrary to this present study⁶⁴. The numbers can only be taken into consideration for the eight sport disciplines together, because numbers for each sport separately are almost never mentioned⁶⁵. The enumerations for each sport separately are difficult to treat⁶⁶, and not all the pictures are classified within the separate categories of individual sports (cf. next point).
- * A long list of “unspecified athletes” is mentioned by Webster⁶⁷. These are also involved in the “usable” table. The result is that many more red figure scenes are taken into account (athletes in the palaistra, but without a clear indication for practising one or another sport discipline are much more important in red than in black figure), than there are in this study.
- * The ball-plays and the torch-races are included in the “usable” table as well. This is, according to their inferior number, not a real problem. In the “usable” table, pictures of the pentathlon are taken into account as such. In this article, however, the individual sports are considered separately; their combination will be treated in “Part B”.

The “usable” table of Webster⁶⁸ is listed above. Because of the mentioned remarks, this table can only be used for comparison with the necessary cautiousness. Where possible, the table has been adapted to the classifications of this article⁶⁹. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare the table, given by Webster⁷⁰ in chapter 14, with the here collected data concerning hippic sports⁷¹.

*Andronicos*⁷² mentions the number of 1571 pictures of sport in Attic vase painting; “without taking into account the figures of victorious athletes or the

depictions of horsemen that are very frequently connected with equestrian competitions”⁷³.

⁶³ Webster 1972, 213: “In the following table all vases in this chapter are included except the prize Panathenaic amphorai and the fourth-century miniature Panathenaic perfume vases.”

⁶⁴ Webster 1972, 196; see his separate chapter with this title.

⁶⁵ Except for the foot-race and the race in armour; see Webster 1972, 198 and 200.

⁶⁶ See for example Webster 1972, 201: “i.e. if an acontist appears with a jumper, he is not noted also in the acontist list, nor have I usually repeated vases already discussed in earlier chapters”.

⁶⁷ Webster 1972, 208: “The general class may include some athletes which, had I been able to see pictures, I could have classified, but the majority of them are athletes at rest, distinguished by strigil and aryballos, sometimes taking off their cloaks, sometimes washing at a laver, sometimes indicated by the stele or pillar at their side, sometimes by a herm, or by the presence of a trainer.”

⁶⁸ Webster 1972, 214.

⁶⁹ For the red figure vases the names of the periods have been replaced by the corresponding quarters of centuries; the black figure vases were unfortunately not classified more in detail. $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{4}{4}$ indicate quarters of centuries; the centuries are indicated by their corresponding number (this system has also been used for the graphics in IV and V). The forms of the vases have been re-grouped, following the classifications of this article; however, some exceptions occur. “Cups (all types including rhyta)” could not be divided, thus the category “cups” groups kylix, skyphos, cup/skyphos and sometimes “various” (kantharos and mug). The dinos could not be divided from the krater. The category “amphora” also contains “non-prize Panathenaics”. The category of the “various” contains three extra forms compared to the graphics in this article: aryballos, stand and plate. In all cases Webster mentions the number of vases, not the number of sport scenes.

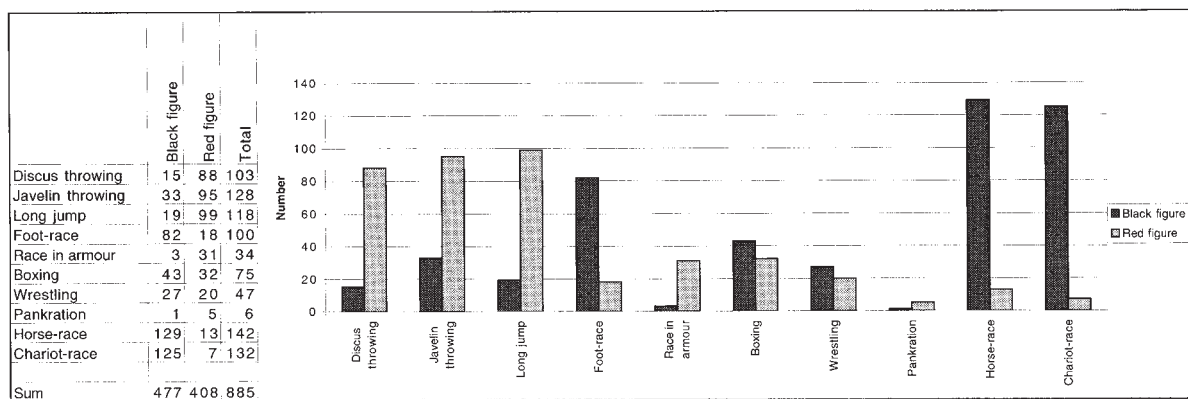
⁷⁰ Webster 1972, 180, for “horsemen”.

⁷¹ “The scenes with horsemen can be broken down into a number of subjects, some connected with war, some with games and some with cavalry training. The pictures are so numerous that only a small selection can be described.” (page 180) and concerning the chariot-race: “and there it is not always clear whether the painter thinks of myth or every-day life” (page 189). The numbers are respectively 437 (black figure) – 287 (red figure) and “a considerable number” – 22 (page 193).

⁷² Andronicos 1982, 148. This author possibly based this number – with a small error in calculation – on the discussed work of Webster.

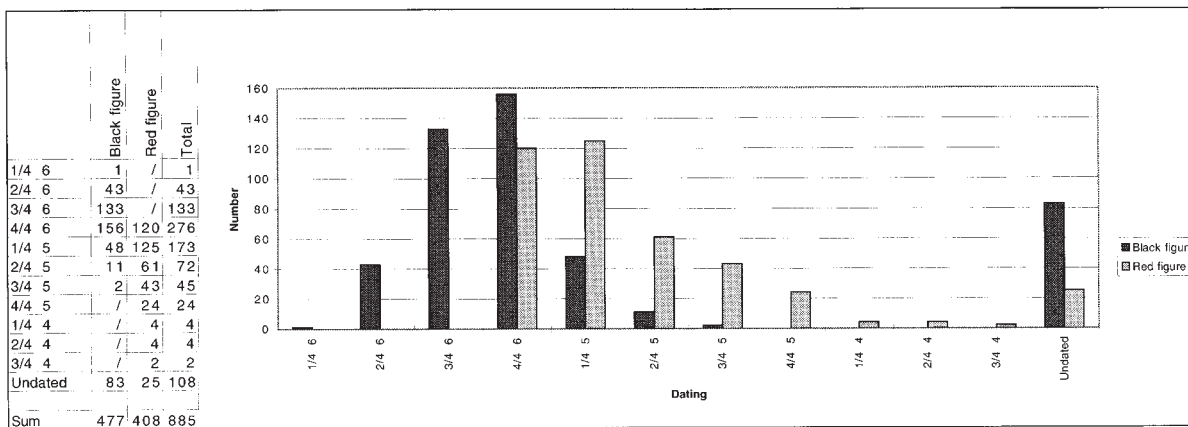
⁷³ Mc Donnell 1991, 184 n. 11 quotes that B. A. Legakis catalogued in his dissertation (*Athletic Contests in Archaic Greek Art*, University of Chicago 1977) over 800 representations (the great majority on some 600 Attic vases) of nude athletes in 6th century Greek art (over 830 together with the hoplitodromoi).

2. Style (Fig. 1)



The most important group: horse-race, chariot-race* (black figure) and discus throwing, javelin throwing, the long jump (red figure).

3. Dating and Relation Style – Dating (Fig. 2)



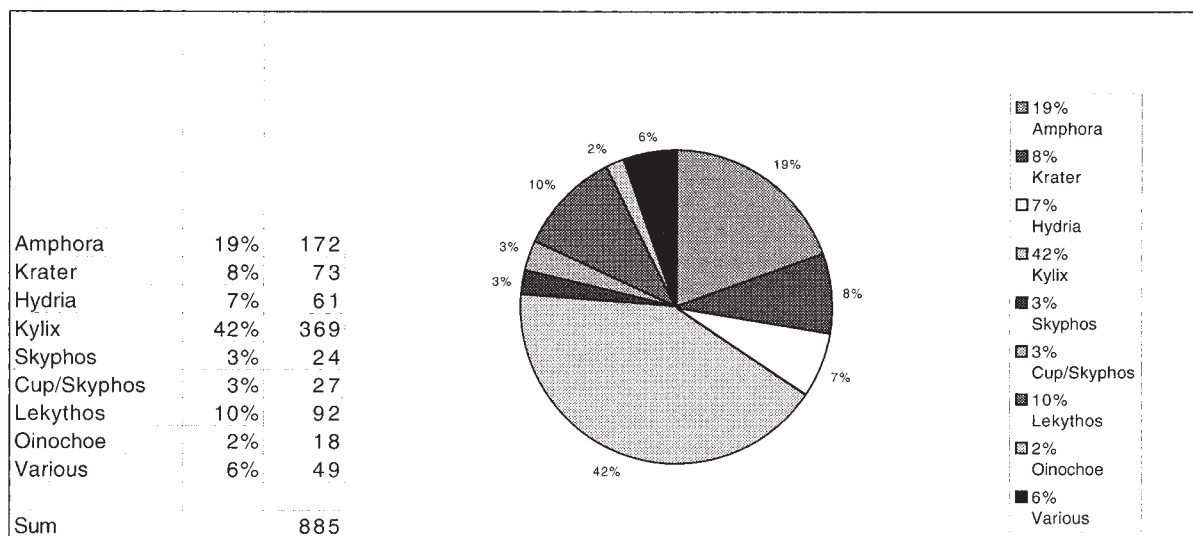
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{4}{4} 6$.

b. Relation style-dating

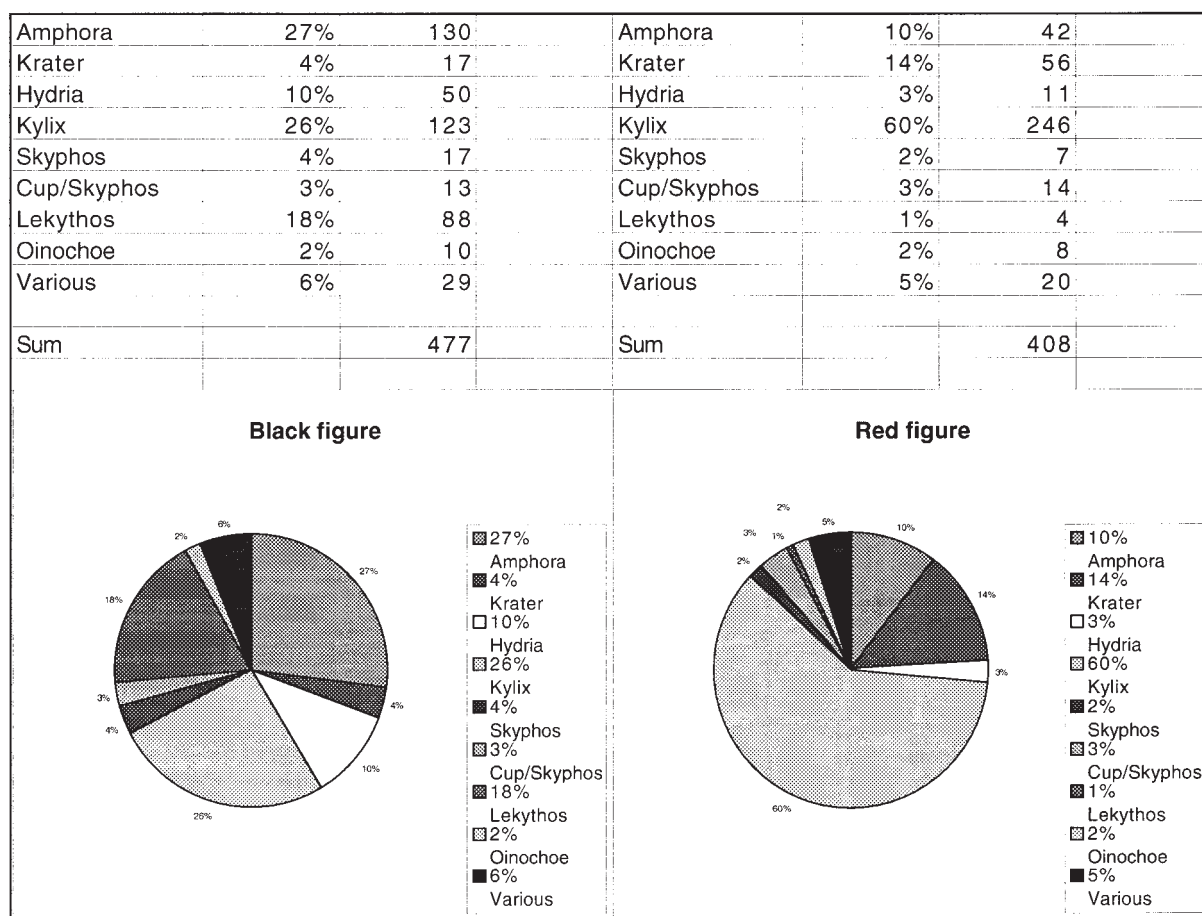
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4} 6$, $\frac{4}{4} 6$ (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4} 5$, $\frac{1}{4} 5$ (red figure).

4. Form (Fig. 3)



The most important group: kylix.

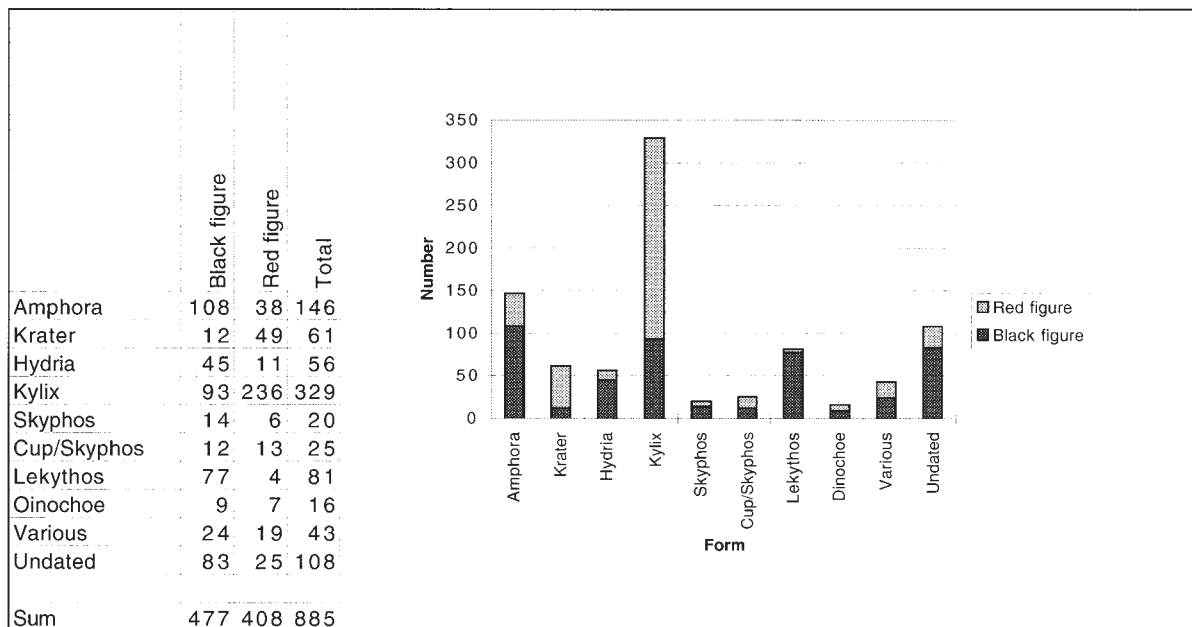
5. Relation Style – Form (Fig. 4)



The most important group: amphora, kylix, lekythos (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

6. Relation Dating – Form (Fig. 5)

Remark: all the numbers in the general graphics (IV) are the sum of the numbers in the graphics for each sport/quarter of a century (V). Because of the nature of the graphics relation dating-form in V.5 (one for each quarter of a century) the undated specimens (108) are separately indicated here. The indication of the difference between black and red figure on these graphics is purely informative.



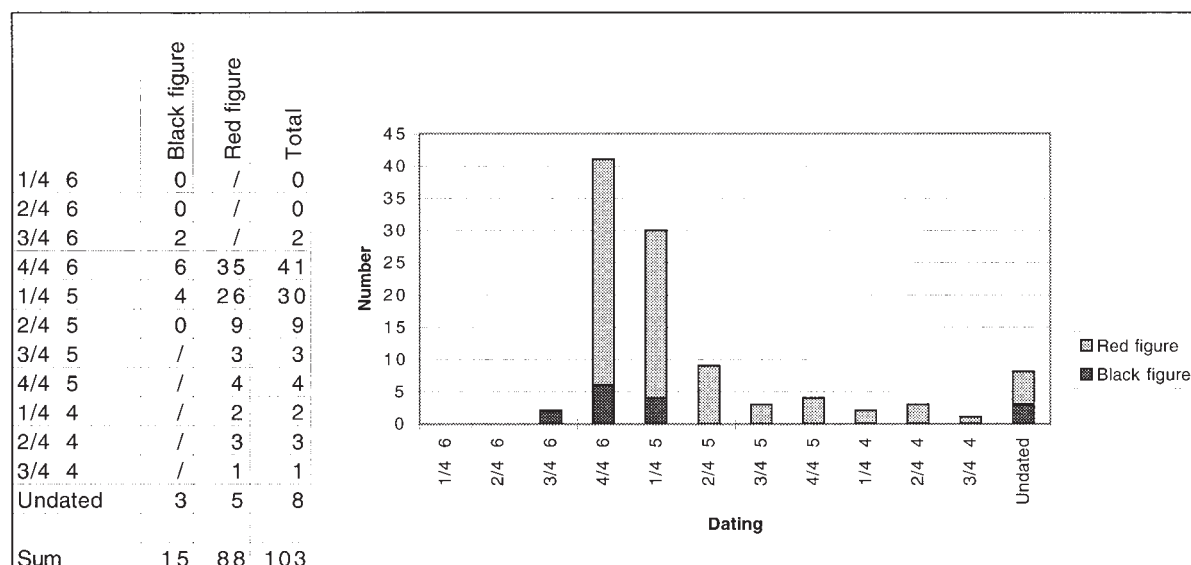
The most important group: kylix.

V. THE POPULARITY OF PAINTING SPORT SCENES: GRAPHICS FOR EACH SPORT OR QUARTER OF A CENTURY

1. Throwing Sports

Discus throwing

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 6)



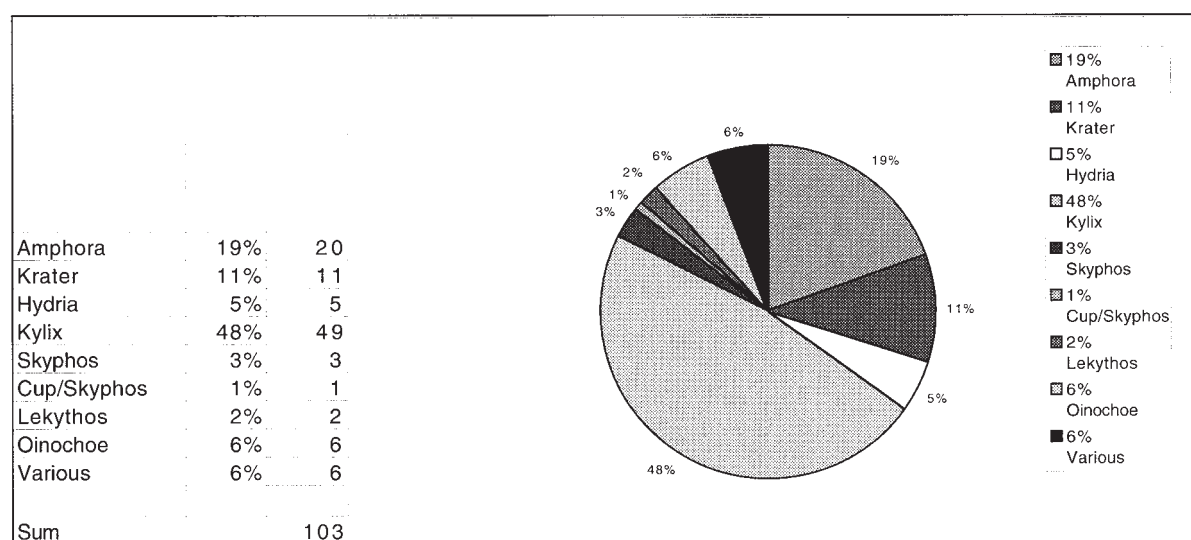
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5.

b. Relation style-dating

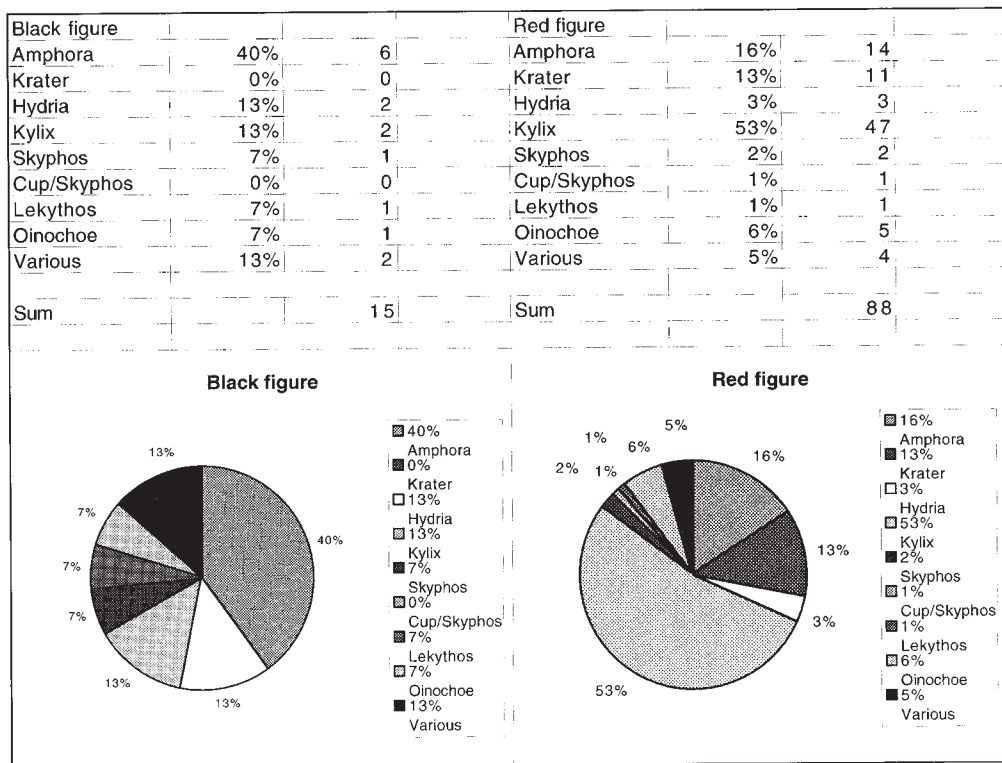
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5* (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5* (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 7)



The most important group: kylix.

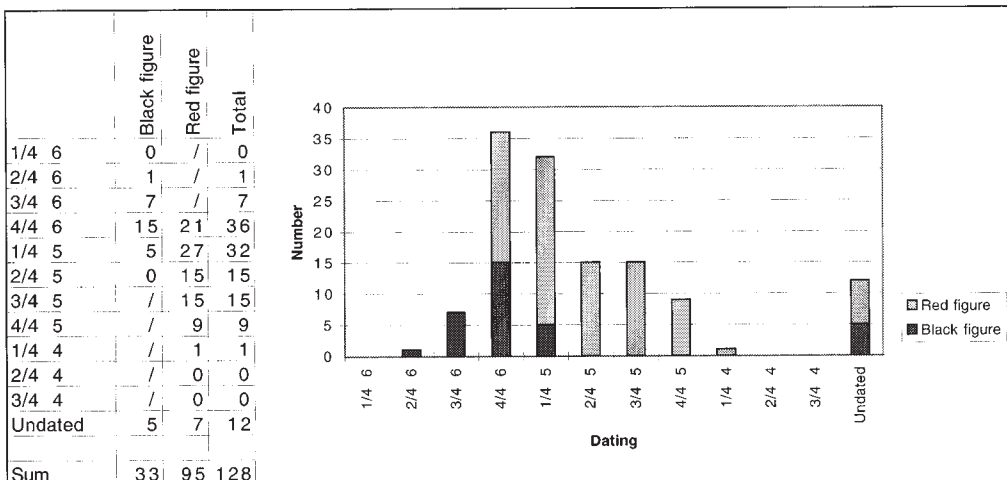
* Relation style-form (Fig. 8)



The most important group: amphora (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

Javelin throwing

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 9)



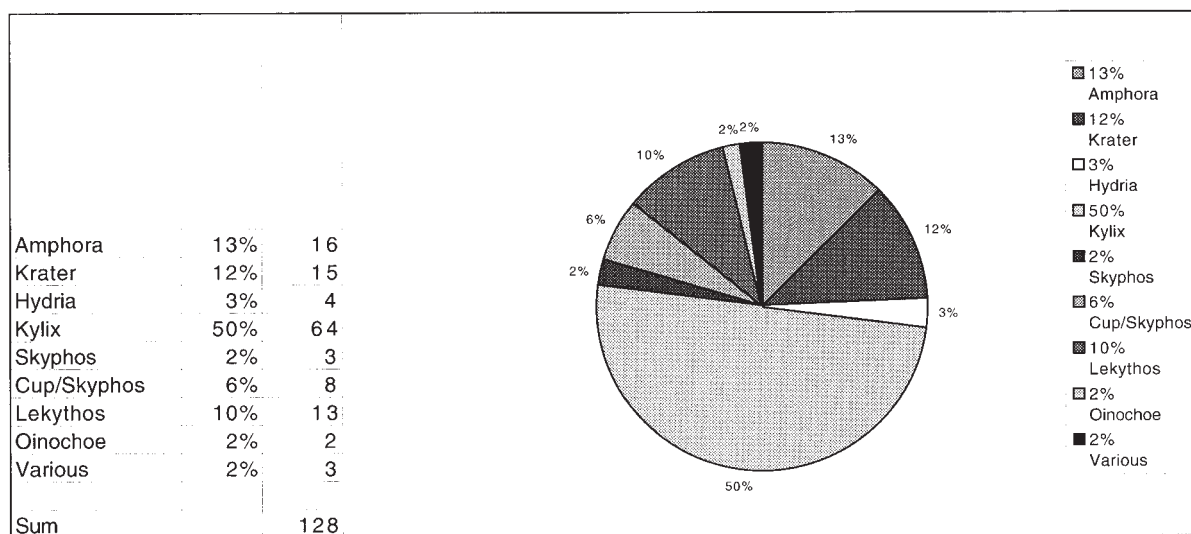
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5*.

b. Relation style-dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5* (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5* (red figure).

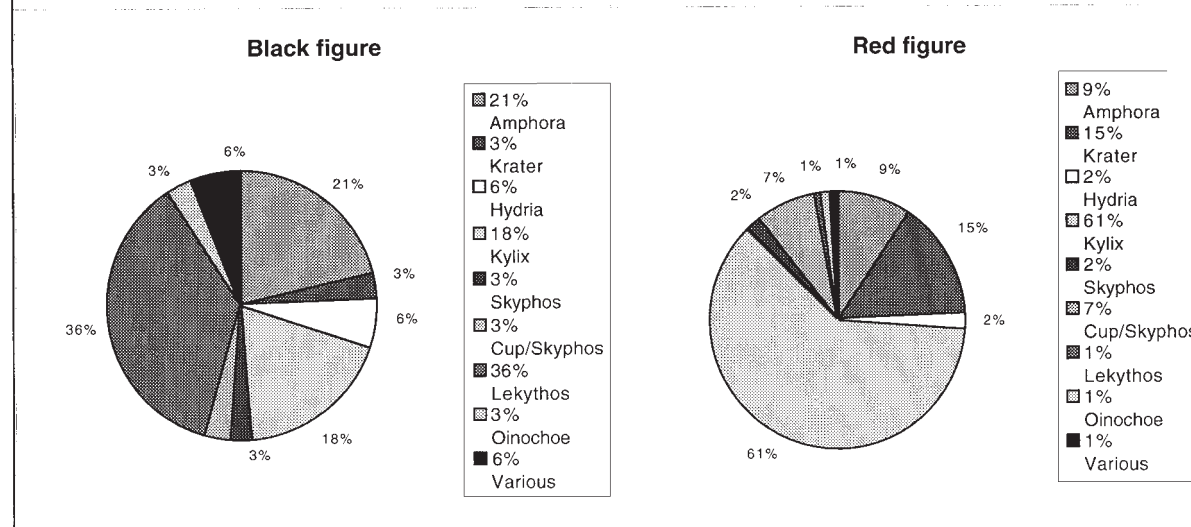
* Form (Fig. 10)



The most important group: kylix.

* Relation style-form (Fig. 11)

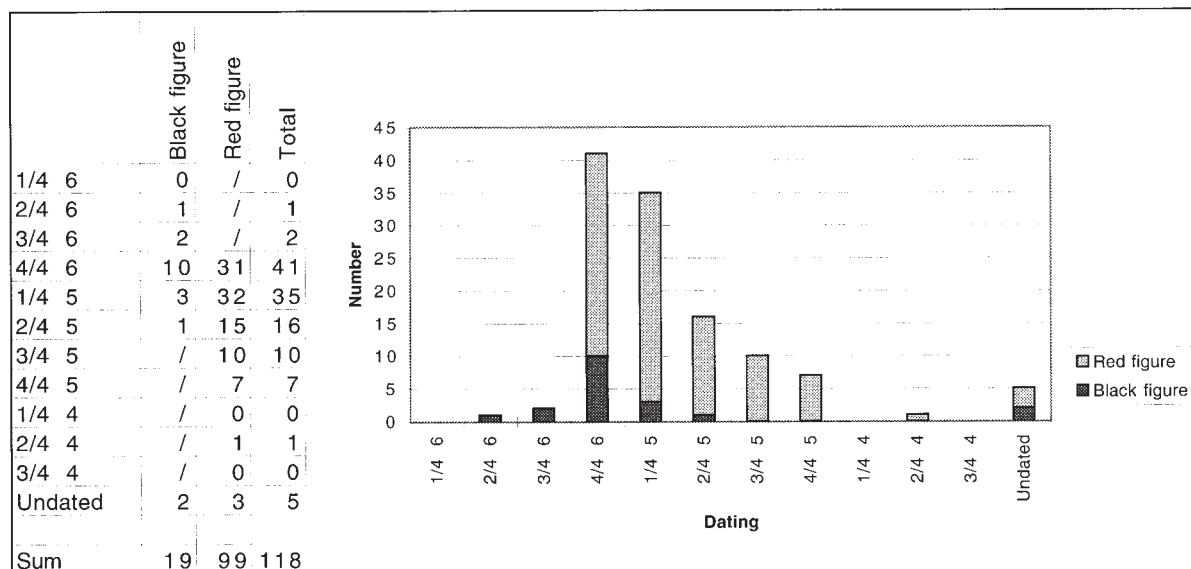
| Black figure | | | Red figure | | |
|--------------|-----|----|-------------|-----|----|
| Amphora | 21% | 7 | Amphora | 9% | 9 |
| Krater | 3% | 1 | Krater | 15% | 14 |
| Hydria | 6% | 2 | Hydria | 2% | 2 |
| Kylix | 18% | 6 | Kylix | 61% | 58 |
| Skyphos | 3% | 1 | Skyphos | 2% | 2 |
| Cup/Skyphos | 3% | 1 | Cup/Skyphos | 7% | 7 |
| Lekythos | 36% | 12 | Lekythos | 1% | 1 |
| Oinochoe | 3% | 1 | Oinochoe | 1% | 1 |
| Various | 6% | 2 | Various | 1% | 1 |
| Sum | | 33 | Sum | | 95 |



The most important group: amphora*, hydria*, kylix*, lekythos, various* (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

The long jump

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 12)



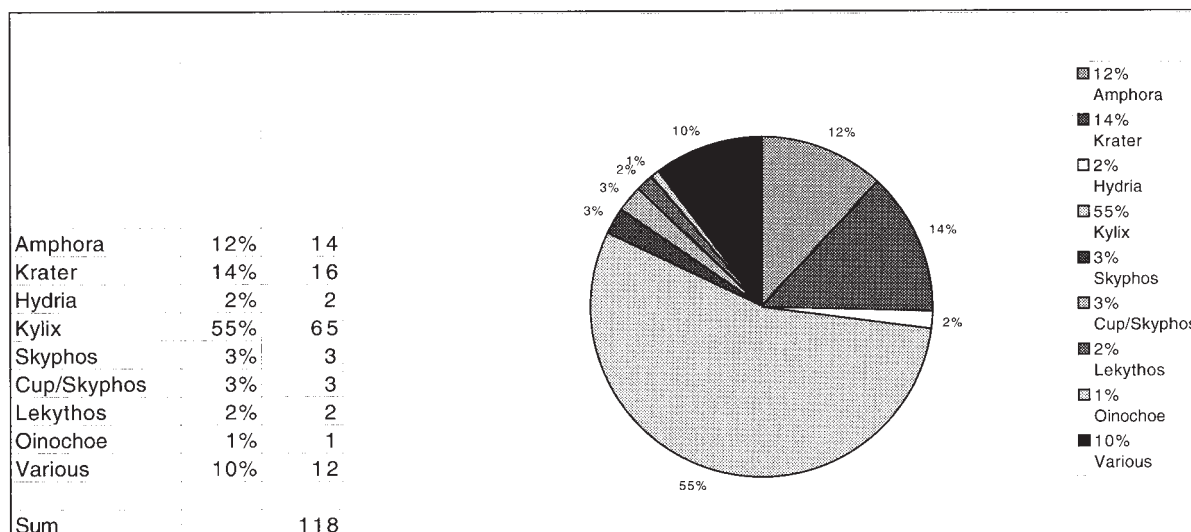
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5*.

b. Relation style-dating

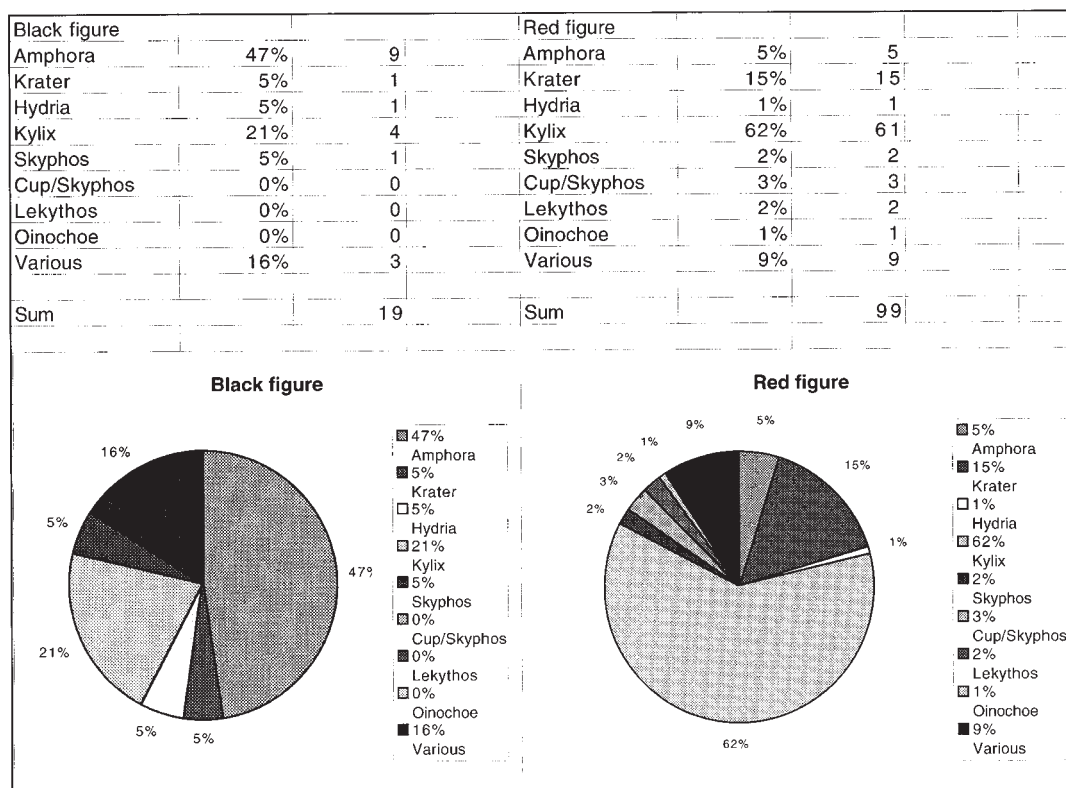
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5* (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5 (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 13)



The most important group: kylix.

* Relation style-form (Fig. 14)

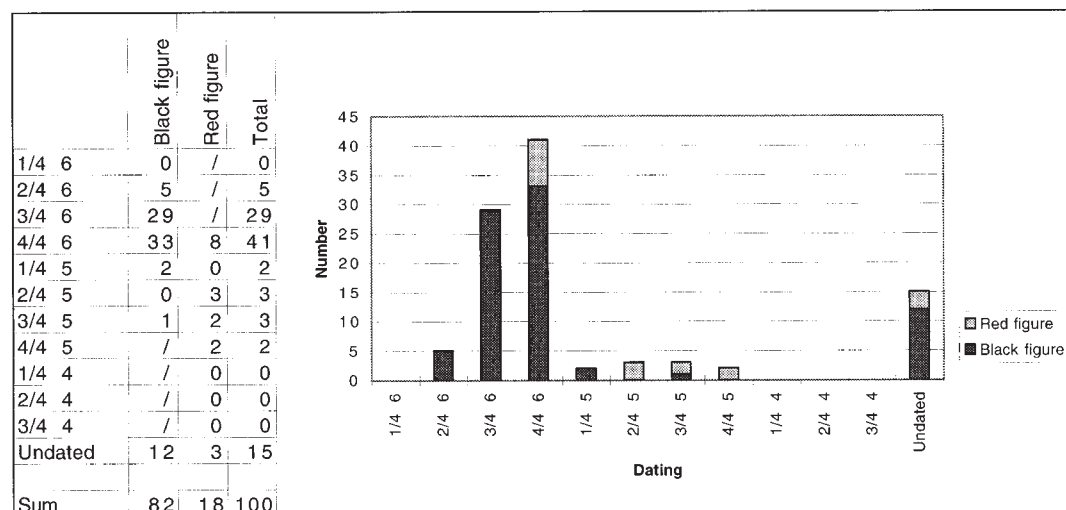


The most important group: amphora, krater*, hydria*, kylix*, skyphos*, various* (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

2. Running Sports

Foot-race

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 15)



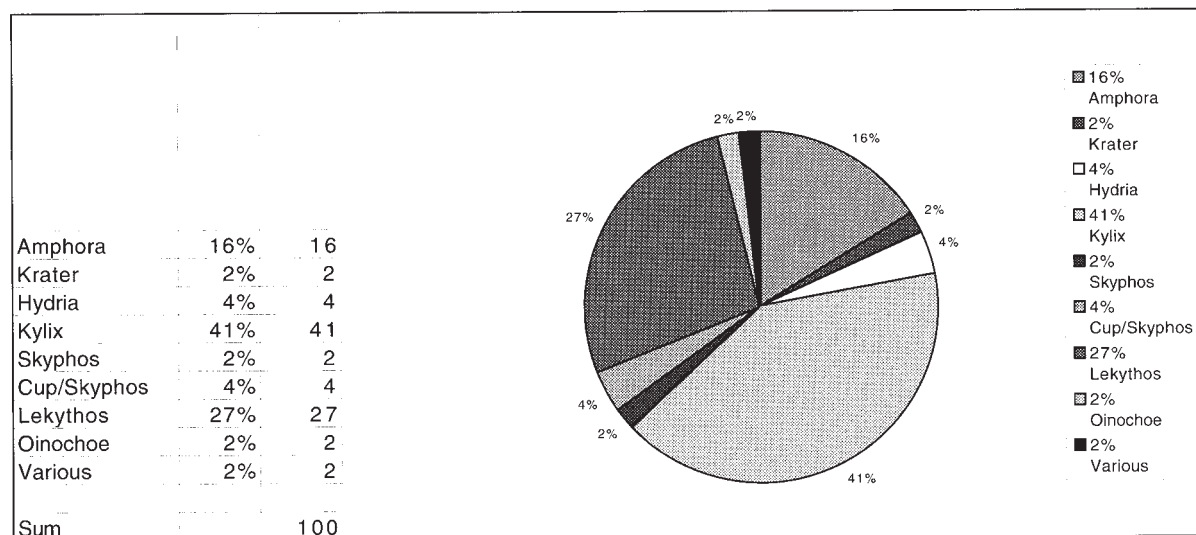
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6.

b. Relation style-dating

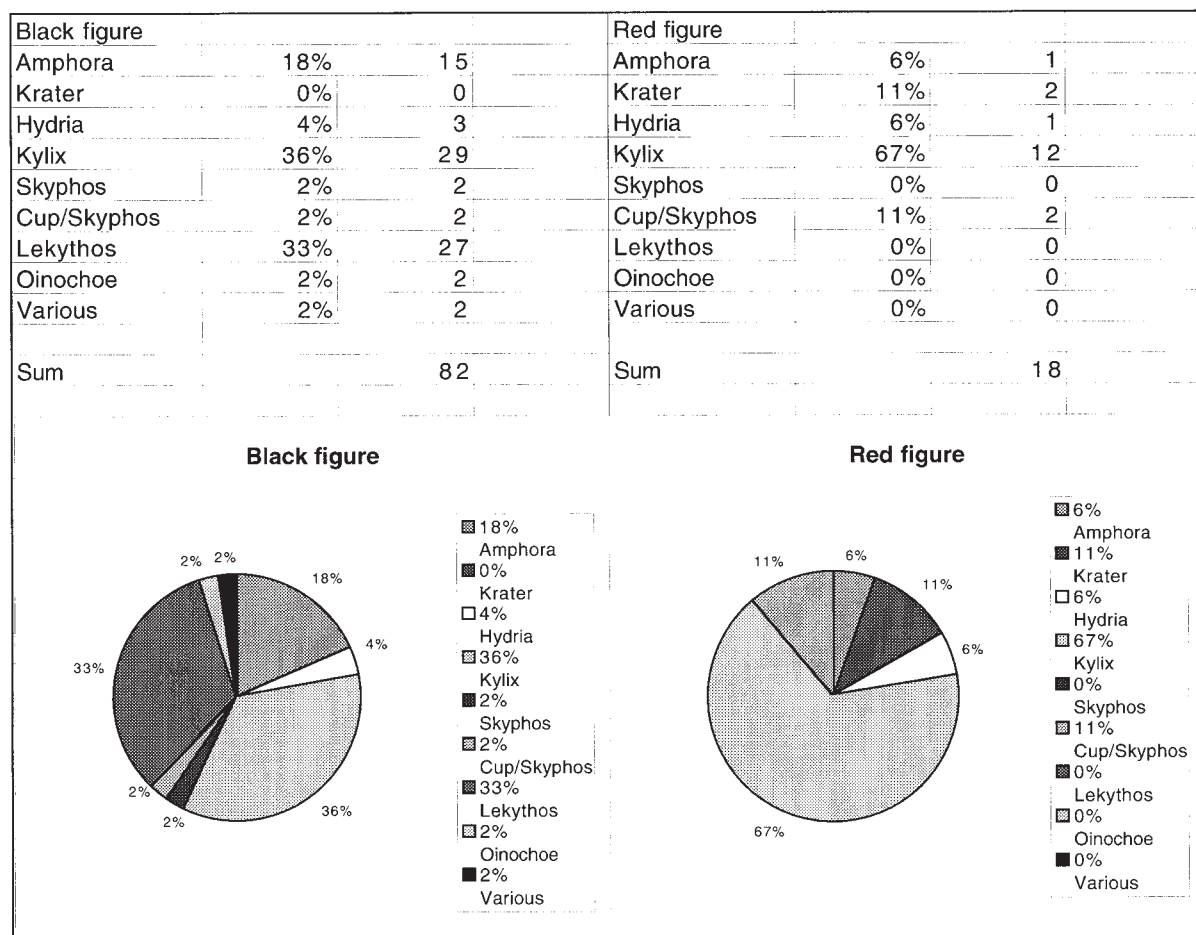
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6 (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 5* (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 16)



The most important group: kylix, lekythos*.

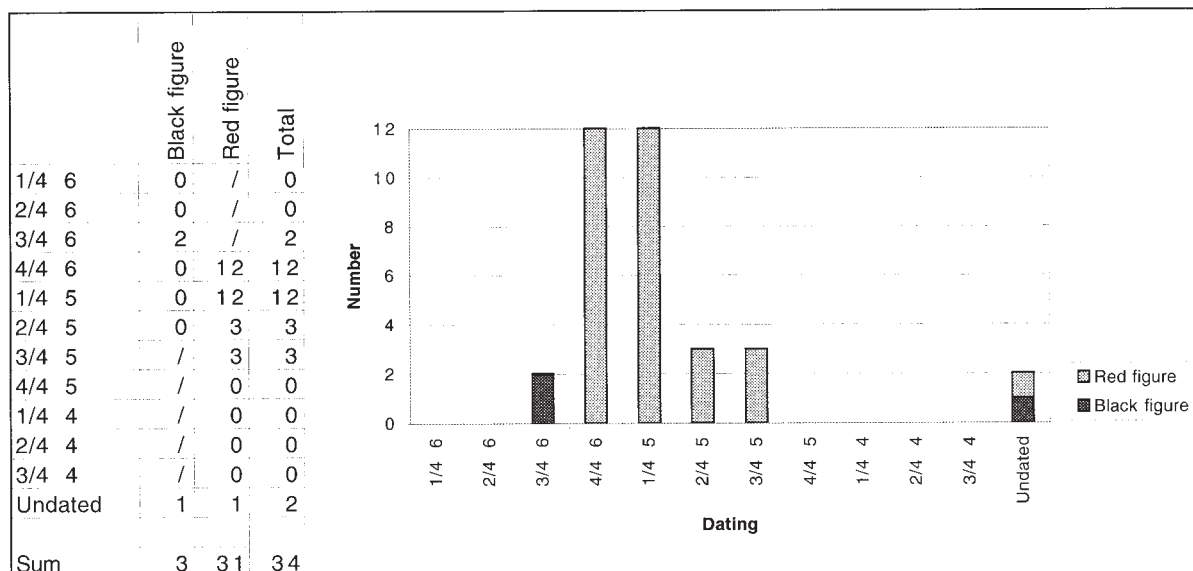
* Relation style-form (Fig. 17)



The most important group: amphora*, kylix, lekythos (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

Race in armour

* Dating and relation style-dating (*Fig. 18*)



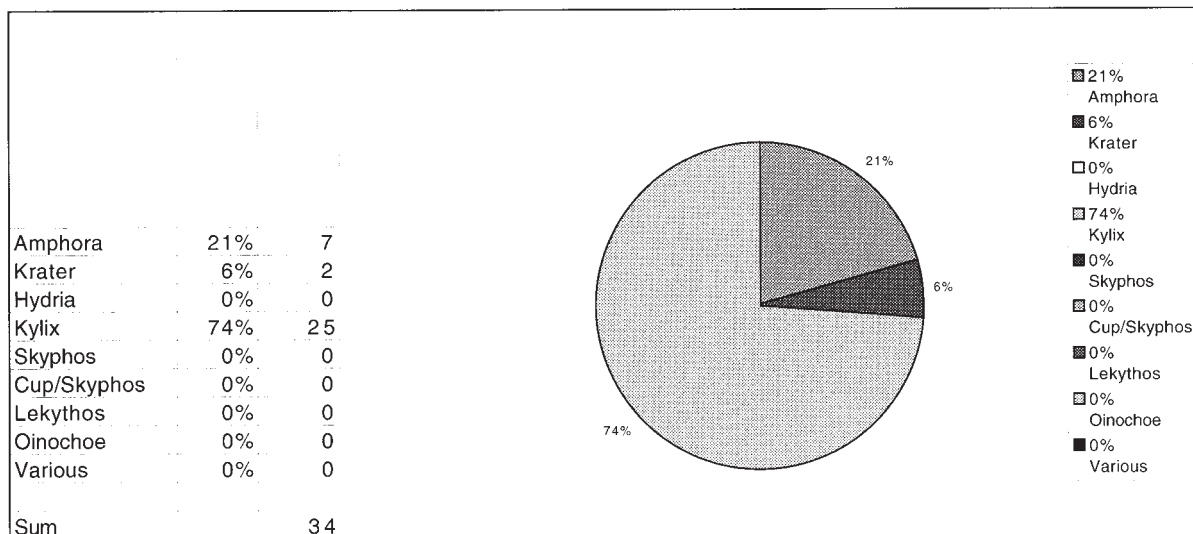
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5*.

b. Relation style-dating

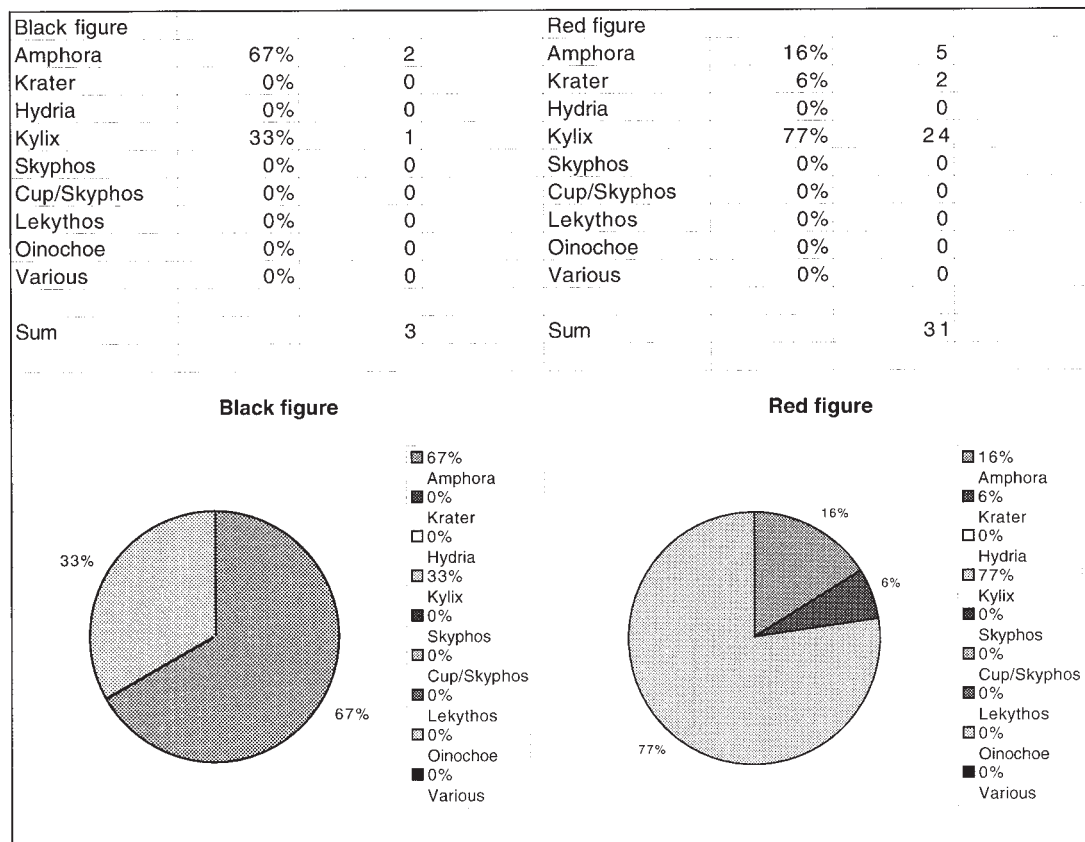
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5* (red figure).

* Form (*Fig. 19*)



The most important group: kylix.

* Relation style-form (Fig. 20)

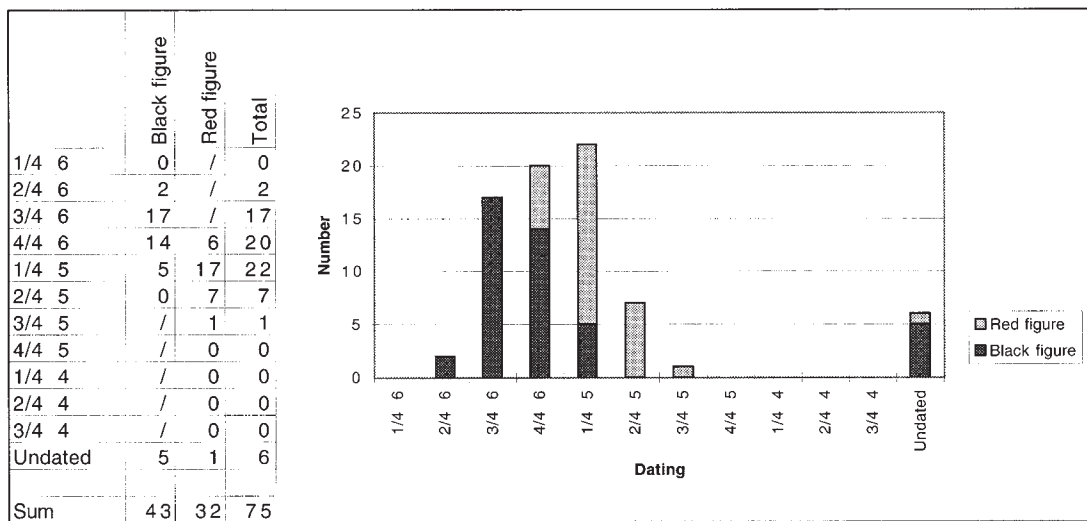


The most important group: amphora (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

3. Combat Sports

Boxing

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 21)



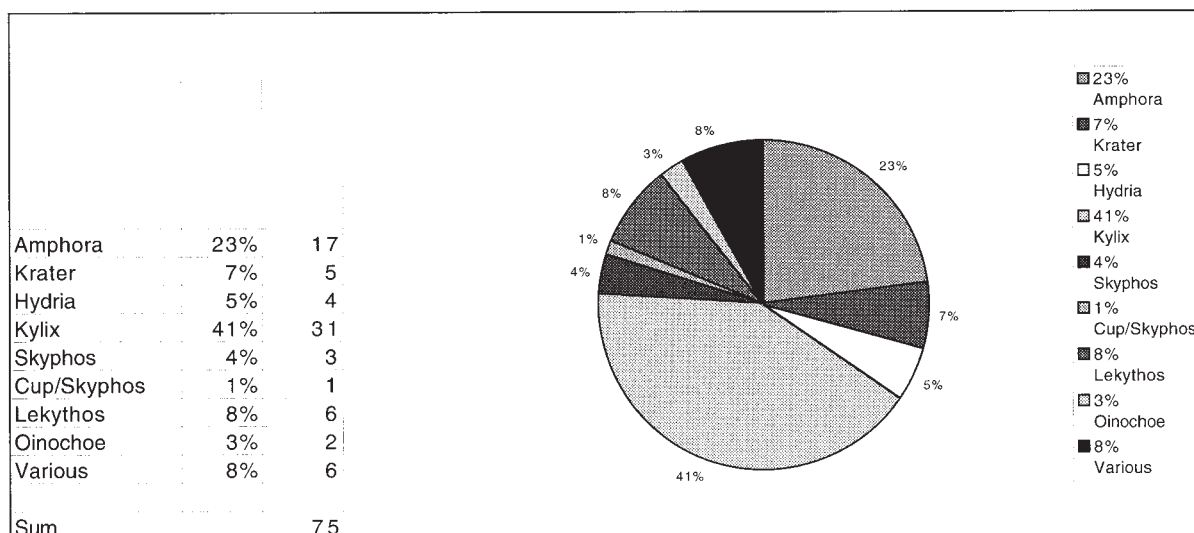
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5

b. Relation style-dating

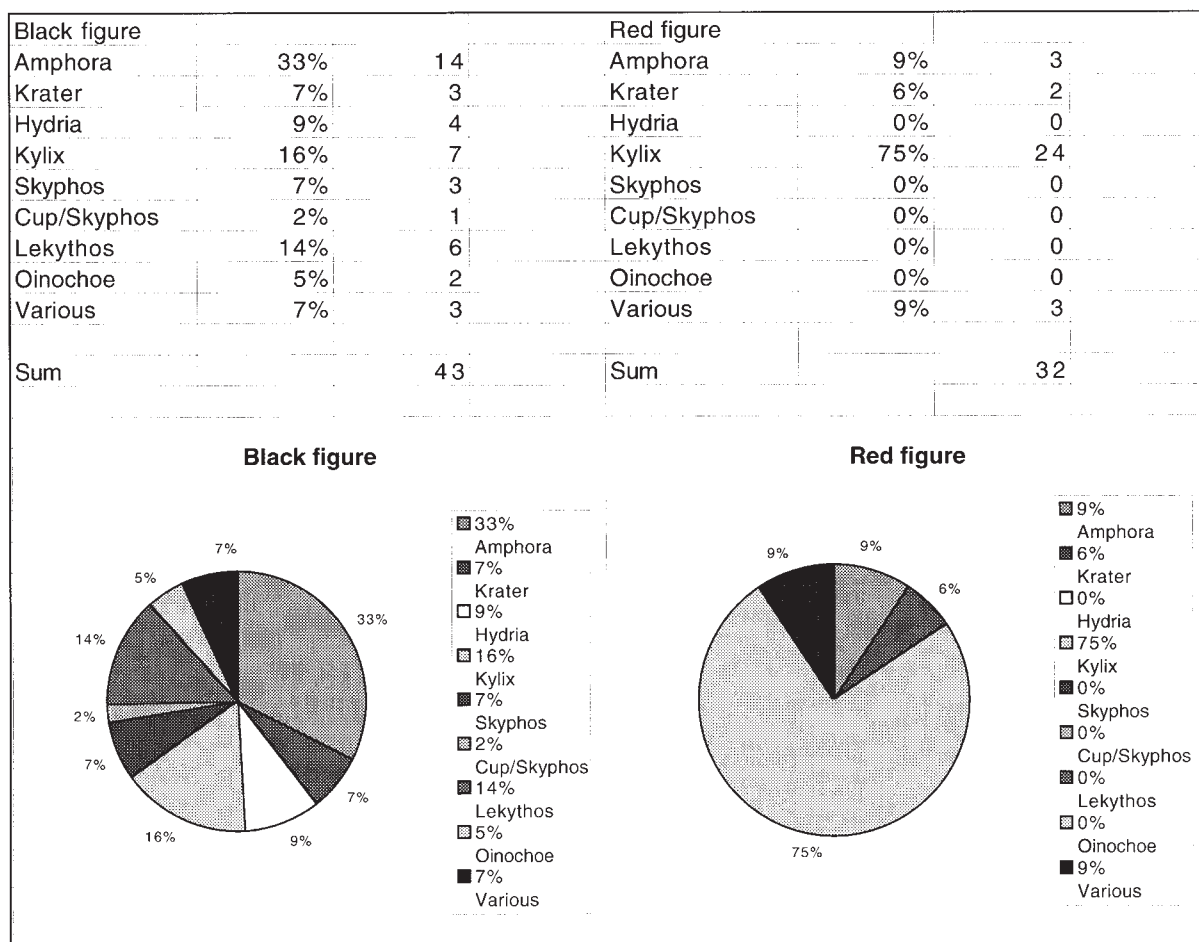
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5* (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 22)



The most important group: amphora*, kylix.

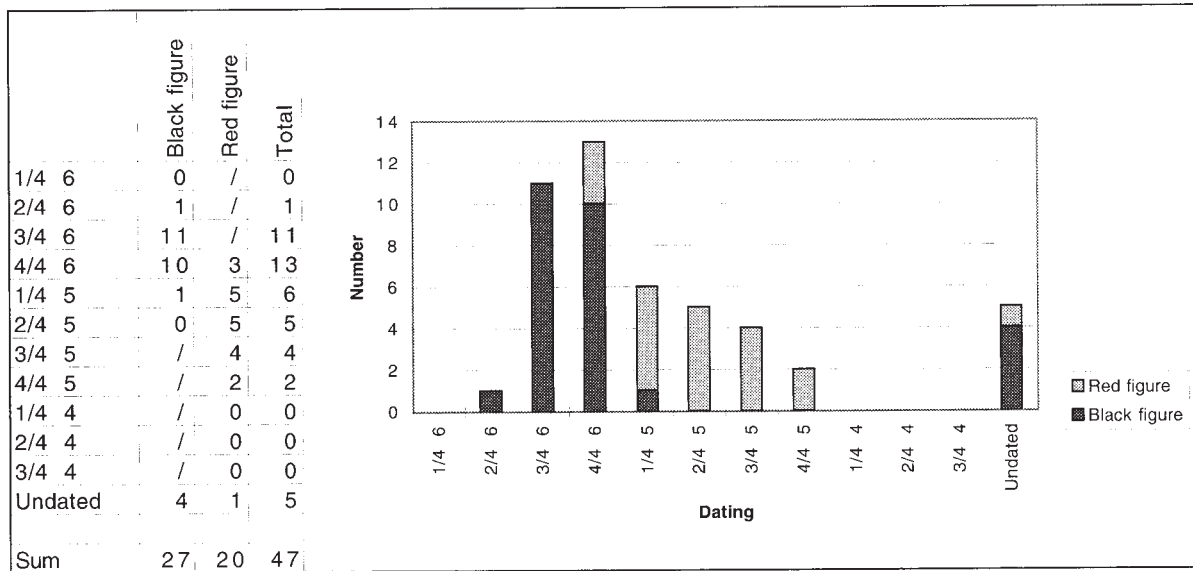
* Relation style-form (Fig. 23)



The most important group: amphora, krater*, hydria*, kylix*, skyphos*, lekythos*, various* (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

Wrestling

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 24)



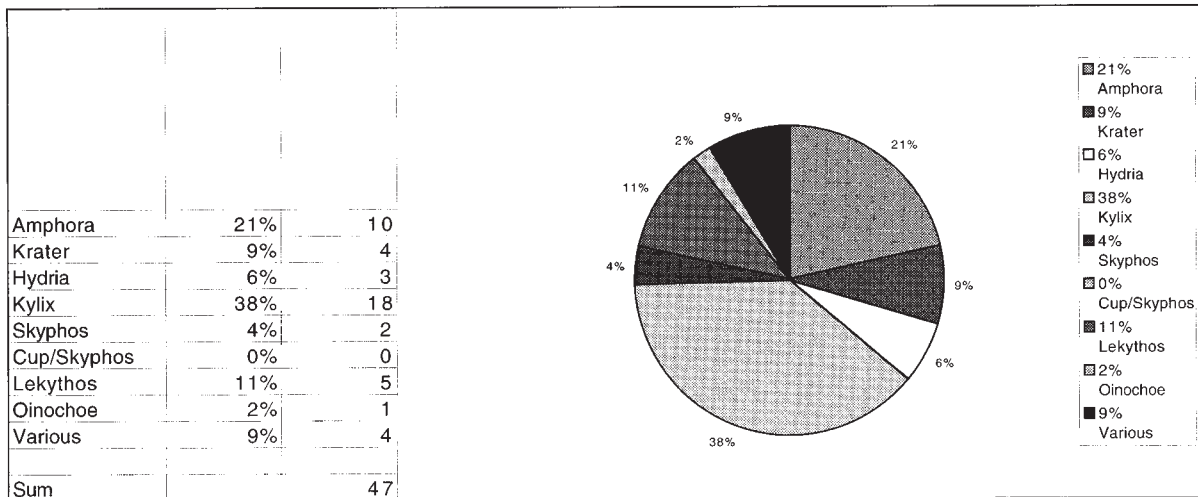
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 5*.

b. Relation style-dating

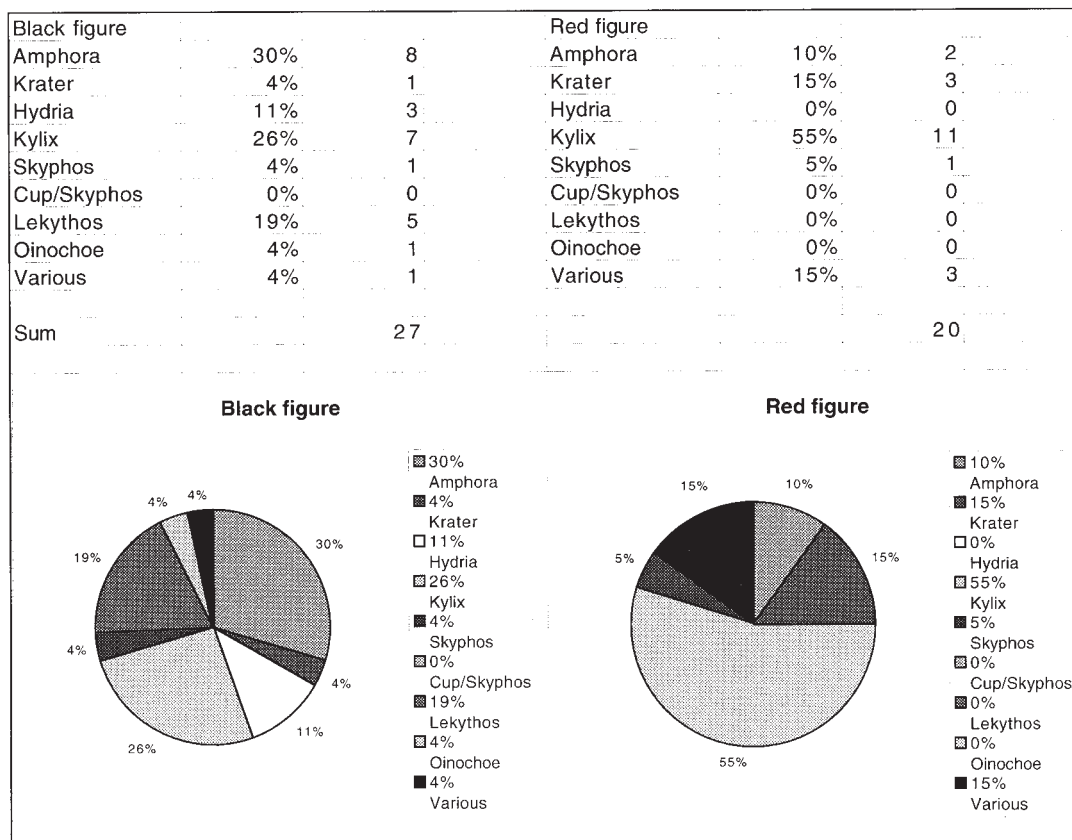
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6 (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5, $\frac{4}{4}$ 5, $\frac{1}{4}$ 4, $\frac{2}{4}$ 4, $\frac{3}{4}$ 4 (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 25)



The most important group: amphora*, kylix, lekythos*.

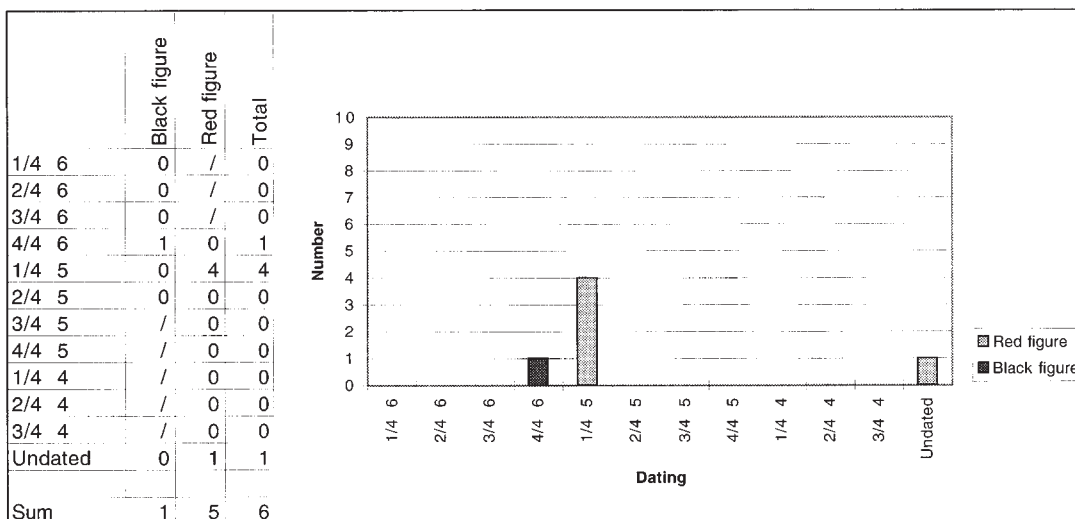
* Relation style-form (Fig. 26)



The most important group: amphora, krater*, hydria*, kylix*, skyphos*, lekythos*, oinochoe*, various* (black figure) and amphora*, krater*, kylix, various* (red figure).

Pankration

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 27)



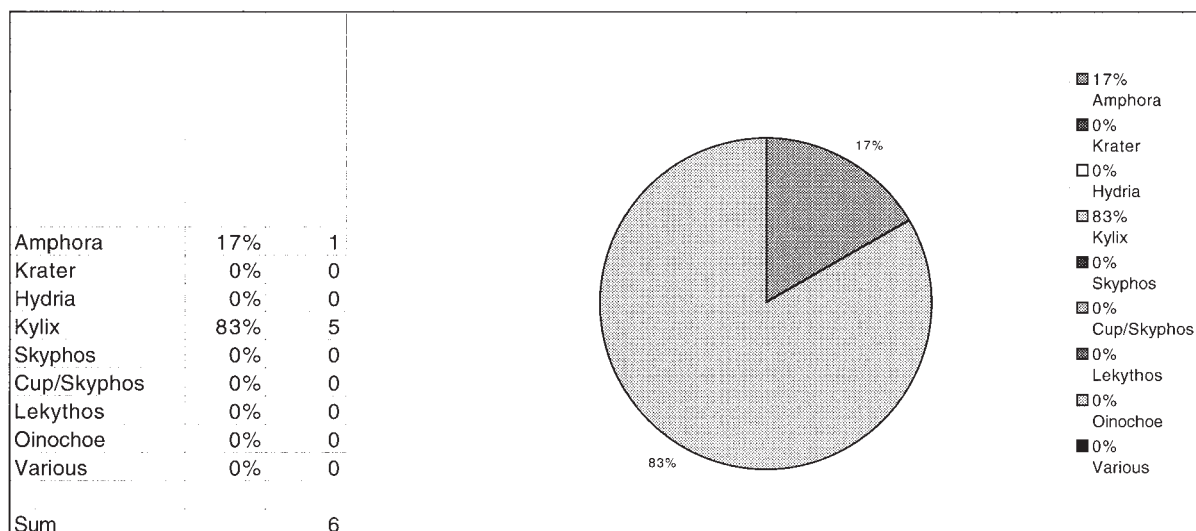
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{4}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5.

b. Relation style-dating

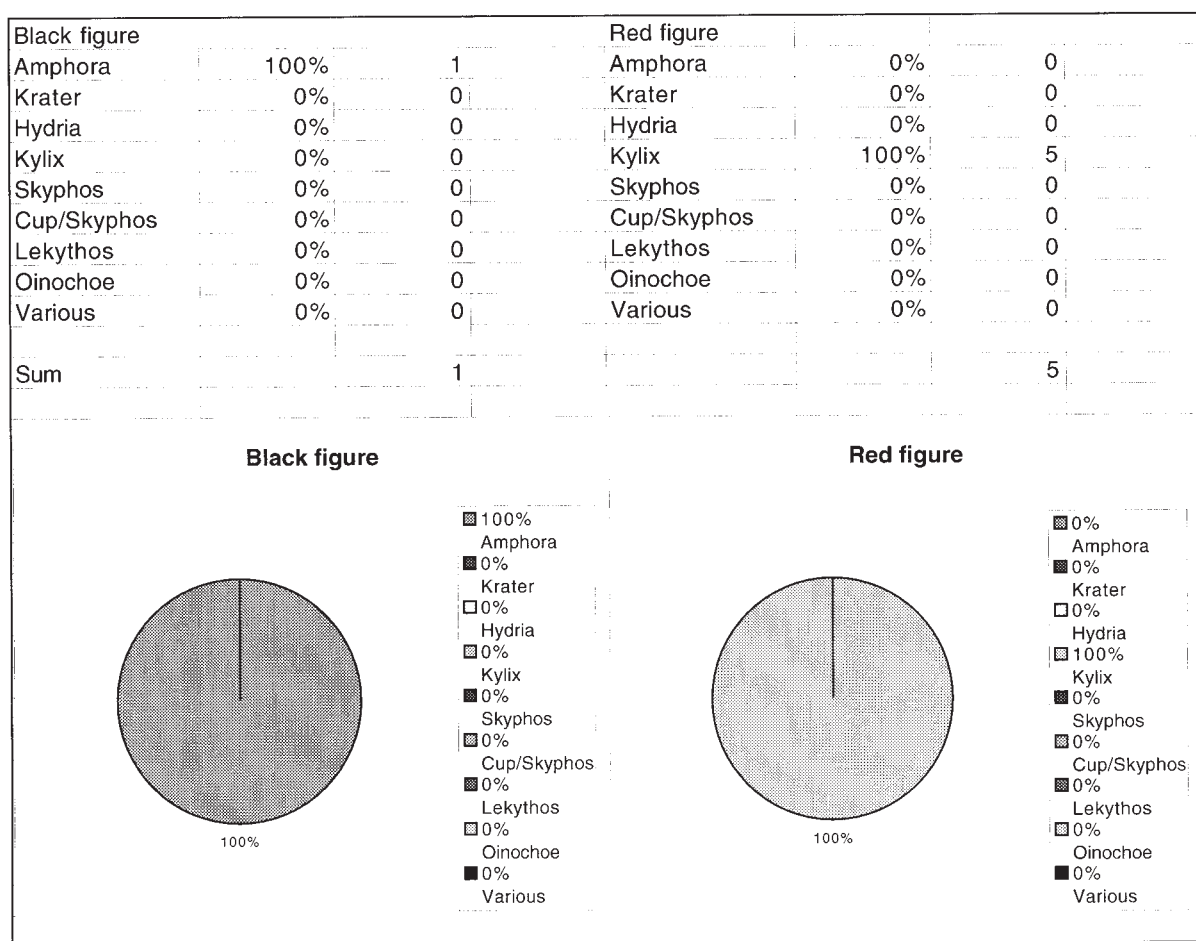
The most important group: $\frac{4}{4}$ 6 (black figure) and $\frac{1}{4}$ 5 (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 28)



The most important group: amphora*, kylix.

* Relation style-form (Fig. 29)

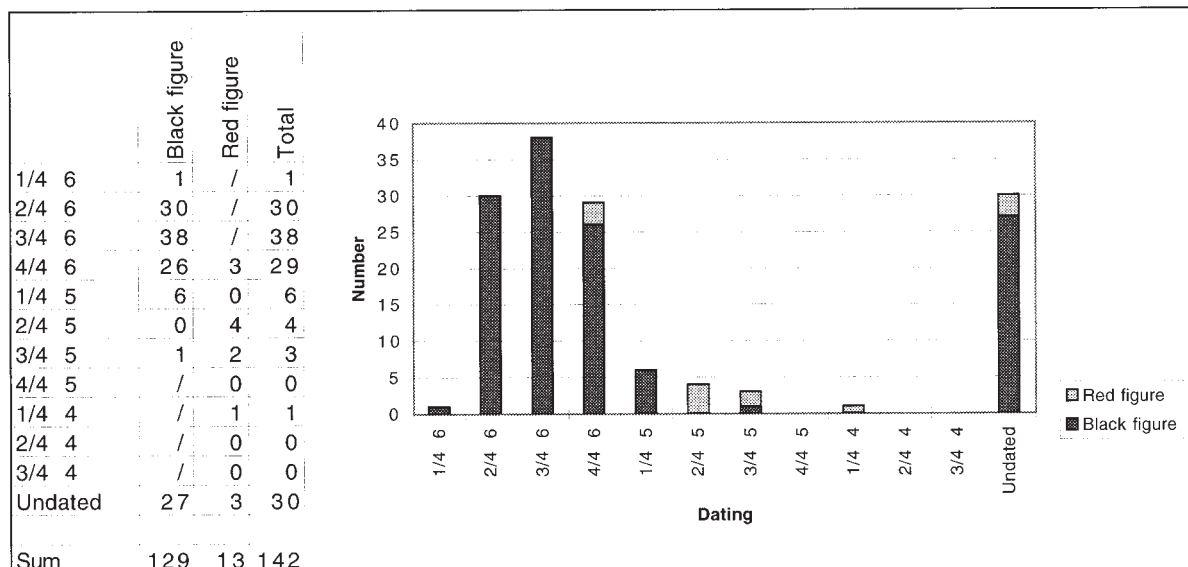


The most important group: amphora (black figure) and kylix (red figure).

4. Hippic Sports

Horse-race

* Dating and relation style-dating (*Fig. 30*)



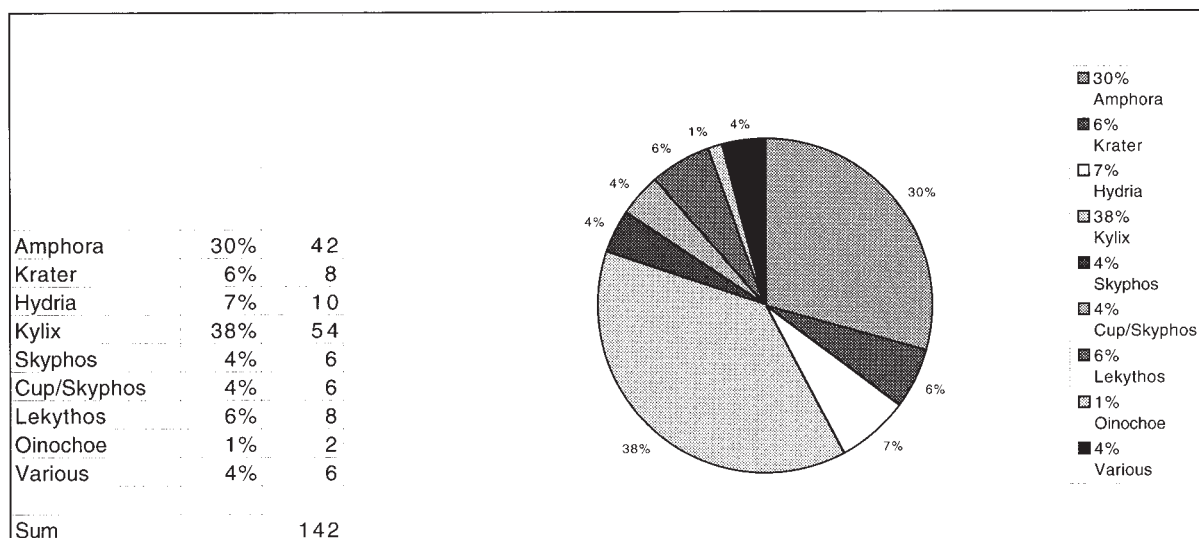
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{2}{4}$ 6, $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6.

b. Relation style-dating

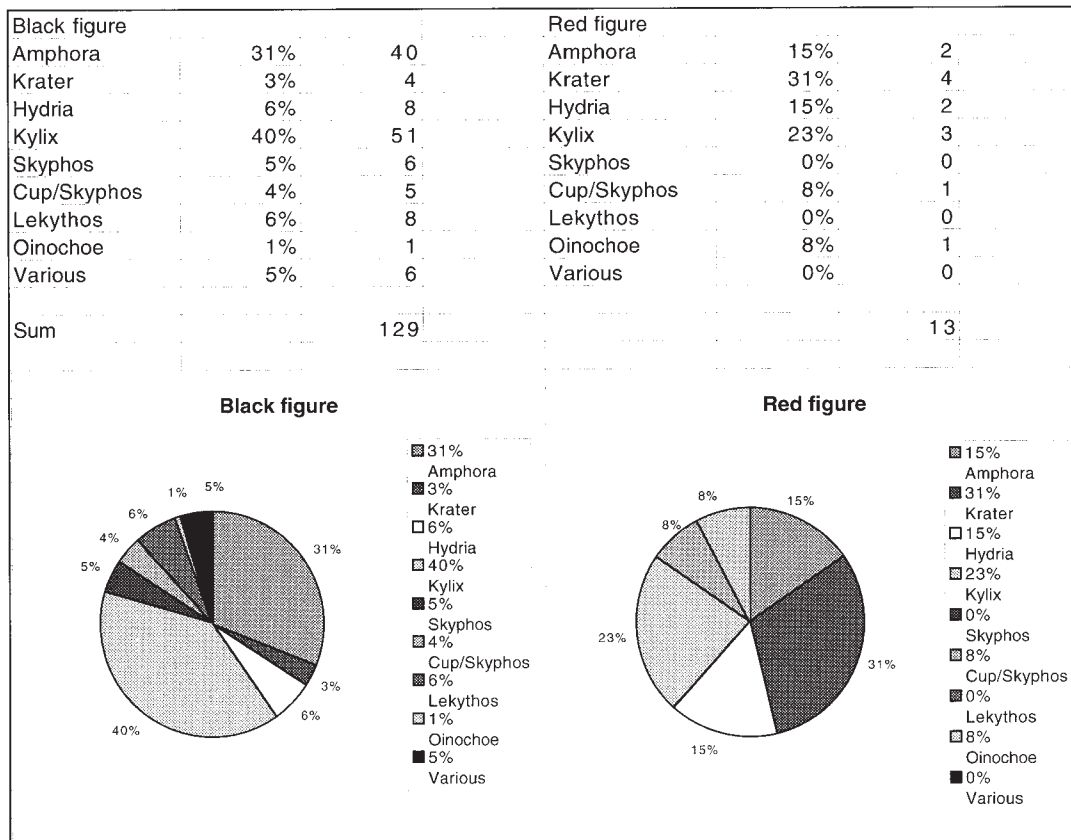
The most important group: $\frac{2}{4}$ 6, $\frac{3}{4}$ 6, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6 (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5, $\frac{4}{4}$ 5, $\frac{1}{4}$ 4, $\frac{2}{4}$ 4, $\frac{3}{4}$ 4 (red figure).

* Form (*Fig. 31*)



The most important group: amphora, kylix.

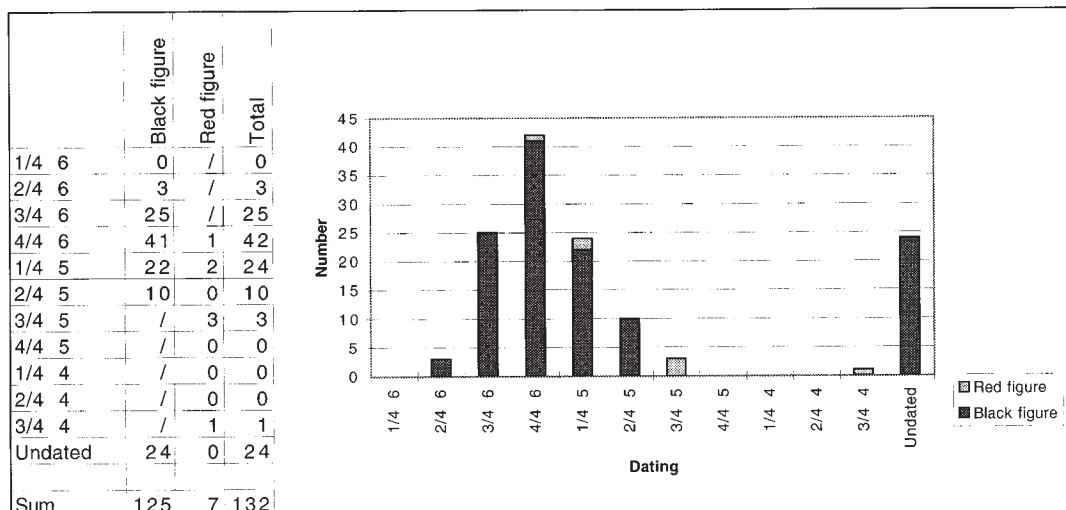
* Relation style-form (Fig. 32)



The most important group: amphora, kylix (black figure) and all (red figure).

Chariot-race

* Dating and relation style-dating (Fig. 33)



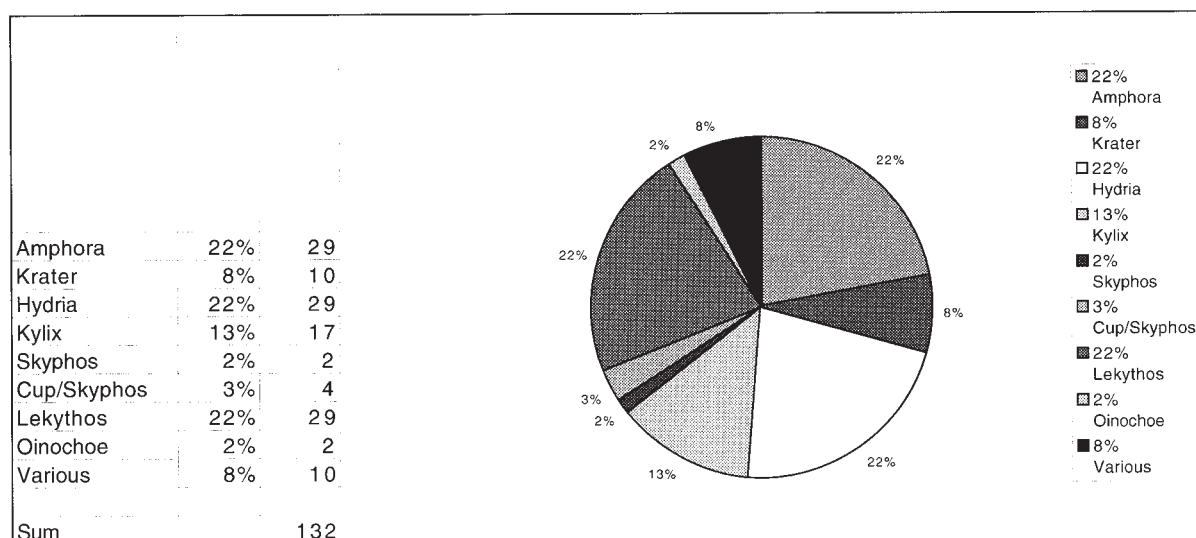
a. Dating

The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5*.

b. Relation style-dating

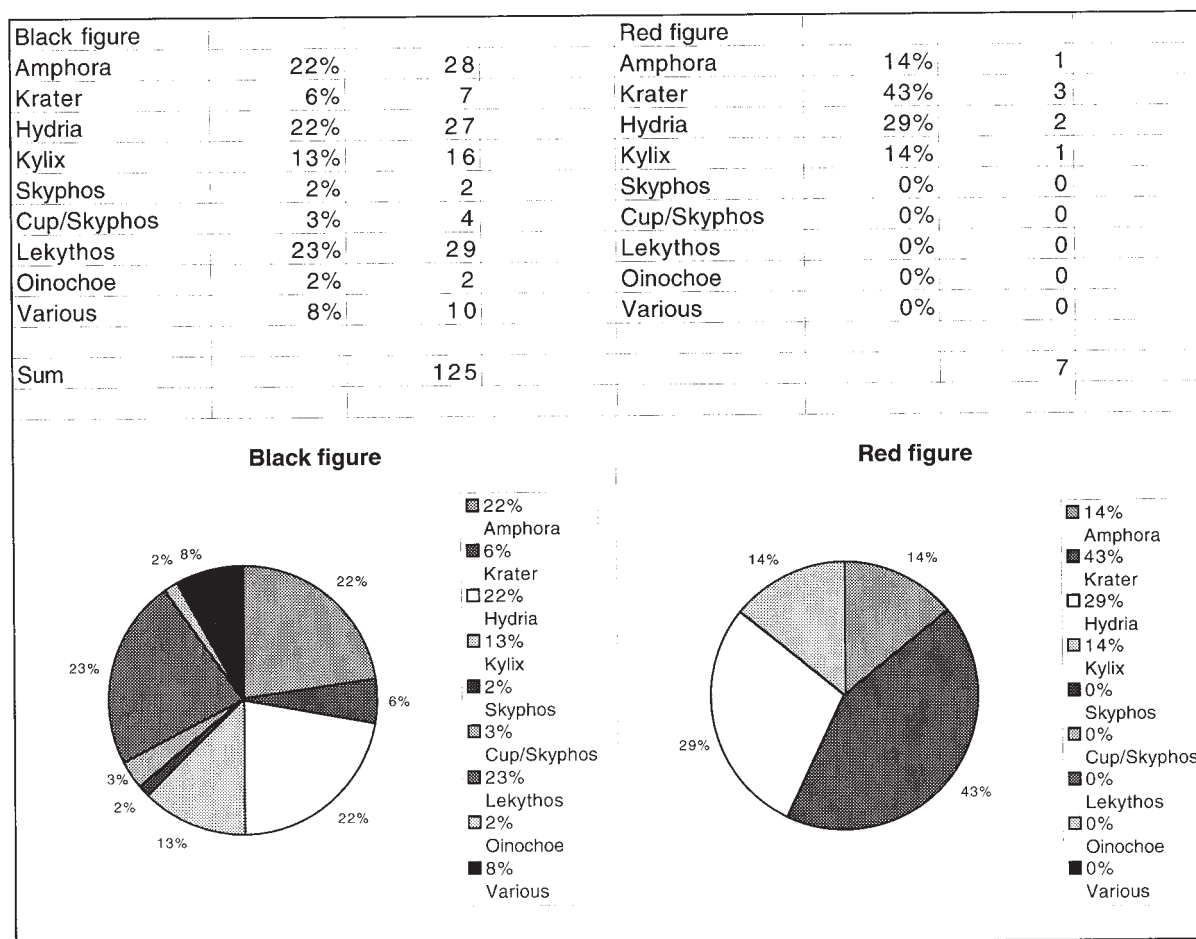
The most important group: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6*, $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5* (black figure) and $\frac{4}{4}$ 6, $\frac{1}{4}$ 5, $\frac{2}{4}$ 5, $\frac{3}{4}$ 5, $\frac{4}{4}$ 5, $\frac{1}{4}$ 4, $\frac{2}{4}$ 4, $\frac{3}{4}$ 4 (red figure).

* Form (Fig. 34)



The most important group: amphora, krater*, hydria, kylix*, lekythos, various*.

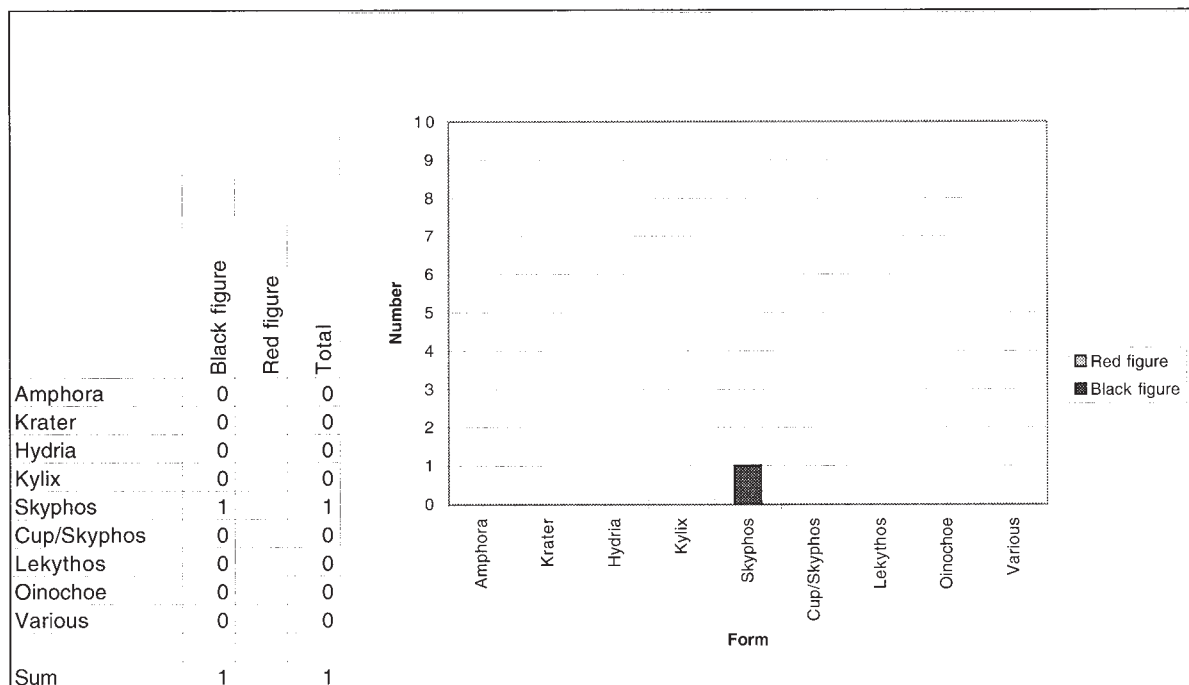
* Relation style-form (Fig. 35)



The most important group: amphora, hydria, kylix*, lekythos, various* (black figure) and all (red figure).

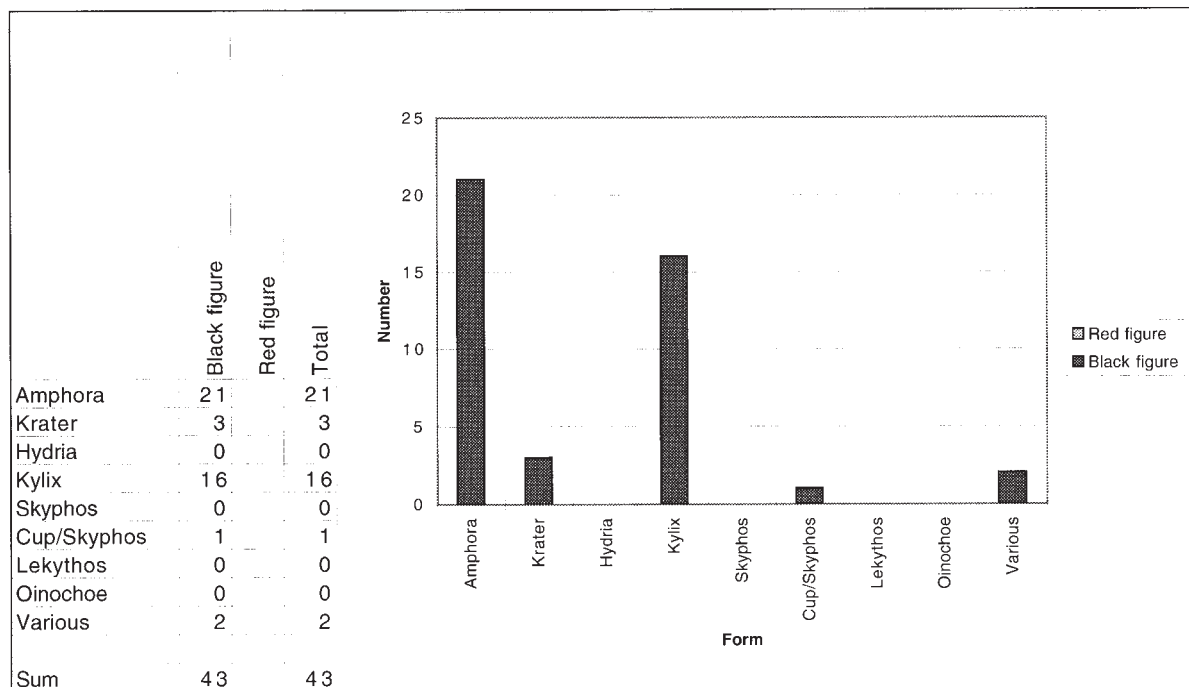
5. Relation Dating – Form

Period: $\frac{1}{4}$ 6 (Fig. 36)



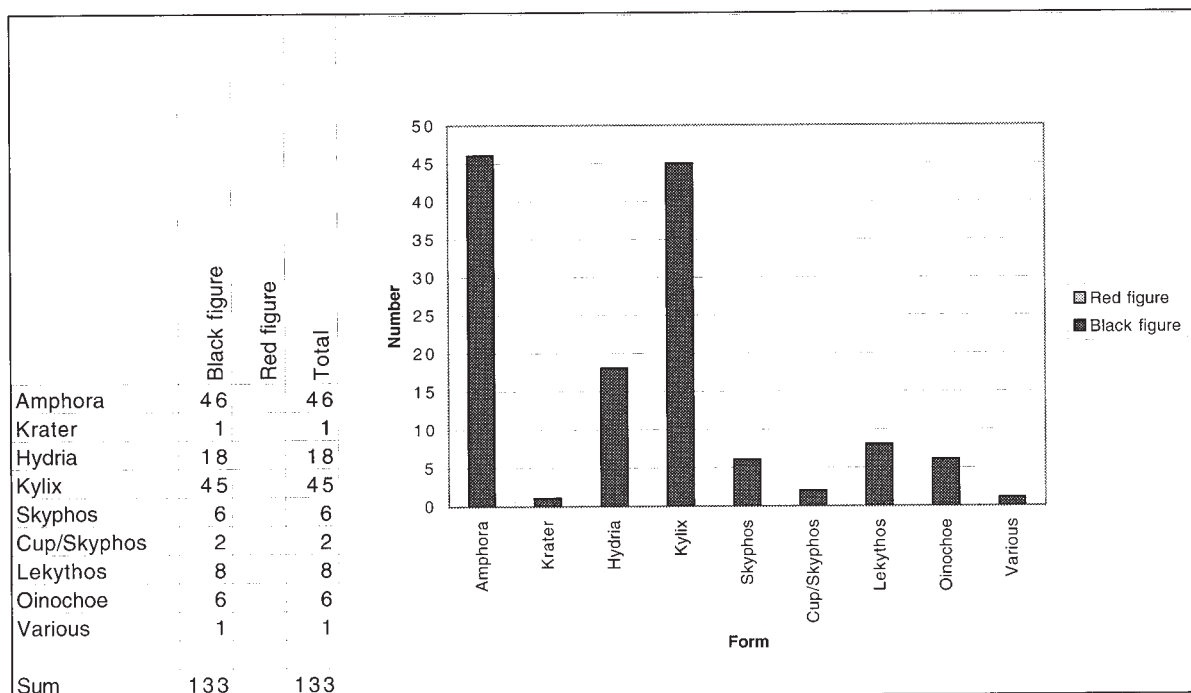
The most important group: skyphos.

Period: $\frac{2}{4}$ 6 (Fig. 37)



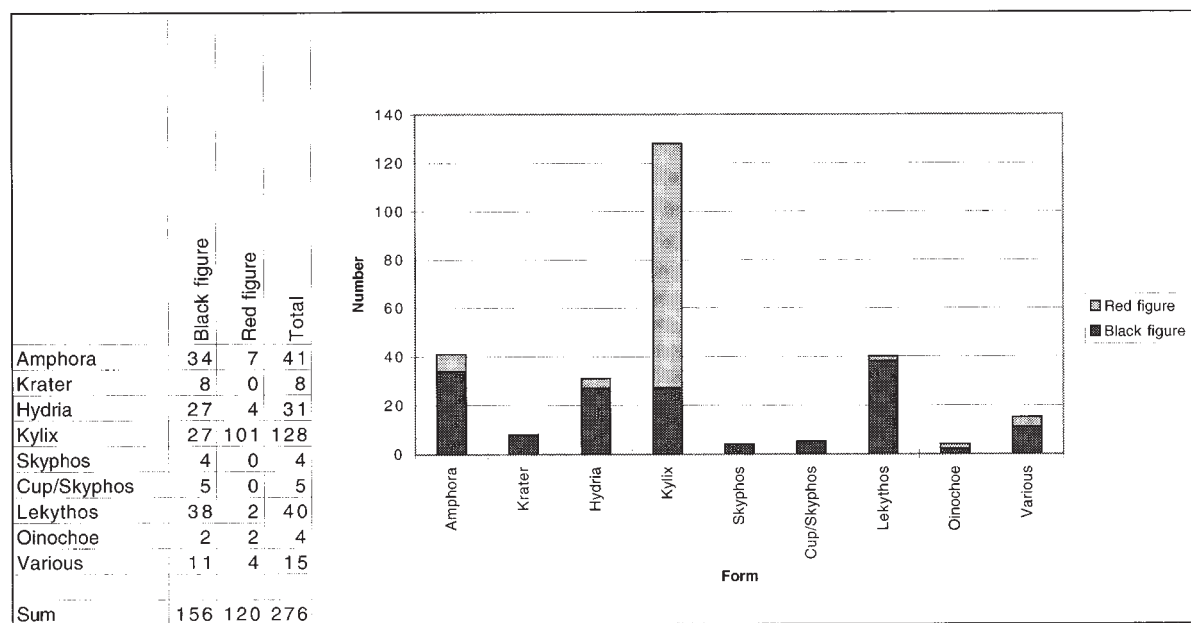
The most important group: amphora, kylix.

Period: $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 (Fig. 38)



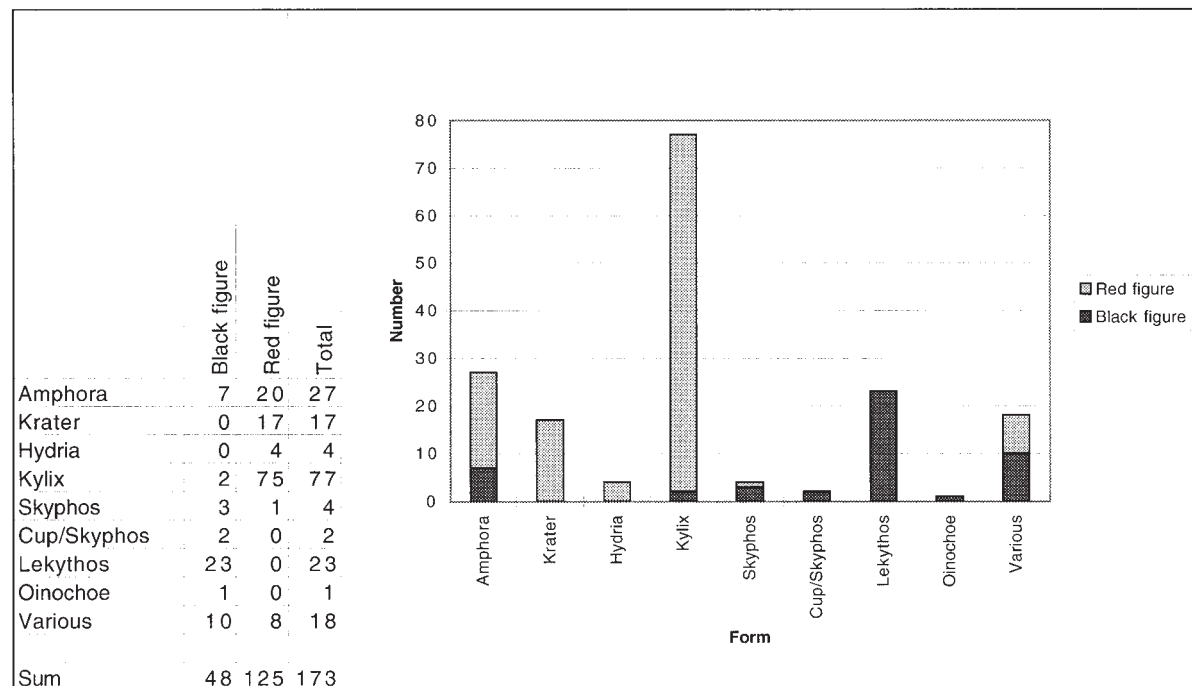
The most important group: amphora, kylix.

Period: $\frac{4}{4}$ 6 (Fig. 39)



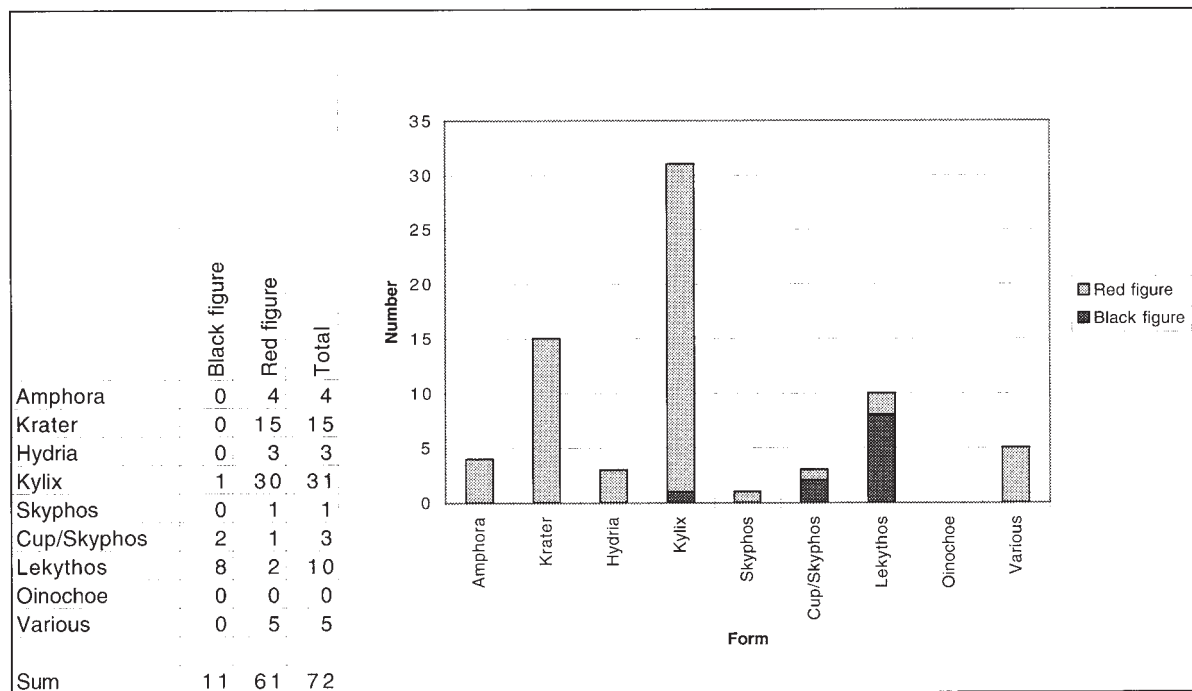
The most important group: kylix.

Period: $\frac{1}{4}$ 5 (Fig. 40)



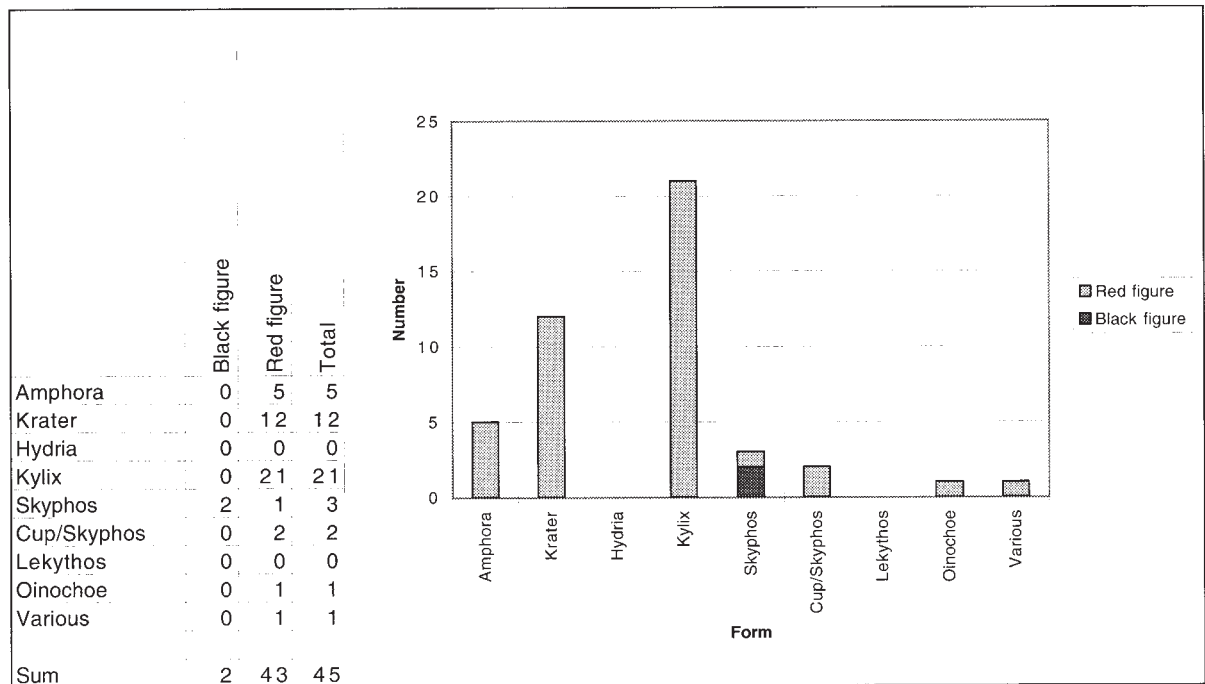
The most important group: kylix.

Period: $\frac{2}{4}$ 5 (Fig. 41)



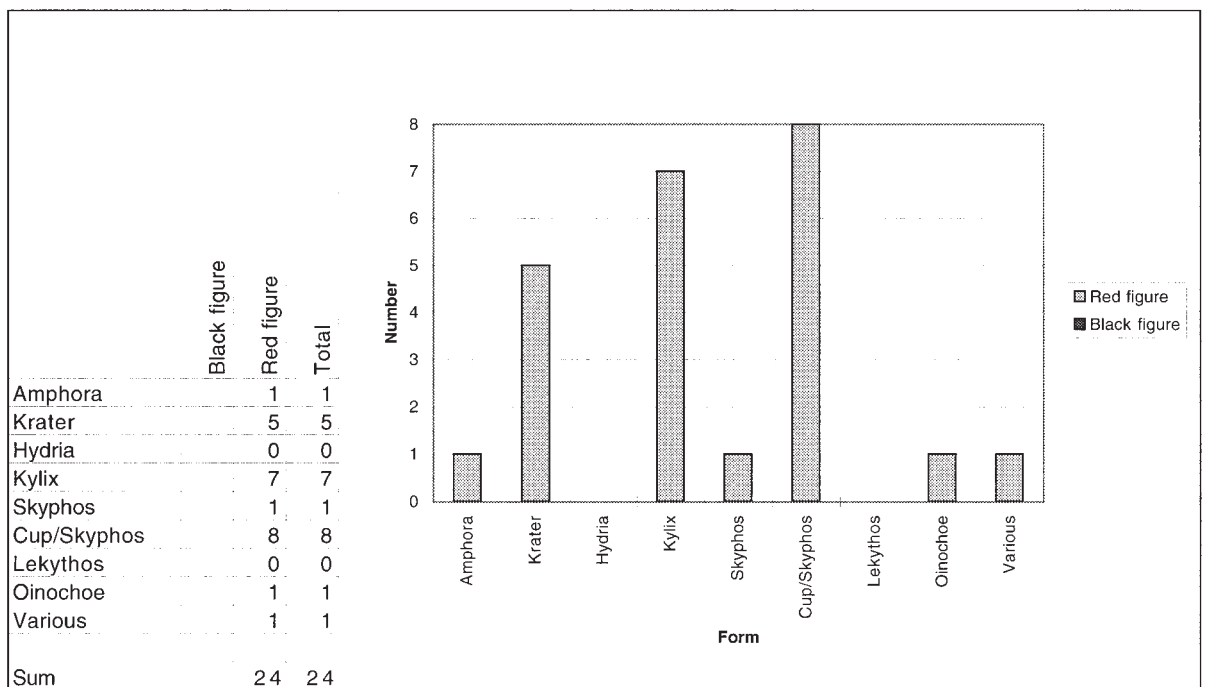
The most important group: krater*, kylix.

Period: $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 (Fig. 42)



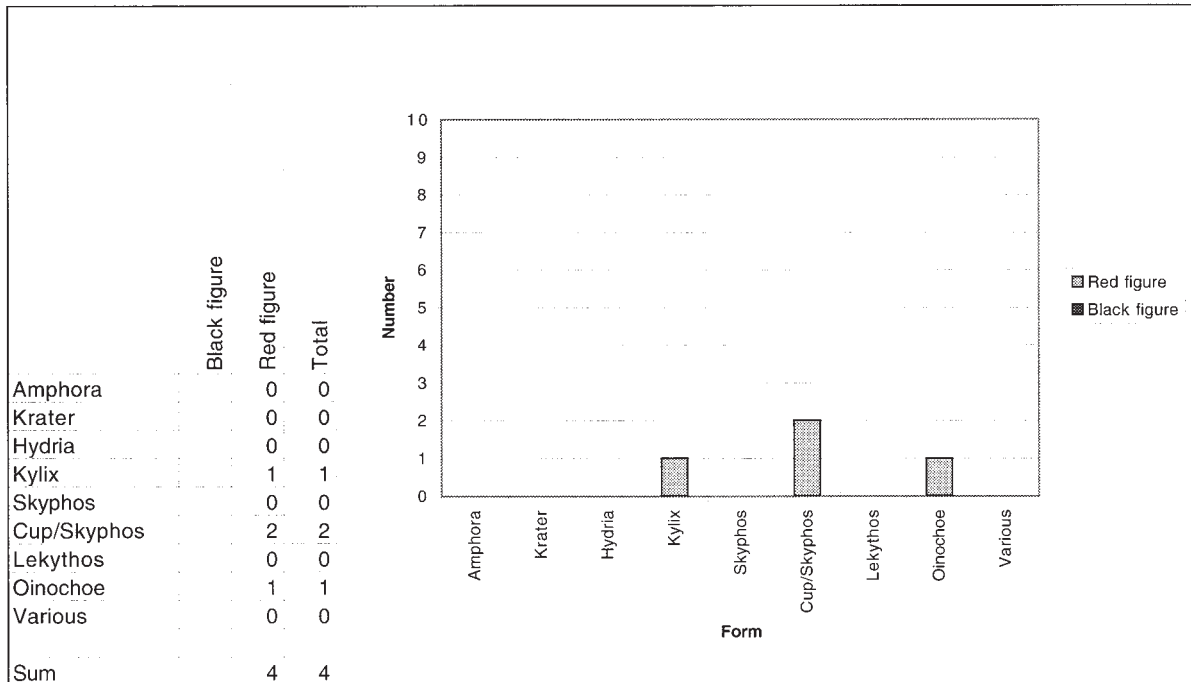
The most important group: krater*, kylix.

Period: $\frac{4}{4}$ 5 (Fig. 43)



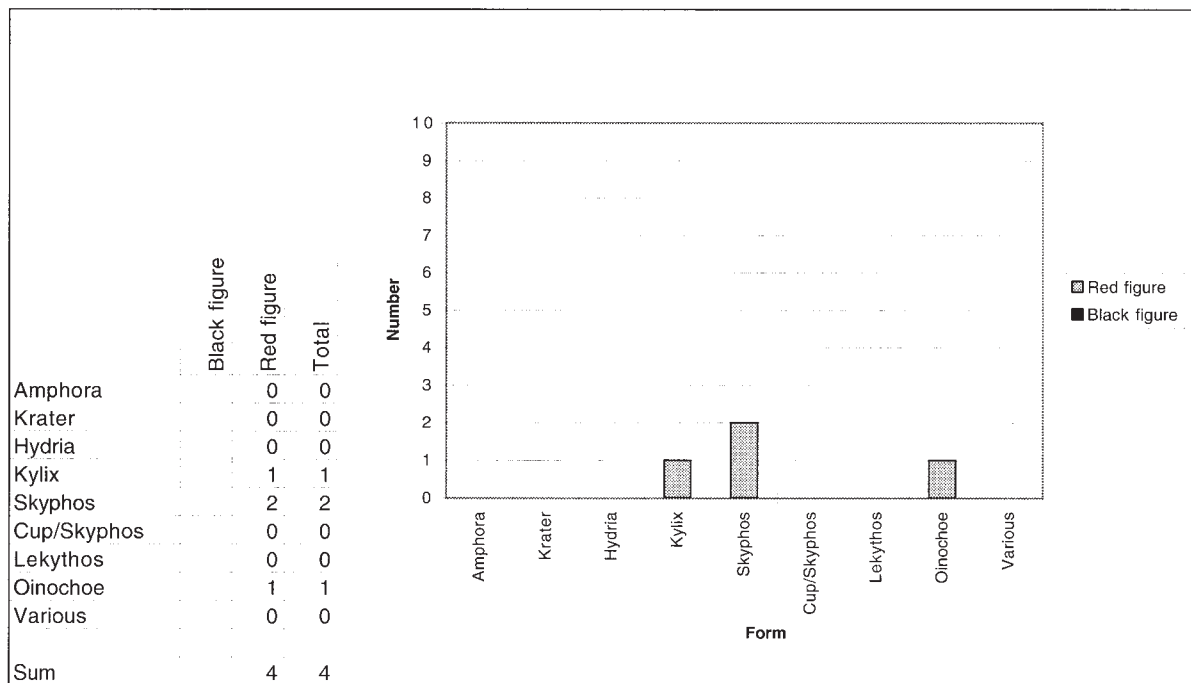
The most important group: amphora*, krater*, kylix*, skyphos*, cup/skyphos, oinochoe*, various*.

Period: $\frac{1}{4}$ 4 (Fig. 44)



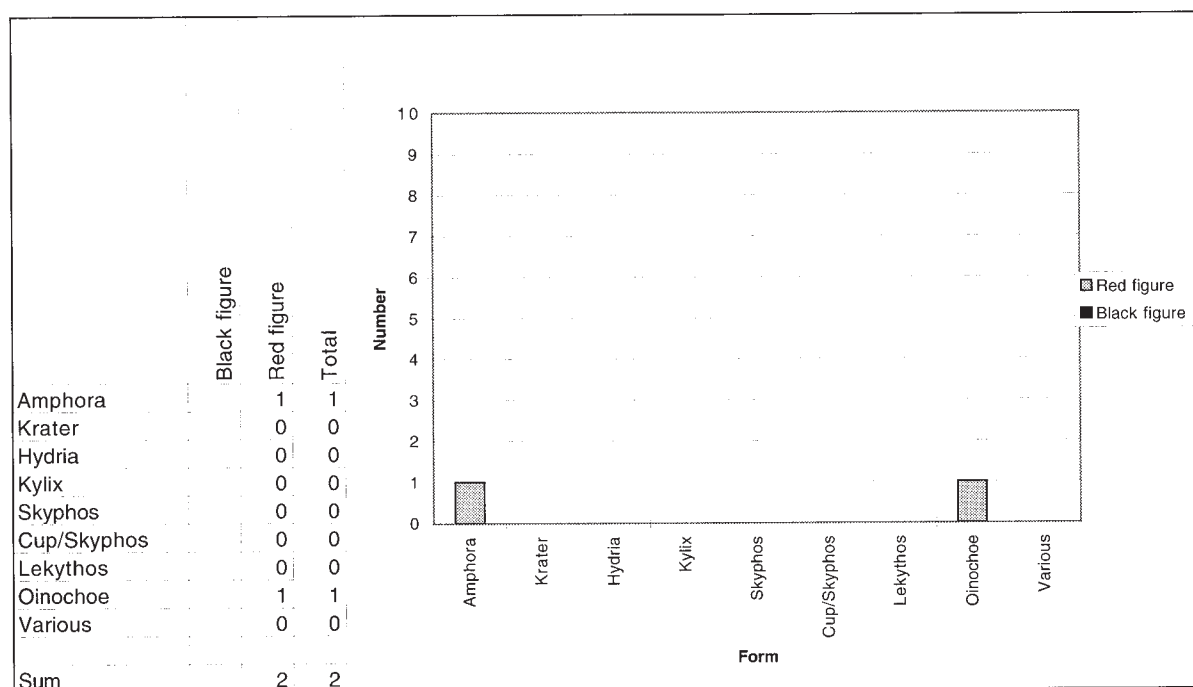
The most important group: all.

Period: $\frac{2}{4}$ 4 (Fig. 45)



The most important group: all.

Period: $\frac{3}{4}$ 4 (Fig. 46)



The most important group: all.

APPENDIX: A STATISTICAL NOTE (O. THAS⁷⁴)

To obtain statistical inference about the observed frequencies in the marginal tables of sport scenes-dating and sport scenes-form (see the graphics "dating" and "form"), the independent multinomial sampling scheme, conditional on the frequencies of the sport scenes, is assumed. This sampling scheme is in agreement with the observational nature of the study. No selection bias is introduced since the in the C.V.A. unpublished sport scenes may be considered unpublished independently of the pictured sport scene itself. Within each sport scene stratum, all pairwise comparisons of frequencies $p_i - p_j$ are calculated with a 95% simultaneous confidence interval which is obtained by a method based on a Bonferroni-type correction for multiplicity, given by

$$(p_i - p_j) \pm z_{\alpha/2a} \{ [p_i + p_j - (p_i - p_j)^2] / n \}^{1/2}$$

$i=1, \dots, N; j=i, \dots, N$

where $a=N(N-1)/2$ is the number of all possible differences $\{p_i - p_j\}$ for N cells and sample size n given. A good description of the procedure can be found in Miller, R.G. 1981, *Simultaneous Statistical Inference*, New York. The C.I. (Confidence Interval) must be considered conservative since the Bonferroni inequality only

gives an upper bound for the simultaneous confidence coefficient.

The interpretation of the 95% simultaneous C.I. is equivalent with simultaneously testing, at the 5% level of significance, the hypothesis of equal frequencies in all possible paired combinations of dating or form categories. Combining this interpretation and the consequences of the conservativeness of this method, fewer significant differences might be expected, than there are actually at the true level of 5%.

Dating and form categories can now be grouped, in a way that no significant differences occur within one group. However, it is possible that some categories are observed in more than one group. This means that groups do not necessarily exclude one another. The objective is to obtain the group containing the dating (or form) categories corresponding to the highest frequencies which do not differ significantly from each other at the 5% level. Categories which are not exclusively assigned to that group, will be marked (*).

Due to the conservative nature of the method, the marked categories may indicate that they are associated with a higher probability to be omitted from the group at the true 5% level of significance, still corrected for multiplicity.

Another important remark concerns the sample size. The larger the sample size, the more powerful the analysis, meaning differences might be found significant more frequently. This may have important consequences if

⁷⁴ Department of Applied Mathematics, Biometrics and Process Control at the University of Ghent (Belgium).

one wants to compare the results obtained at the different sport scenes strata. Smaller C.I. will be obtained in strata with more observations and hence significancies will already be concluded for smaller differences in sample proportions. So, the sample size must be taken into account, especially in the more extreme cases. As mentioned earlier on, the sampling scheme assumes that all marginal sport scenes-dating and sport scenes-form tables are independent multinomials, conditional on the sport scenes frequencies. Thus, the analysis may be performed on each sport scene stratum separately and on the marginal over all sport scenes.

A small adaption for the data for the analysis of figure 2 is needed. Since it is meaningless to include the "undated" objects as a separate category, these observations are deleted in the calculations. Hence, the total sample size is here reduced from 885 to 777. This problem does not occur in the sport scenes-form analysis. All analyses are also performed for red and black figures separately. For both the number of dating categories is reduced, because red figures only appear from $\frac{3}{4}$ 6 on and black figures disappear in $\frac{3}{4}$ 5; the periods in which they do not appear are indicated "/" (see the graphics "relation style-dating" and "relation style-form").

According to the sampling process, the inference procedure is formally invalid when the independent multinomial is conditioned on other than sport scenes frequencies. However, it may give a good indication (see the graphics "style" and "relation dating-form").

ADDENDUM

One scene should be added to each of the three throwing sports: F30, pl. 5(3) to discus throwing, NL6, pl. 53(4) to javelin throwing and GB9, pl. 62(5) to the long jump. Four red figure scenes from the fourth quarter of the sixth century with discus throwers (three kylikes and one mug) have been omitted from the list of the included pictures. In the graphics and the text, however, the original numbers remained unchanged. These alterations do not change any of the conclusions.

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Der ursprüngliche Entwurf für das Hephaisteion in Athen – Eine modulare architektonische Komposition des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.

R. de Zwarte

DIE ATHENISCHEN LÄNGENMAßE

Bisher ist es nicht gelungen, die Existenz eines modularen Entwurfssystems in der griechischen Klassik nachzuweisen. Das konsequente Anwenden verbindlicher Fußmaße beginnt jedoch Früchte zu tragen. Unsere frühere Untersuchung¹ hat gezeigt, daß im klassischen Athen, neben dem attischen Fuß von 32,66 cm, auch das ionische Fußmaß von 29,86 cm, nämlich am Parthenon, verwendet wurde. Die drei griechischen Längenmaße sind so gut wie sicher genau fixiert². Eine Entwurfsanalyse muß mit dem Baumaß des jeweiligen Tempels vorgenommen werden. Der metrische Wert des Baumaßes des Hephaisteion ist schon längst wiedergefunden, aber trotzdem unerkannt geblieben.

DAS BAUMAß DES HEPHAISTOSTEMPELS

Die Entwurfsgedanken späterer Zeiten könnten so beschaffen sein, daß man sie anwenden kann. Bei jedem Versuche griechische Entwurfsmethoden zu begreifen, muß deshalb zunächst Vitruv befragt werden. Vitruvs (IV 3, 3) wichtigste Forderung ist, daß bei dorischen Tempeln die Maßeinheit (*'modulus'* oder *'embater'*), von der alles Weitere abhängt, durch Teilung des Frontstylobates bestimmt werden soll. Koch hat das Hephaisteion oder Theseion³ monographisch abgehandelt. Er konnte beweisen, daß sich der aus einer Stylobatteilung nach Vitruvianischer Vorschrift errechnete Modulus auf diesen Tempel keinesfalls anwenden läßt. Was Koch⁴ rein zufällig gefunden hat, war das Fußmaß: "Das Theseion ist ein dorischer Hexastylus, die Divisionszahl mithin 42; der modulus müßte 13,72 m : 42 = 0,3266 m betragen"⁵.

DIE PROPORTIONEN DES TEMPELS

Koch⁶ meinte, der Tempel sei als ein 'Hundertfüßer' zu betrachten. Die untere Marmorstufe ist 32.51 m lang. Er kam so auf ein Fußmaß von 0.3251 m. Nun hat Koch⁷ richtig eingesehen, daß zwischen Breite und Länge dieser Stufe das genaue

Verhältnis 4 : 9 besteht. Er hat seine Analyse in Meter durchgeführt und daher vielleicht nicht bemerkt, daß die Breite der Stufe auf 44 $\frac{1}{4}$ Fuß auskommen würde, was im griechischen Maßsystem, daß auf der wiederholten Halbierung des Fußes beruht, gar nicht möglich ist. Bankel⁸ hat Kochs Fußmaß übernommen und die Maße von Metern in Fuß umgerechnet. Das genaue Verhältnis hat Bankel geleugnet, da er die Breite auf 44 $\frac{7}{16}$ festlegt. Das Zahlenverhältnis ist tatsächlich genau 4 : 9, wenn das richtige Fußmaß verwendet wird. Nach den metrischen Maßen trifft dies in etwa zu (0.44447...). Die Meßwerte sind 14.45 und 32.51 m, die Idealmaße 14.45,2 und 32.51,7 m. Die Fußwerte, 44 $\frac{1}{4}$ und 99 $\frac{1}{16}$, ergeben genau 4 : 9. Es hat sich also gezeigt, daß der Architekt die genaue Proportion 1 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Vorrang vor ganzen Füßen gegeben hat. Dies trifft auch zu für den Parthenon⁹.

Angeregt wurde diese Untersuchung durch einen glänzenden modernen Gedankengang über den Entwurf klassischer Tempel. Es läßt sich in der Tat erweisen, daß der Baumeister des Hephaisteion in der ersten Phase des Entwurfs genauso vorgegangen ist, wie H. Riemann und J.A.K.E. de Waele es sich vorgestellt haben.

¹ De Zwarte 1994.

² Das römische Fußmaß von 29,394 cm wurzelt schon im spät-klassischen Griechenland. Siehe dazu De Zwarte 1994-95, Anm. 3.

³ Der Name des Heiligtums, und im Zusammenhang damit die genaue Datierung, ist umstritten. Siehe dazu Dinsmoor 1950, 180 Anm. 1 und Koch 1955, 9ff.

⁴ Koch 1955, 74. Ein Hexastylus hat sechs Säulen an der Frontseite. Das Hephaisteion hat, die Ecksäulen doppelt gezählt, dreizehn Säulen an den Flanken.

⁵ Koch kannte Dinsmoors Arbeit. Dinsmoor (1941, 33) hat geschrieben: "... the width of the stylobate rectangle should be exactly 42 Doric feet ...". Es ist deshalb wahrscheinlicher, daß Koch, in seiner Absicht ein geometrisches Verfahren des Architekten annehmlich zu machen, Dinsmoors Meinung negiert hat.

⁶ Koch 1955, 74.

⁷ Koch 1955, 74-75, 80.

⁸ Bankel 1983, 76.

⁹ De Zwarte 1994, 142. Der Baumeister des Parthenon verwendete den ionischen Fuß (29,86 cm). Das Verhältnis 1 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ wurde in das Stylobatrechteck verwirklicht: Gemessen 30.89,2 und 69.53,9 m (Verhältnis 0.4442...); Idealmaße 30.90,5 und 69.53,6 m; 103 $\frac{1}{2}$ und 232 $\frac{7}{8}$ Fuß.; s. zu diesem Verhältnis den Theoriestreit zwischen Wesenberg (1984) und Bankel (1984 und 1991). Wesenberg bemerkt zurecht, daß mit der

Fassen wir die bisherigen Erkenntnisse hinsichtlich des Hephaisteion zusammen: Das Baumaß unseres Tempels ist der attische Fuß von 32,66 cm. Die Stylobatbreite ist 42'. Die Marmorstufe unter dem Stylobat mißt $44 \frac{1}{4}' \times 99 \frac{9}{16}'$, ist also vom Baumeister genau ins Verhältnis 1 : $2 \frac{1}{4}$ gesetzt. Koch¹⁰ äußerte sich so zum Problem des Entwurfs: "Unsere Untersuchungen am Theseion haben mit voller Sicherheit ergeben, daß das Werkmaß allein zum Verständnis der Proportionen keinesfalls ausreicht, daß man vielmehr wirklich mit geometrisch ähnlichen Figuren, mit der Festlegung wichtiger Punkte durch Diagonalen und mit dem Goldenen Schnitt zu rechnen hat".

Wie schon erwähnt, hat Koch nicht in Fuß, sondern in Meter gerechnet. Dennoch sind seine Schlüsse teilweise richtig, wenn das Baumaß von 32,66 cm zugrunde gelegt wird¹¹: Der Kernbau der Cella (Naos) mißt einschließlich Tür- und Rückwand (13.72 m; ideal 13.71,7 m = 42') soviel wie der Stylobat der Schmalseiten (42'). Die Säulenhöhe ist einschließlich Kapitell (5.71,2 m; ideal 5.71,6 m = $17 \frac{1}{2}'$) $\frac{5}{12}$ der Stylobatbreite. Die normale Abacusbreite (1.14,2 m; ideal 1.14,3 m = $3 \frac{1}{2}'$) ist $\frac{1}{5}$ der Säulenhöhe und $\frac{1}{12}$ der Stylobatbreite. Die Höhe der zwei Marmorstufen (0.70,8 m; ideal 0.71,4 m = $2 \frac{3}{16}'$) ist $\frac{1}{8}$ der Säulenhöhe. Die Ausladung des waagerechten Gesimses (0.50 m; ideal 0.50,0 m = $1 \frac{17}{32}'$) steht zur Tiefe des Epistyls (1.00 m; ideal 1.00,0 m = $3 \frac{1}{16}'$) im Verhältnis 1 : 2. Durch eigene Untersuchung

können wir noch nachtragen: Die normale Kapitellhöhe¹² (0.50 m; ideal 0.50,0 m = $1 \frac{17}{32}'$) ist $\frac{7}{16}$ der Abacusbreite. Die Höhe der Stufenbau¹³ (zwei Marmor- und zwei Kalkkeinstufen, 1.05,4 + 0.38 = 1.43,4 m; ideal 1.42,9 m = $4 \frac{3}{8}'$) ist $\frac{1}{4}$ der Säulenhöhe. Das Gebälk¹⁴ (0.84 + 0.82,8 + 0.32 = 1.98,8 m; ideal 2.00,0 m = $6 \frac{1}{8}'$) ist $\frac{5}{7}$ des Stufenbaus und $\frac{7}{20}$ der Säulenhöhe.

Von großer Bedeutung ist die Feststellung, daß die Ordnung (Säulenhöhe + Gebälkhöhe) genau die Hälfte der Euthynteriebreite¹⁵ (untere Kalkkeinstufe an der Frontseite, 15.42 m; ideal 15.43,2 m = $47 \frac{1}{4}'$) ist. Wichtige Maße sind schließlich die Entfernung der Ecksäule von der Stylobatkante¹⁶ (0.57 m; ideal 0.57,2 m = $1 \frac{3}{4}'$) und die Achsweite¹⁷ der Frontsäulen ($13.72 - 0.57 - 0.57 = 12.58$ m; ideal 12.57,4 m = $38 \frac{1}{2}'$).

DAS MODULMAß DES TEMPELS

Auch die Anwendung des richtigen Baumaßes reicht zum unmittelbaren Verständnis des Planungsvorgangs nicht aus. Aus einer sorgfältigen Analyse von Kochs Meßwerten erklärte sich jedoch, daß der Architekt des Hephaisteion seinem Entwurf einen Modulus (M) von $1 \frac{3}{4}$ Fuß zugrunde gelegt haben muß. Kochs Vermutung, der Architekt habe ein geometrisches Verfahren angewendet, muß deshalb abgelehnt werden.

Fassen wir noch einmal zusammen:

| | Fuß | Modulus |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| untere Marmorstufe, Länge | $99 \frac{9}{16}$ | $56 \frac{25}{28}$ |
| untere Marmorstufe, Breite | $44 \frac{1}{4}$ | $25 \frac{2}{7}$ |
| Euthynteriebreite | $47 \frac{1}{4}$ | 27 |
| Stylobatbreite | 42 | 24 |
| Naoslänge | 42 | 24 |
| Achsweite der Frontsäulen | $38 \frac{1}{2}$ | 22 |
| Ecksäulenachse-Stylobatkante | $1 \frac{3}{4}$ | 1 |
| Marmorstufenhöhe | $2 \frac{3}{16}$ | $1 \frac{1}{4}$ |
| Stufenbauhöhe | $4 \frac{3}{8}$ | $2 \frac{1}{2}$ |
| Säulenhöhe | $17 \frac{1}{2}$ | 10 |
| Gebälkhöhe | $6 \frac{1}{8}$ | $3 \frac{1}{2}$ |
| Höhe der Ordnung | $23 \frac{5}{8}$ | $13 \frac{1}{2}$ |
| normale Abacusbreite ¹⁸ | $3 \frac{1}{2}$ | 2 |
| normale Kapitellhöhe | $1 \frac{17}{32}$ | $\frac{7}{8}$ |
| Ausladung des Gesimses | $1 \frac{17}{32}$ | $\frac{7}{8}$ |
| Epistyltiefe | $3 \frac{1}{16}$ | $1 \frac{3}{4}$ |

Entscheidung über das Fußmaß des Parthenon auch die Interpretation des Entwurfsvorgangs in hohem Maße präjudiziert wird. Neulich zum Parthenon und zur historischen Metrologie: Wesenberg 1995 (Fig. 6 und 7 sind vertauscht worden).

¹⁰ Koch 1955, 72.

¹¹ Koch 1955, 75, 77-79.

¹² Koch 1955, Taf. 47.

¹³ Koch 1955, Taf. 51.

¹⁴ Koch 1955, Taf. 51.

¹⁵ Koch 1955, Taf. 41.

¹⁶ Koch 1955, Taf. 41.

¹⁷ Koch 1955, Taf. 41.

¹⁸ Die Abacusbreite und die Kapitellhöhe der Ecksäulen sind verstärkt.

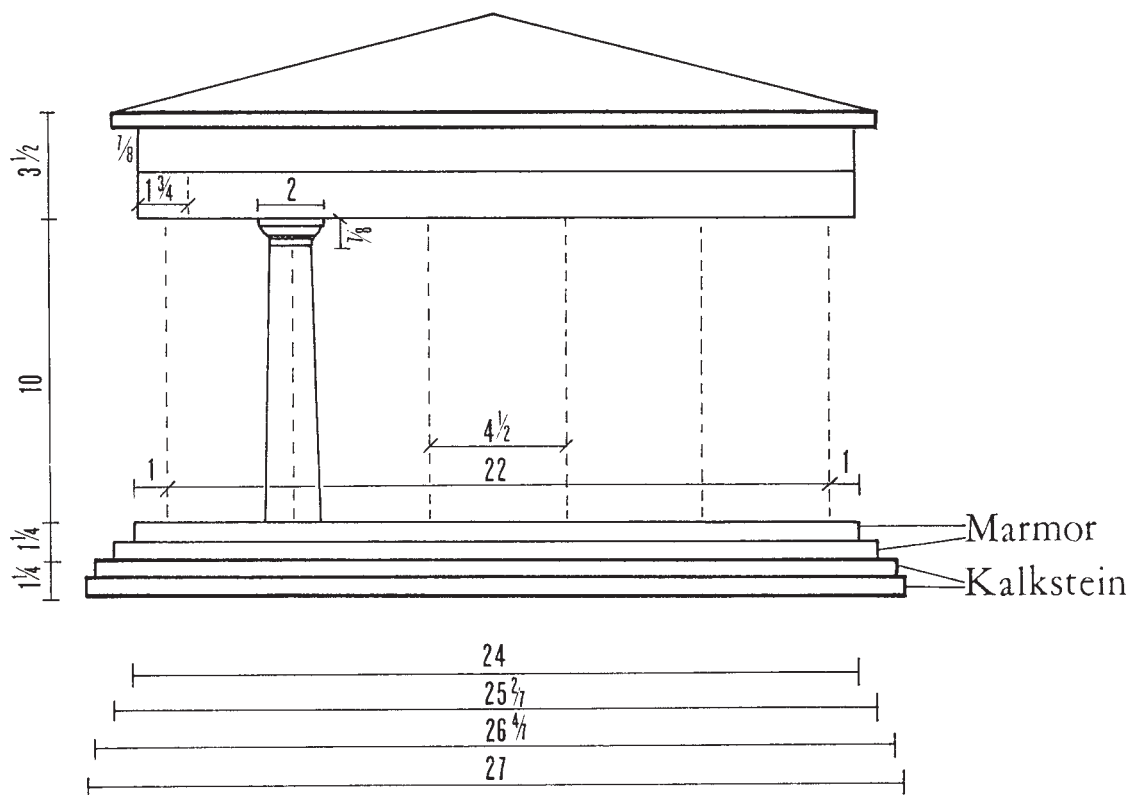


Fig. 1. Das Hephaisteion in Athen. Maße in Modul (ausgeführt in Fuß).

Erst nun ersehen wir, daß gerade die untere Marmorstufe ganz aus dem Rahmen fällt. Auch die obere Kalksteinstufe¹⁹ (Breite 15.18 m; ideal 15.18,7 m = $46 \frac{1}{2}' = 26 \frac{4}{7}$ M. Länge 33.24 m; ideal 33.25,2 m = $101 \frac{13}{16}' = 58 \frac{5}{28}$ M) ist nicht ins modulare System eingegliedert (Fig. 1). Wir können aus den vorliegenden Daten folgern, daß die Maße dieser Stufen in einer späteren Phase des Entwurfs abgeändert worden sind. Man könnte vermuten, daß die ausgeführten Jochmaße an der Frontseite (zusammen 22 M) zum Vorentwurf gehören und deshalb im Modulmaß auszudrücken seien. Darauf ist später zurückzukommen.

Koch²⁰ schloß seine metrologische Betrachtung mit den Worten: "Jedem, der sich die Mühe nimmt, unsere Berechnungen nachzuprüfen, muß es aufgefallen sein, daß sie keineswegs lückenlos sind; ... Es kam uns nur darauf an zu zeigen, daß die Proportionen dieses Tempels durchdacht, nicht nach einem starren Modulsystem auskalkuliert worden sind. ... Voraussetzung bleibt, daß der schöpferische Architekt nicht bloß nach Modellen gerechnet, sondern im eigentlichen Sinne"entworfen"hat".

Nach unserer Meinung hat der Architekt einen Vorentwurf in Modul im zweiten Schritt des Entwurfs schöpferisch abgeändert und im dritten Schritt dimensioniert. Der im Modulmaß erstellte ursprüngliche Entwurf (Fig. 2) ist geeignet für die unterschiedliche Gestaltung mehrerer Tempel und erschüttert dadurch die These, das Modulsystem sollte starr sein.

Bemerkenswert ist das Verhältnis Opisthodomtiefe: Pronaostiefe = $1 : 1 \frac{1}{4}$. Das Normaljoch ist $4 \frac{1}{2}$ M lang. Es zeigt sich also, daß die Entwurfsgedanken de Waeles²¹ tadellos herauskommen: "In der Euthynterie wurde das Verhältnis der Säulenzahl

¹⁹ Koch 1955, Taf. 41.

²⁰ Koch 1955, 80.

²¹ De Waele 1990, 251. Weniger explizit bereits Riemann 1960, 189-190. Riemann vermochte nicht, die künstlerische Leistung des Architekten zu deuten. Er meinte, das genaue Verhältnis $4 : 9$ zwischen Breite und Länge der unteren Marmorstufe sei reiner Zufall und ohne jede Bedeutung. Riemann (S. 193) hat richtig eingesehen, daß die Höhe der Ordnung gleich der Summe von drei Normaljochen entworfen war (Jedoch ausgeführt: gleich der Summe von drei Mitteljochen der Front, s.u. Tabelle 2.).

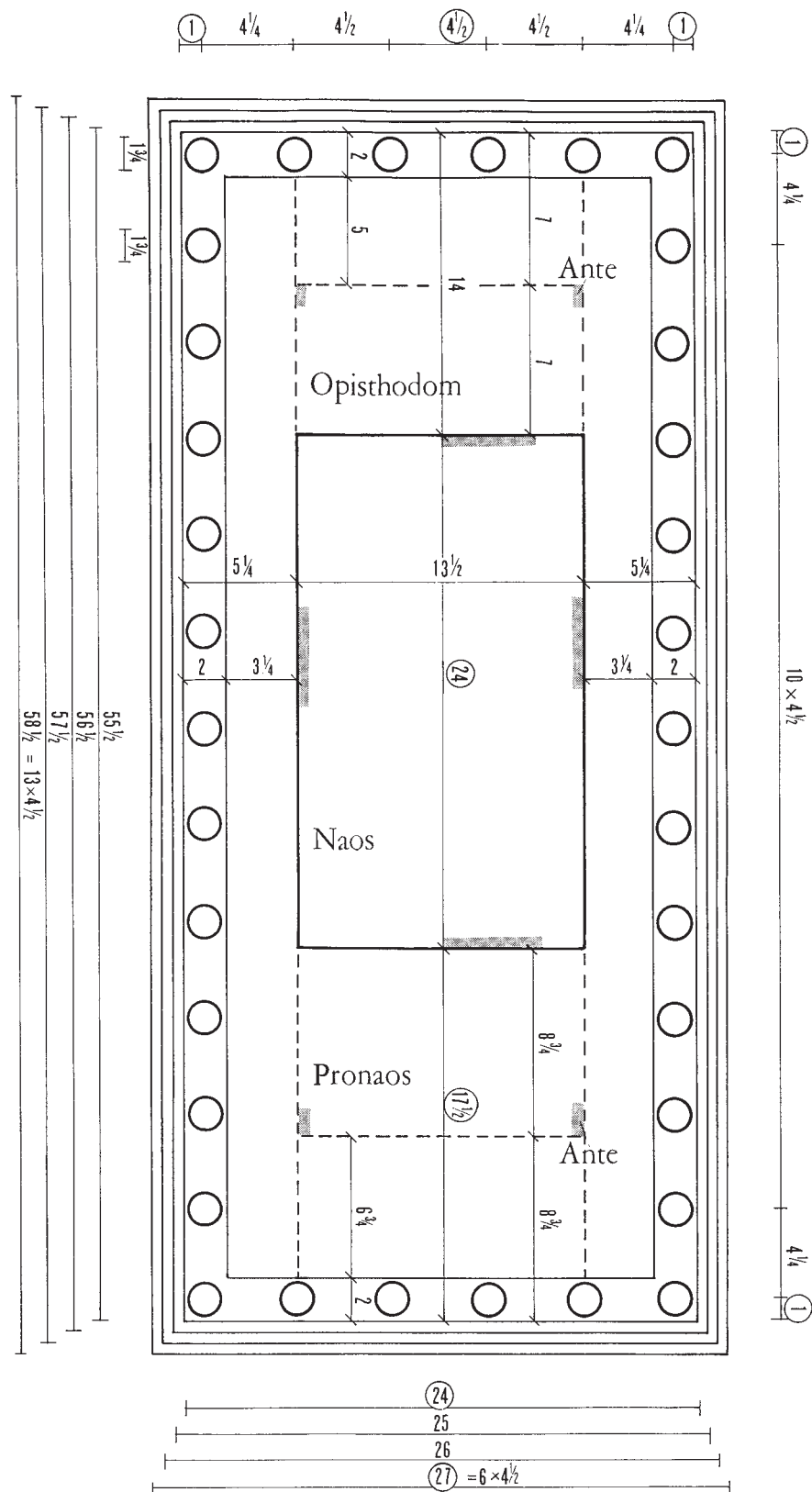


Fig. 2. Modularer Vorentwurf des Hephaisteion. Die eingekreisten Zahlen hat der Architekt aufrechterhalten.

widergespiegelt. Beim klassischen Tempel, bei dem das Normaljoch Planungseinheit war, wurde oft in der Euthynterie die Proportion der Säulenzahl bestimmt²².

DER ENTWURF DES HEPHAISTOSTEMPELS²²

Das modulare Schema ist nicht zur Ausführung beabsichtigt, sondern dient nur als Grundstellung für den schöpferischen Entwurf. Ausgehend vom modularen Schema entwarf der Baumeister einen zweistufigen Marmortempel. Die Oberkante der oberen Kalksteinstufe kam demnach am Boden zu liegen, wurde deshalb geglättet, aber nicht mit Stuck überzogen²³. Die Trittflächen wurden gleichbreit ($1 \frac{1}{8}$). Der Baumeister verzichtete auf das genaue Verhältnis 6 : 13 in der Euthynterie und verwirklichte in die untere Marmorstufe das in

ästhetischer Hinsicht weithin mehr befriedigendes Verhältnis 1 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Es läßt sich nicht sicher entscheiden, welches Maß zuallererst abgeändert – d.h. $\frac{3}{16}$, vergrößert – worden ist. Es gibt 4 Möglichkeiten: die Euthynterielänge, die Stylobatlänge, die Entfernung der Rückwand des Naos von der Stylobatkante und die Ophistodometiefe.

DIE DIMENSIONIERUNG DES ENTWURFS

Es ist nicht Ziel der Untersuchung, die Dimensionierung bis ins Detail zu behandeln. Wir beschränken uns daher auf eine Beschäftigung mit den wichtigsten Teilen des Grundrisses (*Tabelle 1*) im Bewußtsein, daß es unsere Aufgabe ist das Arbeitsverfahren des Baumeisters aufzuhellen, aber nicht den Tempel aufs neue zu entwerfen.

Tabelle 1. Die Dimensionierung des Grundrisses²⁴.

| | Entwurfsphase 1 | | Abänderung | Entwurfsphase 2 (ausgeführt) | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| | M | Fuß | | Fuß | Ideal (m) | gem. (m) |
| <i>Stufenbau, Schmalseite</i> | | | | | | |
| Euthynterie | 27 | 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ | | 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 15.43,2 | 15.42 |
| Kalksteinstufe | 26 | 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + 1 | 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 15.18,7 | 15.18 |
| Marmorstufe | 25 | 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ | + $\frac{1}{2}$ | 44 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 14.45,2 | 14.45 |
| Stylobat | 24 | 42 | | 42 | 13.71,7 | 13.72 |
| <i>Stufenbau, Langseite</i> | | | | | | |
| Euthynterie | 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 102 $\frac{3}{8}$ | + $\frac{3}{16}$ | 102 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 33.49,7 | 33.48 |
| Kalksteinstufe | 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 100 $\frac{5}{8}$ | + 1 $\frac{3}{16}$ | 101 $\frac{13}{16}$ | 33.25,2 | 33.24 |
| Marmorstufe | 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 98 $\frac{7}{8}$ | + $\frac{11}{16}$ | 99 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 32.51,7 | 32.51 |
| Stylobat | 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 97 $\frac{1}{8}$ | + $\frac{3}{16}$ | 97 $\frac{5}{16}$ | 31.78,2 | 31.78 |
| <i>Längsachse</i> | | | | | | |
| Naos-Sk | 14 | 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + $\frac{3}{16}$ | 24 $\frac{11}{16}$ | 8.06,3 | 8.05,7 |
| Ophistodom ²⁵ | 7 | 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ | – $\frac{13}{16}$ | 11 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 3.73,5 | 3.72,8 |
| Ante-Sk | 7 | 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ | + 1 | 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4.32,7 | 4.32,9 |
| | 5 | 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ | + $\frac{15}{16}$ | 9 $\frac{11}{16}$ | 3.16,4 | 3.16,4 |
| | 2 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 1.16,4 | 1.16,5 |
| Naos | 24 | 42 | | 42 | 13.71,7 | 13.72 |
| Naos-Sk | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 30 $\frac{5}{8}$ | | 30 $\frac{5}{8}$ | 10.00,2 | 9.99,3 |
| Pronaos | 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 15 $\frac{5}{16}$ | – $\frac{3}{16}$ | 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4.94,0 | 4.92,8 |
| Ante-Sk | 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 15 $\frac{5}{16}$ | + $\frac{3}{16}$ | 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 5.06,2 | 5.06,5 |
| | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 11 $\frac{13}{16}$ | + $\frac{1}{8}$ | 11 $\frac{15}{16}$ | 3.89,9 | 3.90 |
| | 2 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 1.16,4 | 1.16,5 |
| <i>Querachse</i> | | | | | | |
| Naos | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ | + $\frac{1}{8}$ | 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 7.75,7 | 7.76 |
| Naos-Sk (2) | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 9 $\frac{3}{16}$ | – $\frac{1}{16}$ | 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 2.98,0 | 2.98 |
| | 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 5 $\frac{11}{16}$ | – $\frac{1}{8}$ | 5 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 1.81,7 | 1.81,5 |
| | 2 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ | 1.16,4 | 1.16,5 |
| <i>Säulendiameter</i> | | | | | | |
| Normalsäule | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | + $\frac{1}{16}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 1.02,1 | 1.01,8 |
| Ecksäule ²⁶ | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ | + $\frac{1}{8}$ | 3 $\frac{3}{16}$ | 1.04,1 | 1.03,6 |

²² Der Stylobat wird als eine Stufe aufgefaßt.

²³ Koch 1955, 73.

²⁴ Meßwerte: Koch 1955, 53 (unterer Säulendurchmesser) und Tafel 41; über die Meßwerte (S. 73): "Diese Zahlen, teils direk-

ter Messung entnommen, teils als Mittel vieler Einzelmessungen auf zu fassen ...". In der Tabelle bezeichnet Sk die Stylobatkante.

²⁵ Abänderung + $\frac{3}{16}$, und – 1'.

²⁶ $3 \frac{1}{8} \times 5 \frac{1}{50} = 3 \frac{3}{16}$, (Vitruv III 3, 11).

Wir müssen uns zuletzt noch mit den Jochmaßen beschäftigen. Heute wird fast allgemein akzeptiert, daß Unterschiede in der Größenordnung von 1 cm auf Ungenauigkeiten bei der Aufstellung der Säulen zurückzuführen sind. Stimmt man dies zu, dann ist nichts im Wege, die Untersuchung mit dem Durchschnittswert vorzunehmen. Es wird sich zeigen, daß diese Methode, jedenfalls bezüglich des Hephaisteion, nicht zutreffend ist.

Die Tatsachen lassen sich nicht treffender wiedergeben als mit den Worten der Autoren selbst. Koch²⁷ gibt unmißverständliche Information: "die normale Achsweite läßt sich zwar nicht direkt messen, aber auf 2,58 m berechnen. Die Eckkontraktion ist einfach, nicht auf mehrere Joche verteilt; Achsweite 2,42 m". Wir schließen aus seinen Worten, daß auch Dinsmoor nicht imstande war direkt zu messen. Dinsmoor²⁸ erwähnt folgendes: "the actual dimensions are 2.583 m. and 2.581 m. for the front and flank axial spacings, ... the length of the stylobate is ... (folgt eine Berechnung); the actual dimension is 31.776 m. on the south and 31.762 m. on the north". Die Eckjoche erwähnt er gar nicht. Wie hat Dinsmoor die Normaljoche dann berechnet? In seiner späteren Arbeit erfahren wir Näheres²⁹: Stylobatmaße 13.70,8 und 31.769 m, Jochmaße 2.58,3 und 2.41,3 m an der Front, bzw. 2.58,1 und 2.41,3 m an der Flanke. Wir sehen, daß die Stylobatlänge jetzt im Durchschnittswert erwähnt wird. Von den letzten Daten ausgehend läßt sich der Abstand der Ecksäule von der Stylobatkante

sowohl für die Front als auch die Flanke auf 0.56,65 m berechnen. Andersherum, wenn man vermutet, wie Dinsmoor, daß der Baumeister diesen Abstand und das Eckjoch überall gleichlang entworfen hat, gewinnt man durch Berechnung etwas verschiedene Werte für das Normaljoch. Fassen wir zusammen: Koch gibt das Eckjoch mit 2.42 m an und den Abstand der Ecksäule von der Stylobatkante mit 0.57 m. Dinsmoors Maße sind 2.41,3 und 0.56,65 m. Beide Forscher haben vorausgesetzt, der Abstand (E) und das Eckjoch (EJ) seien überall gleichlang entworfen und konnten dadurch das Normaljoch (NJ) berechnen. Die Versuche, die Planung zu klären, haben zu keinem Ergebnis geführt. Koch hat nicht in Fuß gerechnet und Dinsmoor hat ein Gemisch von uncialer und digitaler Fußteilung verwendet und die Eckjoche außer Betracht gelassen.

Die Planung muß in sich logisch sein. Die Dimensionierung der Joche ist erst dann zu verstehen, wenn erstens ein feiner Unterschied zwischen den Eckjochen der Lang- und Schmalseiten vorausgesetzt wird und zweitens an der Front, statt drei Normaljoche, ein Mitteljoch (MJ) und zwei Zwischenjoche (ZJ) zugeordnet werden. Eine derartige Planung leuchtet erst ein, wenn das modulare Schema bekannt ist und auch das richtige Baumaß zugrunde gelegt wird (Tabelle 2). Es sei daran erinnert, daß die Summe der Abänderungen an der Front null und an der Flanke + $\frac{3}{16}$ Fuß ergeben muß.

Tabelle 2. Die Dimensionierung der Jochmaße.

| Tabelle 2. Die Dimensionierung der Jochmaße. | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Front</i> | | | | | | | |
| Phase 1 (M) | E | EJ | ZJ | MJ | ZJ | EJ | E |
| (F) | 1 | 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 1 |
| Abänd. (F) | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Phase 2 (F) | | – $\frac{1}{32}$ | + $\frac{1}{32}$ | | + $\frac{1}{32}$ | – $\frac{1}{32}$ | |
| (m) | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 7 $\frac{13}{32}$ | 7 $\frac{29}{32}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ | 7 $\frac{29}{32}$ | 7 $\frac{13}{32}$ | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | 0.57,2 | 2.41,9 | 2.58,2 | 2.57,2 | 2.58,2 | 2.41,9 | 0.57,2 |
| <i>Flanke</i> | | | | | | | |
| Phase 1 (M) | E | EJ | NJ | | | EJ | E |
| (F) | 1 | 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 10 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | | 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 1 |
| Abänd. (F) | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 7 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 10 x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ | | | 7 $\frac{7}{16}$ | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Phase 2 (F) | | – $\frac{1}{16}$ | + $\frac{5}{16}$ | | | – $\frac{1}{16}$ | |
| (m) | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ | 10 x 7 $\frac{29}{32}$ | | | 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| | 0.57,2 | 2.40,9 | 10 x 2.58,2 | | | 2.40,9 | 0.57,2 |

²⁷ Koch 1955, 52. Alle Säulen stehen noch aufrecht. Die untersten Säulentrommeln sind jedoch häufig aus ihrer ursprüngliche Lage gedreht. Die Beschädigungen gehen auf Erdbeben zurück.

²⁸ Dinsmoor 1941, 33.

²⁹ Dinsmoor 1950, 338.

Aus der Tabelle läßt sich entnehmen, daß Koch den Wert des Fronteckjochs für die Berechnung des Normaljochs gebraucht hat, Dinsmoor hingegen den Durchschnittswert der Eckjochs: $(2.41,9 + 2.40,9) : 2 = 2.41,4$ m. Das um etwa 1 cm kleinere Mitteljoch der Front ist durch das Rechenverfahren mit dem Durchschnittswert unbemerkt geblieben. Die dargestellte Dimensionsplanung geht systematisch und durchaus logisch vor. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß es sich um einen Einzelfall handelt. Daraus kann man folgern, daß es ratsam ist die Auskünfte Dinsmoors³⁰ zu den Jochmaßen der antiken Tempel mit Skepsis zu betrachten.

EXKURS

Zur Erhellung des modularen Entwurfs müssen wir noch einmal grundsätzlicher ansetzen, weil die Unterschiede zwischen Fakten und Meinungen sich sehr leicht verwischen. Es ist ein Faktum, daß der Baumeister des Hephaistostempels sich eines Modulmaßes bediente, doch eine Vermutung, der ursprüngliche Entwurf sähe genauso aus wie er in *Fig. 2* gezeichnet worden ist. Namentlich gegen den Standort des Naos auf dem Podium (*Fig. 3A*) könnte Bedenken angemeldet werden. Setzt man voraus, daß dieses Schema am Anfang des Entwurfs für den Hephaistostempel steht, dann gibt es keinen Anlaß etwas zu verändern. Will man jedoch die Position vertreten, daß der Baumeister von einem universal brauchbaren Vorentwurf ausgegangen ist, dann stört es z.B., daß der Naos nicht mittig auf dem Podium steht. Es erhebt sich also die Frage, ob wir es hier mit dem ersten oder mit dem zweiten Schritt des Entwurfs zu tun haben. Ich vermute, es sei den zweiten Schritt, da ein regelmäßiger Vorentwurf daraus einfach zu gewinnen ist:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Längsachse</i> | | | |
| wie in <i>Fig. 3A</i> | 14 | 24 | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Abänderung | + 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 0 | - 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Vorentwurf | 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 24 | 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| <i>Querachse</i> | | | |
| wie in <i>Fig. 3A</i> | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Abänderung | + $\frac{3}{4}$ | - 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Vorentwurf | 6 | 12 | 6 |

Das Ergebnis der Abänderungen ist einen Vorentwurf (*Fig. 3B*), daß leicht als universal verwendbar für Tempel in derselben Größenklasse zu betrachten ist.

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BULKSTRAAT 8
 NL-4196 AW TRICHT

³⁰ Dinsmoor 1950, 337-340. Lorenzen (1970, 145-151) hat Dinsmoors Liste übernommen. Vgl. auch Dinsmoor (1950, 135, Anm. 3) und de Zwarte (1994, *Tabelle 4*) bezüglich der Mitteljochs des Heratempels von Samos.

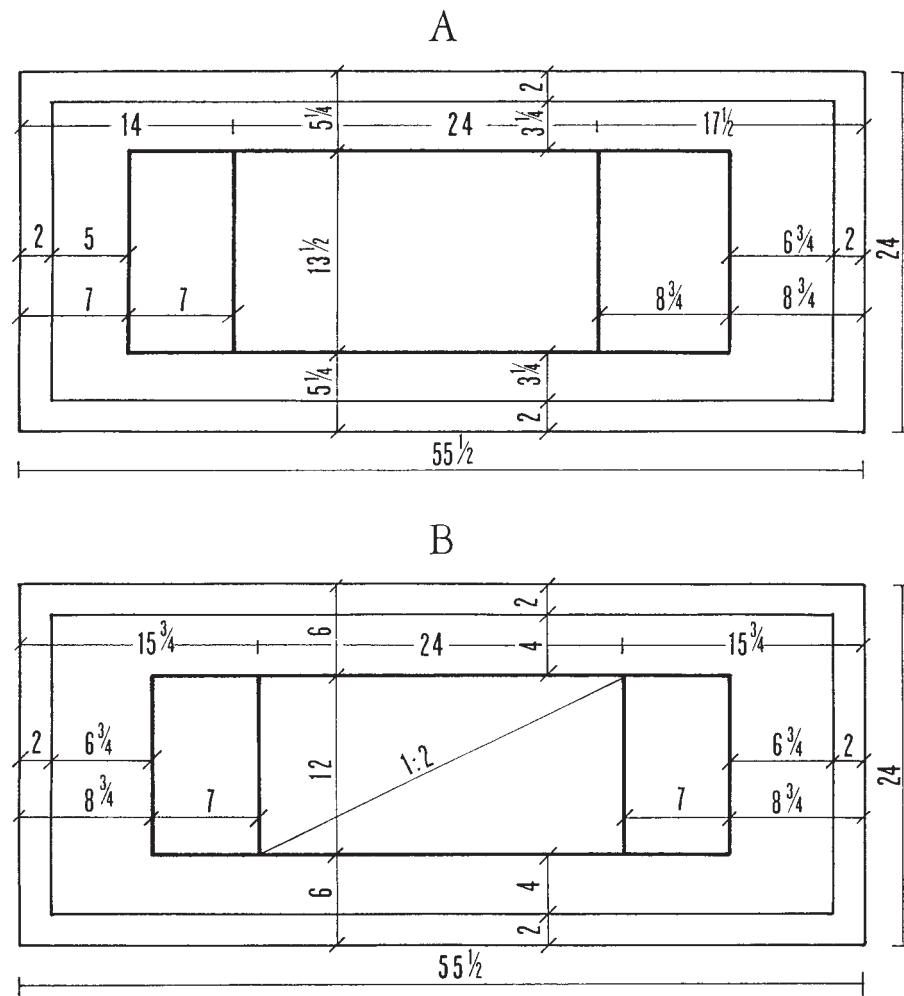


Fig. 3. Modularer Vorentwurf:
A. Abänderung des Entwurfs für den Hephaistostempel.
B. Universaler Entwurf.

The Settlement of Muro Tenente, Southern Italy

First Interim Report

Gert-Jan Burgers

1. INTRODUCTION

The investigations presented in this paper are an integral part of the regional 'Brindisino' project of the Archaeological Institute of the Free University of Amsterdam. As was defined at the start of this project in 1981, its major aim is to contribute to the understanding of the processes of Hellenisation and Romanisation of the native communities inhabiting this region. To this end, over the years excavations and field surveys have both been launched, notably at Oria and Valesio (*Fig. 1*). The data from this research are gradually being published in a number of monographs (see Boersma/Yntema 1987; Boersma 1990; 1995; Yntema 1993). Interim reports have been presented annually in *Babesch*¹.

In 1991 a new series of intensive field surveys was started in the Brindisino. These surveys focused on a number of large ancient settlements. One of these sites is Muro Tenente, located within the boundaries of the modern town of Mesagne, some 18km southeast of Brindisi (*Fig. 1*). This site had previously known only small scale excavations and incidental field reconnaissance². It was surveyed in 1992 (Burgers 1994; Boersma et al. 1995). The success of these surveys has encouraged us to continue our research at Muro Tenente. In 1993 excavations were carried out to test the survey results on settlement organization and to investigate the fortifications of the site. Subsequently, in 1995 it was decided to incorporate the previous research into a multi-year programme aiming to study settlement organization at Muro Tenente in the context of both Hellenisation and Romanisation. In the pages that follow the preliminary results of this programme are presented in a chronological way.

2. THE FORTIFICATIONS

The most conspicuous ancient structure which may still be witnessed at Muro Tenente is its defensive circuit. It is some 2.7km long and encloses an area of approximately 52ha (*Figs. 2 and 3*). This circuit has been mapped by the regional Soprintendenza. Unfortunately, however, no detailed research has

yet been carried out. During the 1992 campaign we have dedicated part of our time to their investigation. The course of the fortifications can be established almost in their entirety. Their ruins are covered by a bank of earth and stones, which reaches a width of 10-15m and a height of 2-3m on average. Only sporadically does one encounter zones where these banks have been razed, notably in the south-east corner of the site. In the vicinity of the latter, we discovered two tracts of which respectively the inner facing and the top were partly visible (*Fig. 3, A and B*). These tracts have been scrub-cleaned, described and (photo-)graphically documented. During the 1993 campaign at Muro Tenente, we also executed two soundings at the western and northern tract of the fortifications. This research now enables us to place the construction of the walls within a technical and chronological framework.

The 1992 survey of the defenses

In the spring of 1992, recent scrub burning at the top of the southern section of the wall circuit had uncovered a series of building blocks (*Fig. 4; cf. fig. 3, B*). These blocks have a fairly regular, (semi-) rectangular form and a relatively large size. They have been fitted and lined up carefully, without the use of mortar, in two parallel, east-west oriented rows, which are more or less at the same height (some 2m above ground level). These rows can be positively identified as the highest layers of

English text correction: Taalcentrum-VU, Amsterdam; drawings: H.J.M. Burgers. The project has been incorporated into the *Progetto Strategico no. 251100* of the *Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*, directed by the Archaeological Department of the University of Lecce. We sincerely thank our colleagues and friends at Lecce, and especially Prof. F. D'Andria, for their most generous assistance. Furthermore, we are grateful for the ready cooperation of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia*, the Comune and museum of Mesagne and the museum of Egnazia.

¹ *Babesch* 57, 1982, 213-216; 60, 1985, 152-163; 61, 1986, 149-156; 62, 1987, 1-19; 93-101; 64, 1989, 134-159; 65, 1990, 81-96; 66, 1991, 115-131; 67, 1992, 111-116; 68, 1993, 49-70; 69, 1994, 145-154.

² See notably Marangio 1971-73; 1974; Quilici/Quilici-Gigli 1975; Lo Porto 1976; Andreassi 1981; De Juliis 1985; Cocchiari 1992.

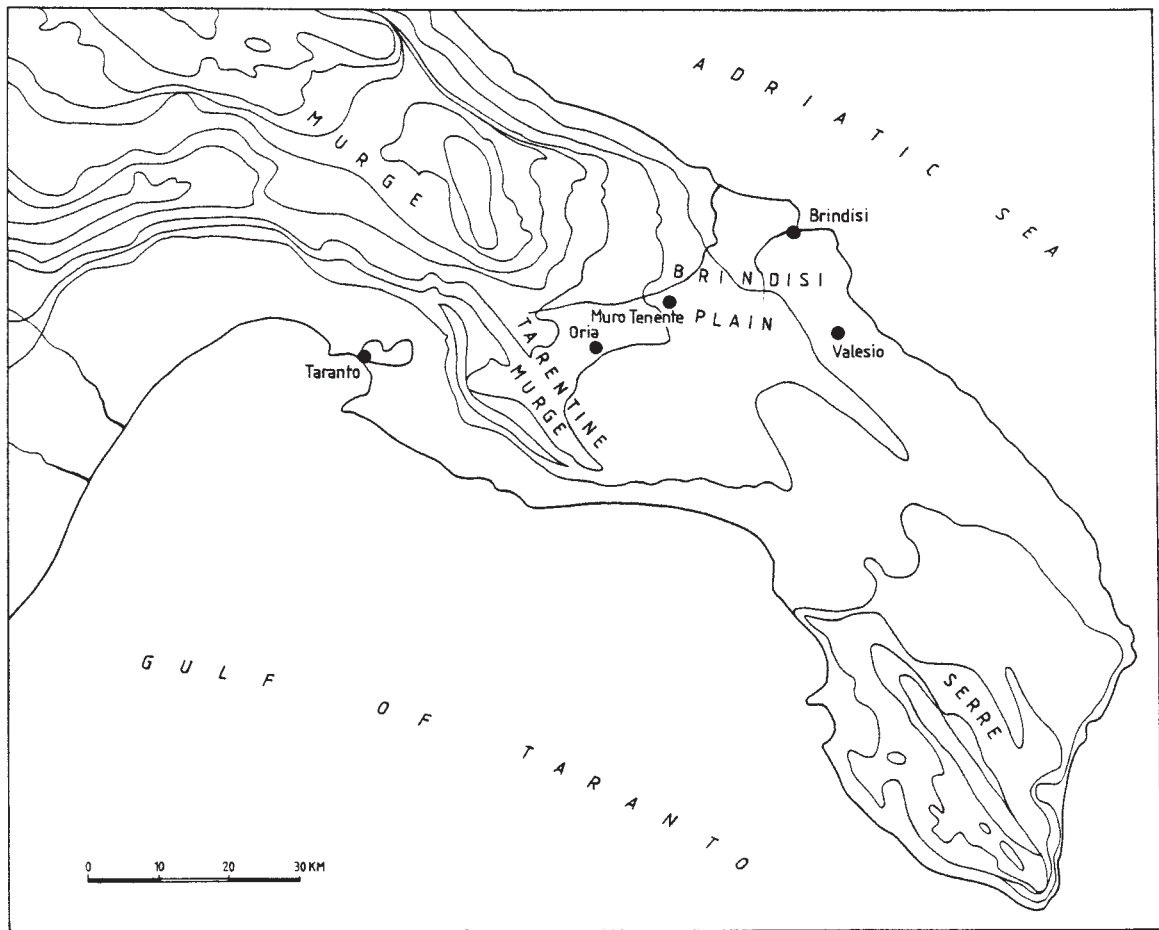


Fig. 1. The Brindisi region and the larger Salento peninsula.

the inner and outer facing of the fortifications still in situ. On the basis of their spacing, the width of the walls can thus be established at 5m.

About halfway along this 75m long tract one notices some blocks forming a projection against the inner facing of the wall. This projection measures some 1.80m in width and 5.70m in length. A similar projection has been noticed recently at the nearby site of Valesio, where it has been identified as a staircase leading up to the top of the defenses (Boersma et al. 1991; Boersma/Burgers 1994).

A second visible tract has been identified in the south-east section of the circuit. It functions today as a delimitation of a small oliveyard (Fig. 5; cf. fig. 3, A). Its orientation is north-south. Here the

visible part of the wall is its inner facing which can be followed for some 20 meters. The ancient facing has been preserved up to 2m above ground level. It has been raised more recently with smaller stones which can be distinguished easily because of their contrasting position, aligned inwards.

The inner facing has been constructed without the use of mortar. The building blocks, of local calcarenite, are of various proportions and forms, though one may observe a tendency to a regular, rectangular shape. A certain degree of regularity, can also be recognized in the placing of the blocks in more or less horizontal lines. This has created an overall pseudo-isodomic appearance. On the other hand, none of these series of blocks is continuous along the entire length of the tract. They are

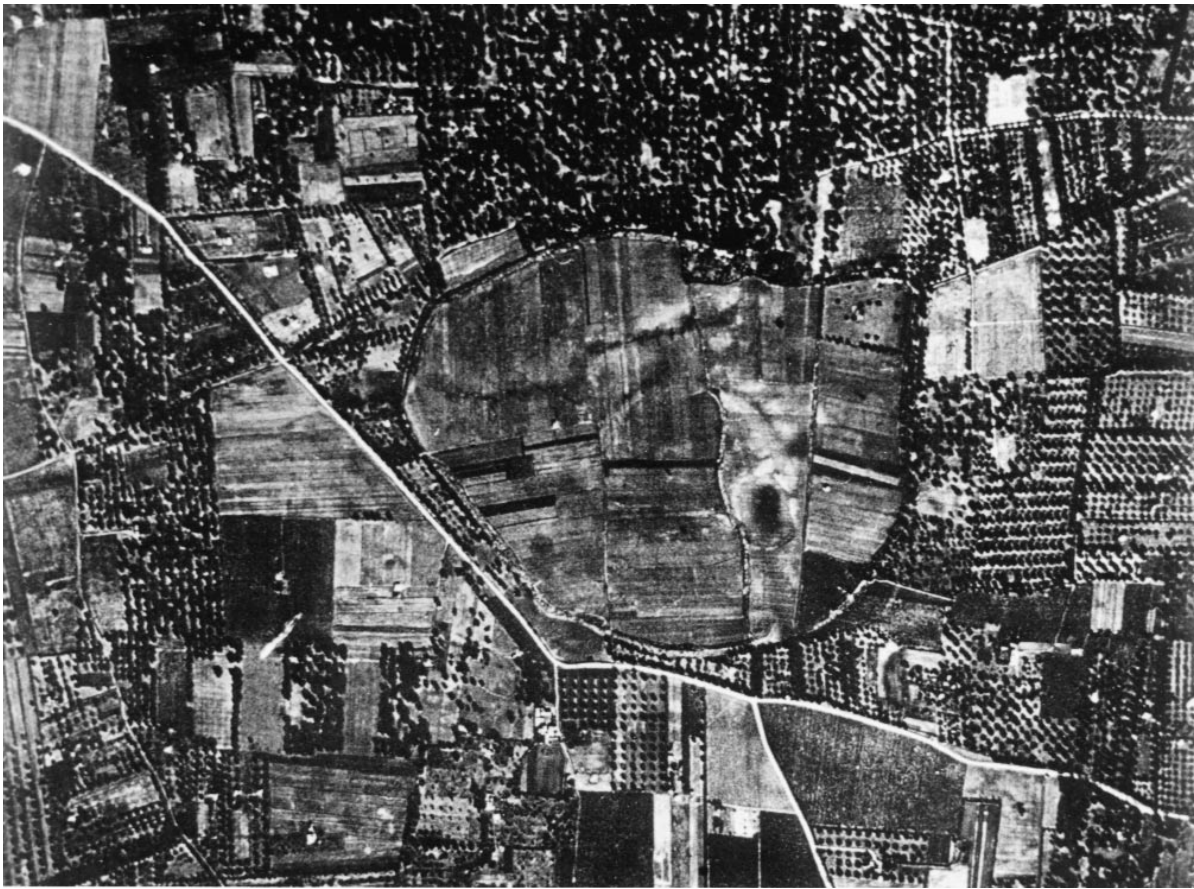


Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of the site of Muro Tenente.

interrupted frequently by smaller stones of irregular form which do not connect well. The spaces left open in this way are in turn filled up with even smaller stones. For this reason, the inner facing of this section of the MT fortifications strongly resembles that of the walls of the nearby fortified settlement of Valesio (Boersma et al. 1991; Boersma/Burgers 1994). Thus the suggestion made with regard to the Valesio walls, that the builders must have been informed with isodomic techniques, also applies to the MT fortifications. Apparently the builders even tried to apply these techniques, but it seems that they did not have the skills or time to carry them to perfection.

The Valesio walls have been dated on the basis of ceramic evidence to the early 3rd century B.C. It is because of the similarity of construction techniques that in 1992 the hypothesis was put forward that

both fortifications might have been built more or less contemporaneously.

The 1993-soundings

In order to obtain some further insights into building techniques and chronology of the MT defenses, in 1993 we have executed two soundings, at the northern and southern section of the circuit respectively.

For the larger part of its northern section the course of the fortifications seems to be dictated by the local geomorphology; it runs east-west, alongside a sharp drop in the terrain. Here, a 10m long sounding was set up from within the walled area, at right angles to the defenses, covering them almost entirely (*Fig. 6; cf. fig. 3, no. 5*). Because of the enormous effort needed to remove the bank of

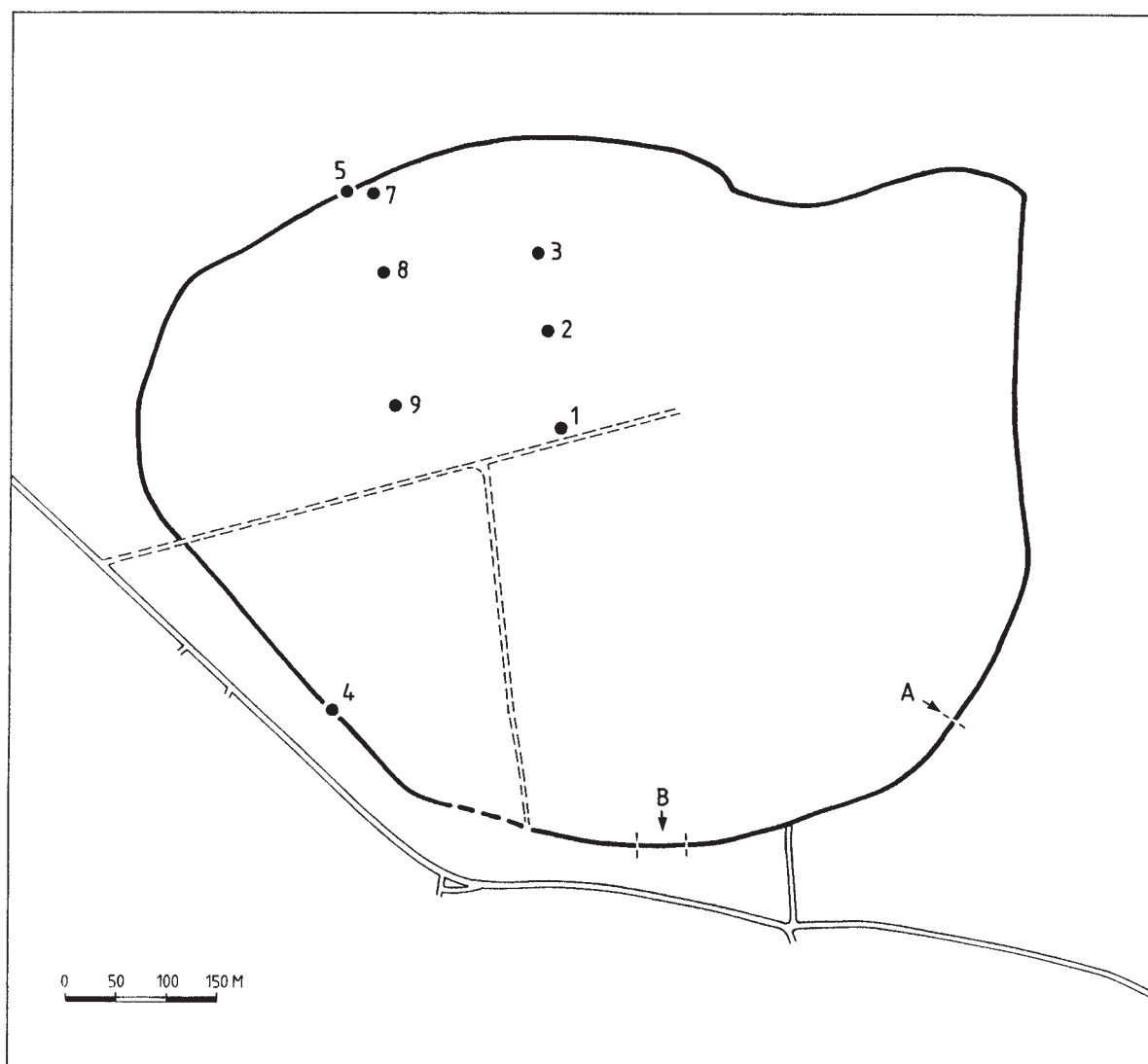


Fig. 3. General plan of Muro Tenente with location of soundings. Circuit of fortifications in dark lines.

secondary stones covering the defenses, the width of the sounding was set at only 1m. At two points, however, we enlarged it to 3m in order to study the foundations of the wall structures identified here. Of these two structures, the most northern one was identified as part of the fortifications. South of it runs another, parallel secondary wall. The two walls are 4.8m apart.

In this section, what was left of the original 5m width of the defenses (see above) is only a poor 1.75m; it is constituted of its inner facing and part

of the *emplecton*, i.e. the infill of the space between the two facings, and which is made up of stones and earth. The outer facing and the larger part of the *emplecton* have apparently been recently completely dismantled. The act had been hidden with earth brought in from elsewhere. Such defilements can be observed at several spots all along the wall circuit.

The inner facing is preserved to a height of 1.45m. It shows the same construction techniques as the south-eastern section discussed above (Fig. 7). It is

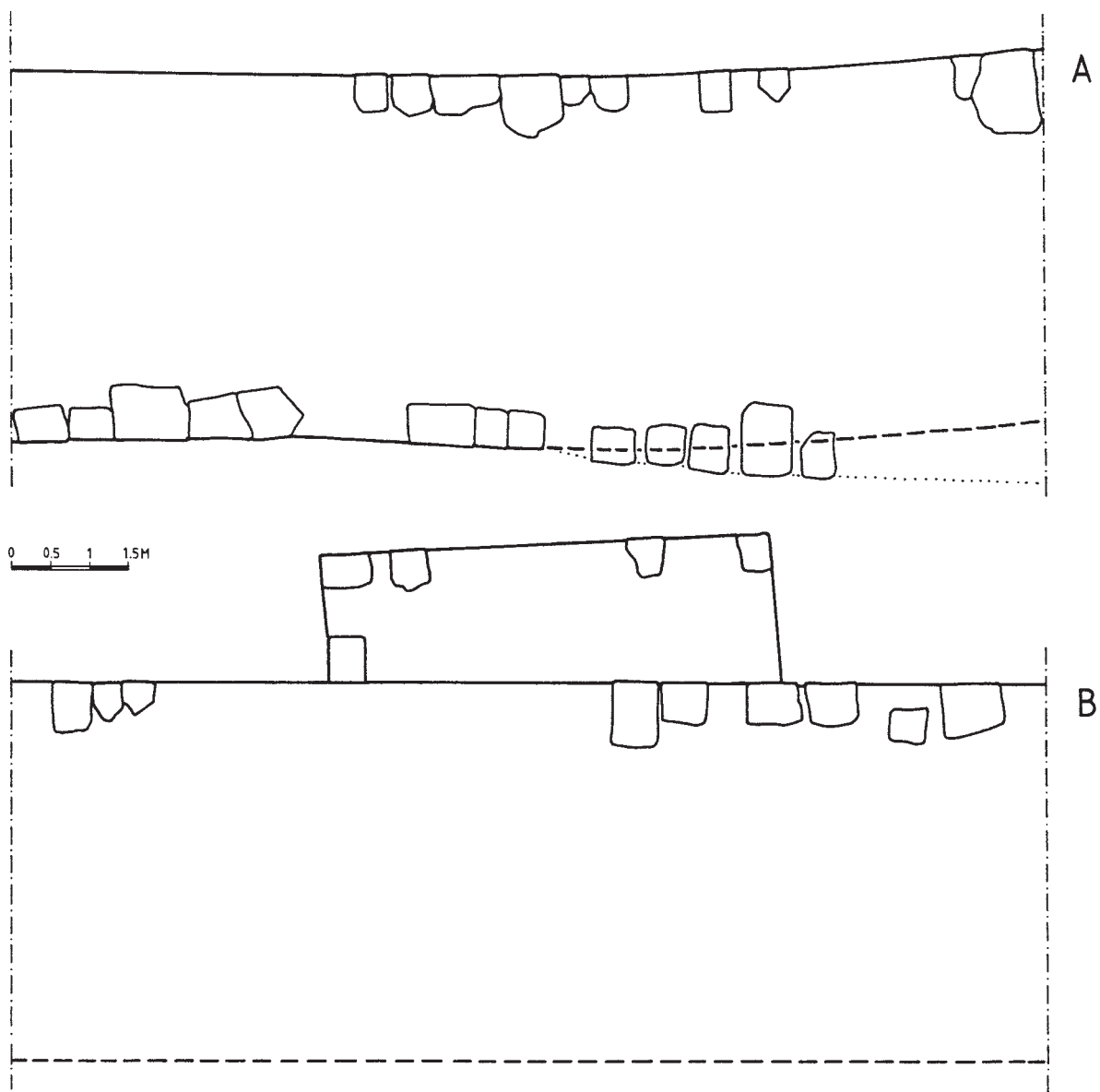


Fig. 4. Muro Tenente. Part of the top of the southern section of the wall circuit.

founded upon a layer of yellowish-brown earth. Fortunately, the foundation trench contained a large number of ceramics, notably of kitchen wares and so-called 'ringhandled kantharoi'. This closed and homogeneous context finds a near parallel in specific 3rd cent. B.C. layers in the stratigraphy of Valesio. Study of a more exact dating of these layers is in progress.

The secondary wall is founded at almost the same depth as the fortifications. It measures about 0.5m in width and stands up to a maximum of about 1m. It is composed of irregular stones of minor dimensions which are fitted without the use of mortar (Fig. 8). The wall probably constitutes the back side of a construction opening up to the south, thus leaving an open space for a passage way of almost



Fig. 5. *Muro Tenente*. Inner facing of the south-eastern section of the wall circuit.

5 meters in width, immediately alongside the inner facing of the fortifications.

The second sounding was laid out against the western section of the circuit (Fig. 9; cf. Fig. 3, no. 4). It had an angular shape, with one leg, 2,5 x 8m, oriented north-south along the inside of the circuit, the other, 2 x 8m, directed towards the west at right angles to it. In the first leg we discovered a secondary wall, similar to the one discussed above (Fig. 9, A). In the other leg we touched upon the fortifications, which, like in the northern trench, run parallel to the secondary wall, this time at a distance of 3.50m. Here, the passageway between the two walls could be clearly distinguished as a layer of neatly fitting cobbles. Of the fortifications, again, we were able to uncover only the inner facing and part of the *emplecton*. Thus, for the moment the outer facing of the Muro Tenente fortifications remains unexplored.

A *terminus ante quem* for the construction of these walls comes from the layers associated with

a third stretch of wall (Fig. 9, B). The ceramics in these layers date this definitely later wall C to the late 3rd cent. B.C. It has been built at right angles with wall B, incorporating the latter in a new structure. We were unable to verify if this structure actually closed off the above discussed passageway. Nevertheless, since the construction of this wall must have been later than that of the fortifications, the late 3rd cent. B.C. constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the latter. This fits strikingly well with the more generic 3rd cent. B.C. date postulated for the building of the defenses in the sounding presented above. Significantly, the contemporaneity of the construction of both sections may also be inferred from the similarity in building techniques. This also accounts for the sections which we have surveyed. Thus, it may be concluded that the fortifications at MT were constructed within one and the same building operation, which took place at some point during the early 3rd cent. B.C.

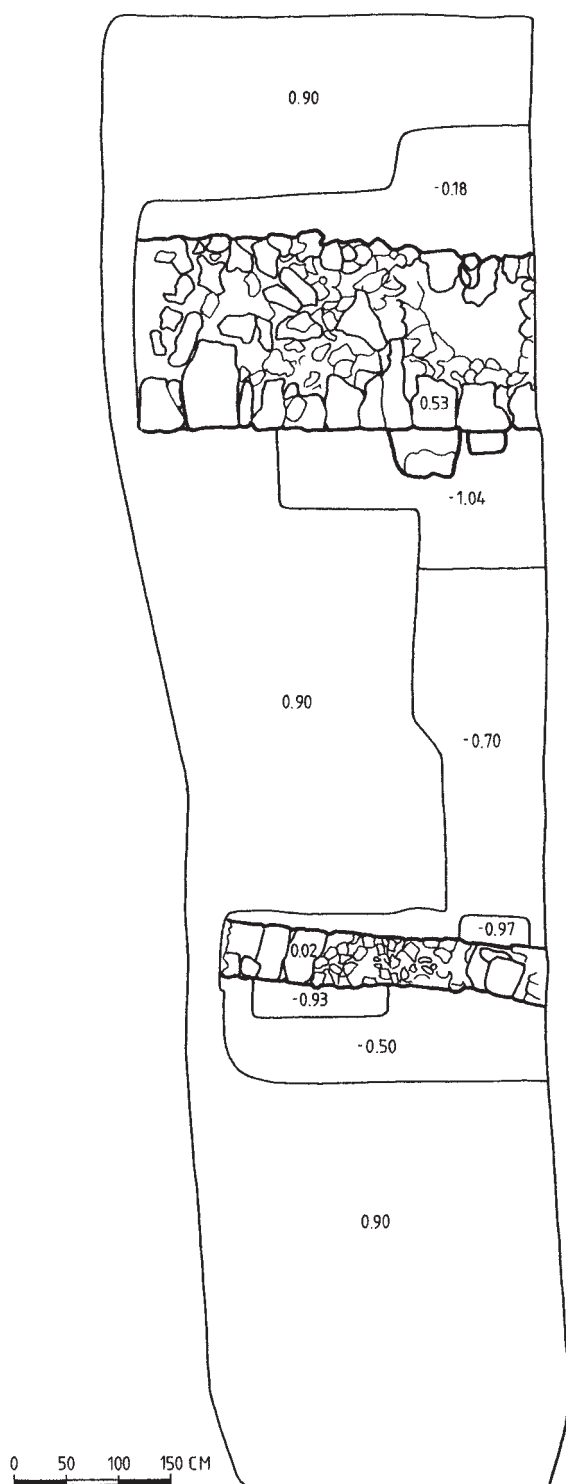


Fig. 6. Muro Tenente. General plan of sounding 5.

3. THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE SETTLEMENT (1993 AND 1995)

Our intensive field surveys have established that the fortifications discussed above were constructed so as to enclose the entire resident population, which at the time had reached its maximum level of expansion (Burgers 1994). In 1993 and 1995 we executed 6 stratigraphical soundings to refine our hypotheses on settlement organization as suggested by the surveys. Two of these soundings concern the phenomena of erosion and soil deposition as highlighted by the physical-geographic research carried out at the site in 1993 (Schoorl & Siefkens 1994). The soundings were therefore carried out in those zones where these processes had been attested most evidently, i.e. in the northern half of the intramural area (Fig. 3, nos. 2 and 9). Here, minor depressions may be observed in an otherwise fairly level terrain. The observation of the physical-geographers that the depressions were filled with thick layers of colluvium led us to hypothesize that these layers might have thoroughly covered archaeological strata, thus protecting them against the destructive forces of the plough. This would conform with the notable absence of plough debris at the surface within the depressions. Our soundings confirmed this theory, revealing archaeological layers at a depth of 1.30m (Fig. 10; sounding 2). Within these layers, 3rd to 2nd cent. B.C. stone walls were uncovered similar to the ones discovered in front of the defenses discussed above. These soundings now permit us to suggest that the Hellenistic built up area extended to within these depressions instead of being interrupted by them, as one might have been inclined to think on the basis of the absence of surface debris in these areas.

Only one of our soundings (Fig. 3, no. 1, 3 x 3m) at Muro Tenente has come up with pre-Hellenistic debris, i.e. of an Iron Age dwelling. Unfortunately, at a depth of only about 30cm below ground level, this dwelling had been heavily disturbed by the plough. This obstructed any reconstruction of its plan or any other details. Such Iron Age dwellings in Salento are generally constructed almost completely of perishable materials such as thatch, wattle and daub. Only stone socles and burnt daub are frequently encountered in excavation contexts. In fact, traces of both were uncovered in the sounding under discussion.

No tiles were associated with this partly excavated hut. That such Iron Age huts at Muro Tenente had no tile roof, just as those excavated in other parts of Salento, can also be inferred from the absence of

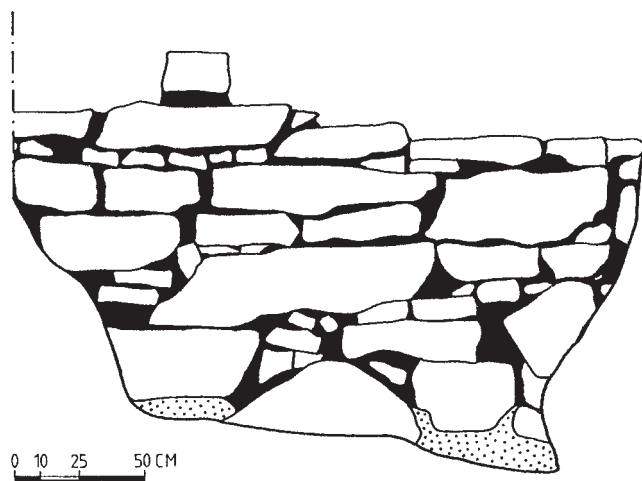


Fig. 7. Muro Tenente. Inner facing of the wall circuit in sounding 5.

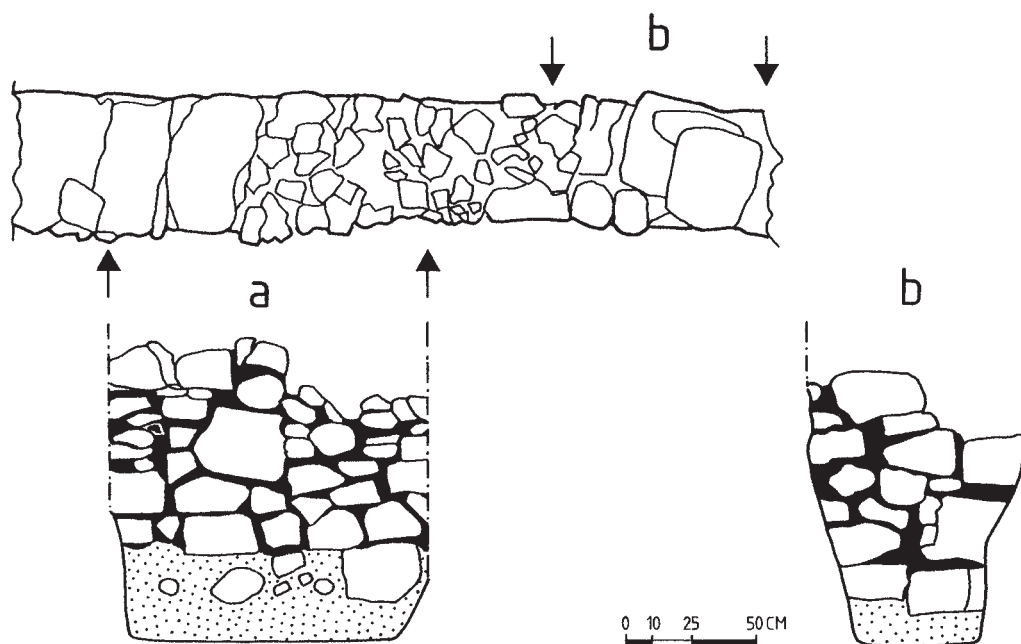


Fig. 8. Muro Tenente. Secondary wall in sounding 5.

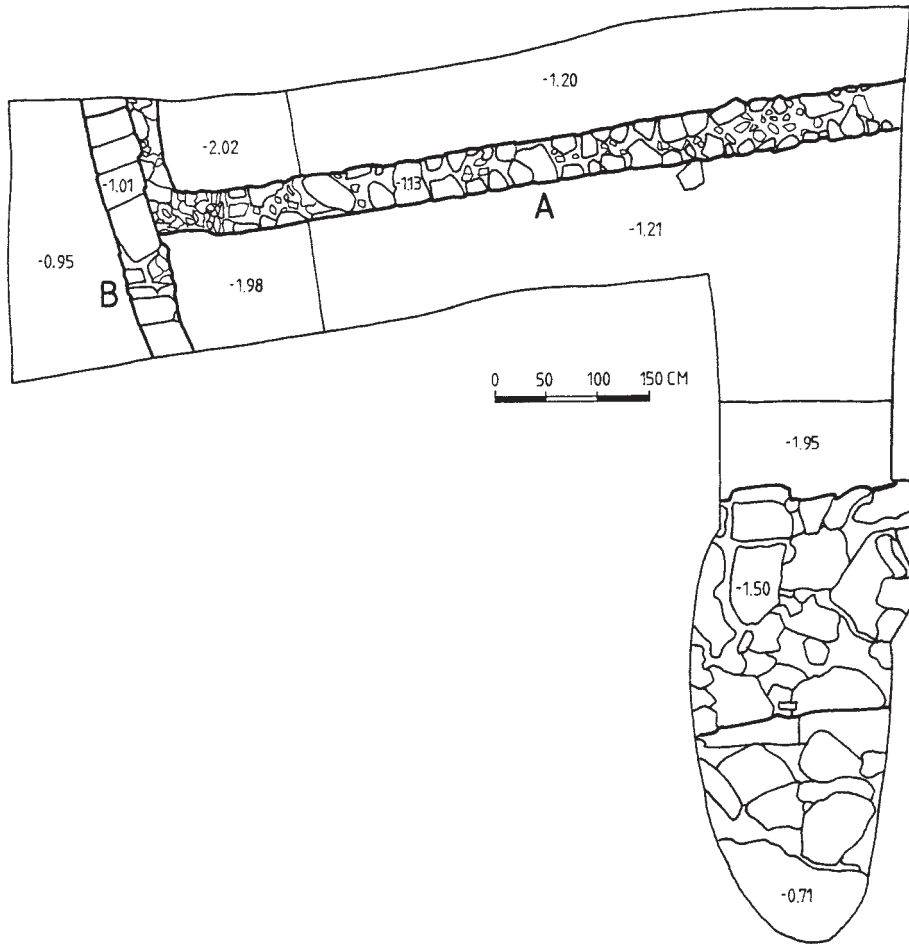


Fig. 9. Muro Tenente. General plan of sounding 4.

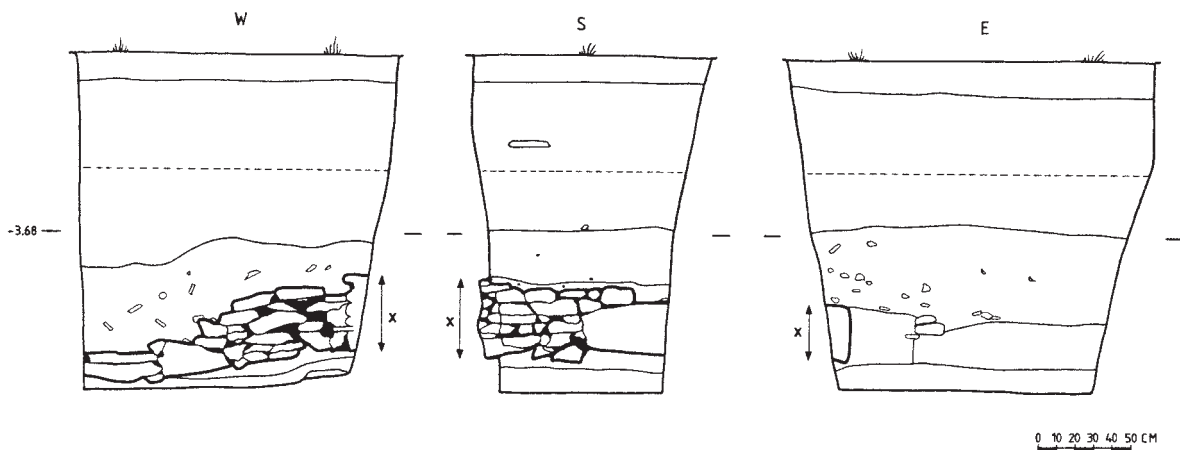


Fig. 10. Muro Tenente. Baulk drawings of sounding 2.

tiles in the few Iron Age surface concentrations which were found in isolated positions at Muro Tenente, i.e. where they had not become mixed up with the debris of later (tile-covered) structures. This sounding allowed us to reach a comforting conclusion on the relation between surface and subsoil debris; first, it proved our supposition that the dense Iron Age surface concentration at this particular spot should be interpreted as the debris of an Iron Age hut which was partly ploughed up from the subsoil; second, the degree of dispersal of the surface debris proved to be minimal; both impasto and matt painted ceramics cluster in the immediate vicinity of the spot of the sounding. Third, even the more detailed chronology of both surface and subsoil debris correspond; they can be dated to the late 8th/early 7th cent. B.C.

The other three soundings we executed at Muro Tenente have all uncovered Hellenistic structures, again, as we hypothesized before on the basis of the survey results. In these cases plough destruction proved only minimal. Thus, in sounding 3 (Fig. 3; 3 x 3m) a pavement of stones of irregular shape and dimensions was found. In sounding 8 (Fig. 3; 3 x 10m) we excavated a Hellenistic wall superimposing a 4th cent. B.C. grave. Like two other graves found in this sounding, this one concerned an inhumation of a child in a foetal position, buried in a simple pit which was covered with a stone slab.

The largest sounding we have dug hitherto is located along the inner side of the northern section of the fortifications excavated in 1993 (Fig. 3, no. 7). It measures 6 x 20m and is oriented in a north – south direction (Fig. 11). As mentioned above, here the 1993 sounding had come up with a secondary wall running parallel to the fortifications, with a distance between them of approximately 5m. We have interpreted this space tentatively as a passageway running all along the inner side of the defenses. With the present sounding we wished to test our supposition that the secondary wall constituted the back side of a larger complex which was lined up along this passageway. This theory proved to be justified. The sounding unearthed the stone foundations of a large Hellenistic structure, which could be dated more precisely on the basis of stratigraphy to the 3rd cent. B.C. The foundation walls are similar to the secondary walls discussed above. They measure approximately 0.5m in width and stand up to a maximum of about 1m. They are composed of irregular stones of minor dimensions which are fitted without the use of mortar. These foundation walls carried mudbrick superstructures, which had collapsed on to the earthen floors of the

rooms composed by the walls. Similarly, nearly all floors were also covered with tile falls, suggesting that almost the entire complex had carried tile-covered roofs. Although the function of the various rooms identified cannot as yet be established, there is every reason to posit a differentiation in this respect. Besides from the variation in size of these rooms, one may deduce this differentiation from the debris found in them. Thus, whereas in one room a concentration of loomweights attests to the manufacture of textiles, in others ceramic wasters and dolia may be taken to indicate pottery production and storage facilities respectively. Moreover, of one room the walls were covered with white plaster. As we have stated, the complex has been dug only partly as yet. In subsequent campaigns we hope to enlarge these excavations to substantiate our hypotheses.

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Fig. 11. Muro Tenente. General plan of sounding 7.

The Sun which did not rise in the East; the Cult of Sol Invictus in the Light of Non-Literary Evidence

Steven E. Hijmans

The aim of this article is to review the current theories on the origin and character of Sol Invictus and to reassess these theories paying special attention to archaeological, i.e. non-literary, evidence. It will emerge that in many respects preconceived notions played a greater role in shaping the current concept of Sol Invictus than methodological analysis of the available evidence. In part, this is due to the fact that the extant literary sources offer little explicit information on the cult of the sun in Rome, which has led scholars to interpret what little there is somewhat arbitrarily to fit in with existing convictions¹.

Two basic tendencies have dominated research into Roman sun-cults. The first, though important, is difficult to define precisely. Most earlier studies of both Sol Indiges and Sol Invictus are heavily laden with prejudice. Many scholars have felt uncomfortable with the concept of a Roman sun cult; some were actually hostile towards it. This hostility, which was ideological in nature, has had a strong influence on research into the cult of Sol at Rome. The second tendency is at least as important. Scholars have consistently postulated a clear distinction between the Republican Sol Indiges and the Imperial Sol Invictus. Sol Indiges is generally treated as a Roman sun-god, possibly with Sabine roots, while Sol Invictus is said to have been a totally different, oriental deity, imported from Syria. In order to understand how this differentiation came about, we must first devote some attention to the Republican Sol Indiges.

SOL INDIGES

The literary sources for Sol Indiges, though scant, appear to show that the cult of Sol and Luna was rooted in the earliest Roman history². This has not always been accepted, however. In the 19th century a concept of Early Roman religion was developed, which culminated in the work of Georg Wissowa; and Wissowa (1912, 23-26) claimed that “natural phenomena” were altogether absent from early Roman religion. In his view, the early Romans had straightforward beliefs, with practical gods whose roles were clearly defined, and this excluded more abstract religious concepts. Neither the sun, nor the

stars, nor the planets were revered, astrology had no role to play, and even such “typical” Roman abstractions as Pax, Fides, or Fortuna belonged to later Roman religion.

Wissowa (1912, 315-317) rejected the belief that Sol Indiges was Roman, and suggested that he was in fact the Greek Helios, imported into Rome no earlier than the Second Punic War. He thus denied that Sol Indiges was one of the traditional Roman *Di Indigetes*, despite the fact that the sources unanimously treat him as one of the earliest gods in Rome. Wissowa was not alone in taking this point of view³, although it is no longer defended. Indefensible it may be; yet Wissowa's line of argument is an excellent example of the relative force

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² For the Republican Sol or Sol Indiges cf.: Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 2,50,3. Aug. *C.D.* 4,23. Paul. Fest. 22,5 ff. L. According to Varro (*L.* 5,74) the cult should be traced back to the days of Titus Tatius: “Et arae Sabinum linguam olent, quae Tati regis voto sunt Romae dedicatae: nam, ut annales dicunt, vovit Opi, Florae, Vediovi Saturnoque, Soli, Lunae, Volcano et Summano, itemque Larundae, Termino, Quirino, Vortumno, Laribus, Dianae Lucinaeque”. Tacitus (*Ann.* 15,74,1) mentions a *vetus aedes apud circum* for Sol, generally accepted to be Sol Indiges in view of the antiquity of the temple; cf. Tert. *Spect.* 8,1. Quintilian (*Inst.* 1,7,12) mentions a second temple (*pulvinar*, cf. n. 8) on the Quirinal. Sol Indiges also had a temple in Lavinium (Dion Hal. *Ant.* 1,55,2; cf. Plin., *Nat.* 3,56). There was a *sacrificium publicum* for Sol on the 8th of August, *feriae* on the 9th of August, and *agonalia* on the 11th of December (*Fast. Vall.* CIL I² p. 240, *Allif. loc. cit.* p. 217, *Amit. loc. cit.* p. 244; *Lyd. Mens.* 4, 155; cf. n. 21). Etymologies of the word Sol are given by Var. *l.* 5,68; Cic. *N.D.* 2,68, 3,54; Macr. *Sat.* 1,17,7, *Somn.* 1,20,4; Mart. Cap. 2,188; *Lyd. Mens.* 2,4.

³ Cf. F. Richter (1909-1915), 1138-1139; R. Bernhard, “Der Sonnengott auf griechischen und römischen Münzen”, *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 25 (1933, 245-298), 276. W. Wili, “Die römische Sonnengötter und Mithras”, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1943, (Zürich 1944, 123-168), 123, opened his lecture on Roman sun gods and Mithras stating: “Dem Kenner römischer Religion muss es wie Frevel vorkommen, wenn jemand über römischen Sonnengöttern zu sprechen wagt. Denn er wird gleich den Einwand erheben, dass das römische wie das italische Wesen überhaupt dem Sonnengott abgewandt und ihm gegensätzlich sei”; Wili himself did accept the antiquity of the cult of Sol in Rome, but thought that its role was minor.

of ideology⁴ and methodology in his approach to Roman religion.

In order to prove his point that Sol in Republican Rome was actually the Greek Helios, Wissowa needed above all to explain how Helios came to be called Sol *Indiges*. He himself had defined the *Di Indigetes* as the oldest Roman gods⁵, but in the case of Sol he suggested that the epithet was added in Augustan times in order to denote the earlier Sol (who was actually Helios, according to him) as “(...) den «einheimischen» (...), im Gegensatz zu den orientalischen Sonnenkulten, die gerade in jener Periode in Rom einzudringen begannen (...)”⁶. He offered no reason to suppose that Sol was not called “Indiges” before Augustan times, other than his general dogma that there could be no place for a solar cult in Early Roman religion.

Wissowa’s suggestion is not compelling, because there is no parallel for the use of the term *indiges* as “indigenous” or “traditional”. However, the meaning of the word is not at all clear⁷. All that can be said with certainty is that *indiges* was used either collectively to denote a group of gods (*Di Indigetes*) or else was linked to individual gods, mainly Jupiter, Pater and Sol. As Wissowa rightly points out, the precise meaning of the word was already forgotten by the time of Varro. Thus his explanation, though unlikely, is not impossible.

In a second argument against the existence of an early Roman sun-god, Wissowa (1912, 315) points out that the temple of Sol Indiges on the Quirinal was called a *pulvinar*⁸, and states that this term, linked to the *lectisternia* of the *graeus ritus*, was never used in connection with an Italic-Roman god⁹. This is incorrect, for in fact a *pulvinar* is mentioned in connection not only with Sol Indiges on the Quirinal (Quintil. *Inst.* 1,7,2), Castor in Tusculum (Fest. p. 419, 15-17 ed. Lindsay)¹⁰, and with Juno Sospita in Lanuvium (Livy XXI, 64, 4)¹¹, but also with the deified Romulus (Ovid, *Met.* 14, 827), and even Jupiter Capitolinus (Livy V,52,6)¹². Thus, although the practice itself of setting up a *pulvinar* for a god may have been imported from Greece¹³, it was certainly not restricted to non-Roman and non-Italian deities as Wissowa claims.

The only other argument for the non-Roman character of Sol Indiges offered by Wissowa (1912, 315) is that there is no sign of the cult either in the *Fasti* or in the orders of priests¹⁴. This is a weak argument, not only because the extant *Fasti* are

shaping the dominant ideologies of the time. In 19th-century Europe the Roman Empire was taken as a model by the various European empires; in a broader sense, the Graeco-Roman world was considered the source *par excellence* of western civilization. As European imperialism tended to rest on claims of cultural or racial preeminence, studies which maintained the superiority of the Graeco-Roman race and culture played an active role in building the ideological foundation on which European imperialism was constructed. The *idealization* of the Graeco-Roman culture by scholars like Wissowa – R.R. Bolgar speaks of a “cult of antiquity” in his article “The Greek legacy”, in: M.I. Finley, ed., *The legacy of Greece*, (Oxford & New York, 1984, 429-472), 465 – has precisely that additional element by which it merits the term *ideology* rather than simply “concept or”approach“. The importance of this ideology in the shaping of our concept of the Roman god Sol Invictus can hardly be overstated.

⁵ Wissowa 1912, 19.

⁶ Wissowa 1912, 317; cf. G. Wissowa, “De dis Romanorum indigetibus et novensibus disputatio” in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, (München 1904, 175-191; first published in 1892), 184.

⁷ The whole issue surrounding the terms *indiges* and *novensis* is highly complex and controversial. The OLD, 883, s.v. *indiges* states simply that it is an “obscure title applied to certain deities”. For the unsolved problems concerning its etymology and meaning cf. OCD 1970², 544-545 s.v. *indigetes* and Kl. Pauly II, 1394-1395 s.v. *indiges* II & III. Koch (1933, 67-118) offers an exhaustive analysis of both the term *indiges* and the *Di Indigetes* in general. For other attempts to solve the etymological problems cf. A. Walde & J.B. Hoffmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, (Heidelberg 1938) s.v. *indiges*, as well as M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, (München 1977), 373. No convincing solution has been found, and the fourth edition of A. Ernout & A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, (Paris 1985), 315 s.v. *indiges* states simply that the etymology is unknown. Cf. F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, (London 1938), 109-114; E. Vetter, “Di Novensides, di Indigetes”, *IF* 62 (1956, 1-32), 22-28; Latte 1960, 45 n.1; Richard 1976, 917-918; G. Radtke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, (Münster 1979²), 150-151. Wissowa never offered a final solution himself (cf. Wissowa, supra n. 6, 179; *RE* IX, 1334 s.v. *indiges*), but tended to interpret *indiges* as “indigenous”, used as an antonym for *novensis*. This is untenable (cf. Kl. Pauly IV, 175 s.v. *novensis*), although the mistaken idea that *indiges* and *indigenus* are somehow linked is tenacious; cf. Halsberghe 1972, 26.

⁸ A *pulvinar* was a sacred couch, but the word could also be used as a *pars pro toto* for a temple (Serv. *Georg.* III, 533).

⁹ “(...) Dieser mit den Lectisternien des *graeus ritus* untrennbar verbundene Ausdruck [kommt] sonst nie mit Beziehung auf eine italisch-römische Gottheit vor (...)”.

¹⁰ According to Wissowa (1912, 269-270) Castor was definitely Greek, as is shown by the *pulvinaria* in Tusculum. The fact that the Romans built a temple for Castor *intra pomerium* on the Forum itself as early as 484 B.C. would simply show that it was the Tusculani who had imported Castor from Greece, while the Romans imported him much later from Tusculum, forgetting his Greek origins.

¹¹ Lanuvium was a very old Italian cult centre according to Wissowa (1912, 187-188); he does not mention the presence there of a *pulvinar lunonis*.

¹² According to R.M. Ogilvie, *A commentary on Livy books 1-5*, (Oxford 1965), 745, the ceremony here described, “being part of the *Romanus ritus*, is of the greatest antiquity (...)”.

¹³ *RE* 23.2, 1977 s.v. *pulvinar*; Koch (1933, 30-32) argues against a close link between the *pulvinar* and the Greek *lectisternium*, stating that in certain cases the setting up of a *pulvinar* was a purely Roman practice.

¹⁴ “Weder im Festkalender noch in der Priesterordnung [findet] sich irgendwelche Spur dieses Gottesdienstes (...)”.

⁴ I have chosen this term with care. Unlike “concept”, *ideology* has political connotations. By using this term, I wish to stress that the work of scholars like Wissowa played an active role in

very fragmentary, but especially because Wissowa had to emend the *Fasti Amiternini* to create it: he rejected the entry AGIN for AG(onium) IN(digeti) under December 11th, claiming that it must have been a stonemason's error, and proposed AGON(alia) instead, as this would leave the tutelary deity in doubt. The *Fasti Ostienses* however, which have been found since Wissowa wrote, carry the entry [AG]ON(ium) IND(igeti), making Wissowa's emendation untenable¹⁵. Of course these entries could be taken to refer to the *Di Indigetes* in general, but Laurentius Lydus (*Mens.* 4, 155) states that the games of the 11th of December were dedicated γενάρχη Ἡλίου, and for other reasons as well it is now generally accepted that Sol Indiges must be meant¹⁶.

Needless to say, Wissowa's interpretation of Sol Indiges as the Greek Helios is no longer accepted, for even before the discovery of the *Fasti Ostienses* his arguments were not convincing¹⁷. It is now generally agreed that Sol Indiges, a minor god revered together with Luna, had roots in the earliest Roman traditions. He was possibly introduced into Rome by Titus Tatius, together with other Sabine gods, and apparently his cult was soon linked to the Aurelii as one of the *Sacra Gentilicia*¹⁸. We should keep in mind, however, that most scholars agree that this cult was never important, and that it had disappeared altogether by the beginning of the second century A.D.¹⁹. Thus it is still claimed that there was no connection between Sol Indiges and Sol Invictus, who is said to have been imported in the late second or early third century A.D. from Syria.

Although Wissowa's position on Sol Indiges has no adherents today, his approach to the subject offers a foretaste of the type of scholarship we will encounter when reviewing past work on Sol Invictus. It also broaches an interesting, and fundamental, question: *why* did Wissowa, no mean scholar, feel compelled to go against the ancient sources on Sol Indiges, to attempt an impossible etymology of the term *indiges*, to give clearly incorrect information about the use of the word *pulvinar*, and finally to resort to a patently weak argument from silence, all in order to deny that Sol Indiges was Roman? Richard (1976, 918) felt that "G. Wissowa fut de tout évidence mal inspiré le jour où il développa [cette] idée (...)", implying that it must have been a momentary lapse. A lapse it certainly was, but hardly a momentary one: Wissowa first set out his views in 1892 and maintained them even after the discovery of the *Fasti Ostienses* in 1921²⁰. It was not lack of data, nor lack of reflection which caused Wissowa to be

"mal inspiré", but his general perception of Roman religion, in which he allowed himself to be led by his intuition, his idea of what Romans must have believed²¹. Obviously he vehemently opposed the

¹⁵ The *Fasti Ostienses* were discovered in 1921. Vetter, "Zum altrömischen Festkalender", *Rheinisches Museum* 103 (1960, 90-94), 92-94 suggested that the entry be read as AGON(iorum) IND(ictio), but this is far-fetched (rejected by A. Degrassi, *Fasti anni numani et iuliani accedunt feriale, monologia rustica, paraepgmata*, Inscriptiones Italiae 13.2, Rome, 1963, 536). For the *Fasti* in question cf. Degrassi *op. cit.*, 104-106 & 185-200. He dates the *Fasti Amiternini* shortly after 20 A.D., and gives the *Fasti Ostienses* a terminus ante quem of 2 A.D. Cf. also the *Fasti Maffeiani*, the *Fasti Praenestini*, and the *Fasti Antiatres ministrorum Domus Augustae*, with entries AGON or AG for the 11th of December (Degrassi *op. cit.*, 70-84, 107-145, 201-212).

¹⁶ Wissowa (1912, 317) mentions Lydus in passing, but does not explain his statement that the games were dedicated γενάρχη Ἡλίου; cf. G. Wissowa, "Septimontium und Subura" in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, (München 1904, 230-252; first published in 1896), 231-2; *idem*, "Neue Bruchstücke des römischen Festkalenders", *Hermes* 58 (1923, 369-392), 371-2 (cf. n. 21). Further support for the identification of December 11th as the festival of Sol can be found in R. Schilling, "Le culte de l'Indiges à Lavinium", *Revue des Études Latines* 57 (1979), 49-68. In general on Sol Indiges and the *Fasti* cf. Koch 1933, 63-67; Latte 1960, 44-45; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, (Ann Arbor 1963), 252-253; Degrassi (supra n. 15), 535-536; Richard 1976, 917-918 & n. 15 (with further references); H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, (London 1981), 203. It is worth noting that there are also entries for Sol Indiges on August 8th (*sacrificium publicum*, *Fast. Vall.* CIL I² p. 240) and August 9th (*feriae*, *Allif.*, CIL I² p. 217; *Amit.*, CIL I² p. 244); Latte (1960, 231-232) believes the two entries refer to one ceremony, but Kl. Pauly V, 258 s.v. Sol treats them as different ceremonies. These are virtually ignored by Wissowa who mentions only the entry for August 9th (quoting CIL I² p. 324), qualifying it as an "unsolved problem" (Wissowa 1912, 317).

¹⁷ For early rejections: F. Cumont in Daremberg-Saglio IV.2 s.v. Sol, 1381-1382; J.B. Keune in *RE* 2, Reihe, III (1929), 902-903 s.v. Sol. Cf. A. Von Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, (Leipzig & Berlin 1909), 173.

¹⁸ Koch (1933) was the first to study Sol Indiges systematically, and to argue for the acceptance of the antiquity of his cult; G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, (Milan 1977 – first published in French, 1974), 160-161 is still sceptical, but most now accept this antiquity: cf. Latte 1960, 231-233; Halsberghe 1972, 26-28; Richard 1976, 917-918 and n. 15, with references; Schilling (supra n. 16), *passim*, esp. 60-61; M. York, *The Roman festival calendar of Numa Pompilius*, (New York 1986), 189-191. On the connection with the Aurelii: Paul. Fest. s.v. Aureliam, p. 22 (ed. Lindsay); Richard 1976. However, C. Santi, "A proposito della 'vocazione solare' degli Aurelii", *SMSR* n.s. 15.1 (1991), 5-19, has suggested that the supposed linkage with the Aurelii is a forgery dating to the reign of Aurelian.

¹⁹ *RE* II, 3 s.v. Sol, esp. 905-906; Wissowa 1912, 365; Latte 1960, 233; Halsberghe 1972, 35, 54.

²⁰ Wissowa (supra n. 6, 180-181): "Sol deus (...) Augusti aetate indigetis cognomen accepit, ut probe dinosceretur ab externis dis solaribus, quorum iam tum cultus Romae percrebescere coeperat (...)" cf. Wissowa (supra n. 16, 1923), 371-372.

²¹ Especially revealing is Wissowa (supra n. 16, 1923), 372, where he gives his reaction to the *Fasti Ostienses* and the reading [AG]ON(ium) IND(igeti): "Denn abgesehen davon, dass

concept of a Roman sun-god, yet one still wonders why. Koch, Latte, and others claim that Wissowa was mainly intent on maintaining his overall structure of Roman religion²². But would the admission that Sol Indiges was Roman really have made such a fundamental difference to that structure? I believe not, especially if the cult were shown to be no more than a minor one. In fact, I believe, it was not Wissowa's perception of Early Roman religion which was at stake, but rather his perception of the nature and character of solar cults. As I hope to show, the claim that all sun-cults were foreign, and notably that Sol Invictus was Syrian, was not a neutral scholarly hypothesis. In the scholarly tradition to which Wissowa belonged, such claims amounted to an indictment of solar cults in general, and that of Sol Invictus in particular, as inferior and unworthy of the "superior" Romans. The origin of such claims, I believe, lay in 19th century ideology rather than in a flawed methodology.

Wissowa himself does little to clarify the ideological preconceptions which govern his work; these are present more by implication than by argument. To get a clearer idea of the framework within which Wissowa worked we must turn to other scholars of the same "school". The manner in which they approached the problem of Sol Invictus will prove to be instructive.

Before reviewing these specific studies, however, it is important to turn for a moment to a more general, and in our case fundamental, tendency in past scholarship. Although in a different context, Halsberghe (1972, 26) states unequivocally: "Religion often provides the best key to the nature and fundamental traits of a people (...)". This clear linkage between the nature of the religion and the character of a people plays a fundamental role in the development of the theories concerning the origin and character of Sol Invictus and it is a persistent, albeit often unstated, theme in the literature on the subject²³. The whole concept cannot be separated from the 18th and 19th centuries, a period of developing nationalism which provided the ideological basis for an ethnocentric approach to religion. Once *ethnos* and religion are connected in this manner, scholars are forced to explain changes in religion in terms of change in the fundamental character of a people and its nationhood as a whole. In the 19th century certainly, western scholarship, in line with the nationalistic, imperialistic and racially oriented concepts of the time, treated the "nature and fundamental traits of a people" as immutable, changing only under the influence of foreign imports and intrusions. The implications are clear: with religion so closely linked to society, it too would change only as the result of the import

of foreign religious concepts and practices, introduced by immigrants, sailors, or soldiers who had been stationed abroad. In other words, this conviction is one of the basic justifications for diffusionistic explanations of religious changes. The importance of this diffusionistic approach will quickly become apparent when we study the 19th-century perception of Sol Invictus.

SOL, SOL INVICTUS, SOL INVICTUS ELAGABAL

The discussion surrounding the imperial Sol Invictus is more complex than that concerning Sol Indiges. It is generally believed today that the imperial sun-god Sol Invictus was an oriental deity, one of the Syrian Ba'alim, who came to the fore in Rome under the Severi, and most notably under Heliogabalus²⁴. After the death of Heliogabalus it is thought that Sol Invictus virtually disappeared from view until he was reinstated by Aurelian as *Dominus et Deus Imperii Romani*. Many believe that for the next 50 years he was one of the most important gods of Rome, until his cult, like that of all pagan gods, was supplanted by Christianity²⁵.

eine Verehrung des Sonnengottes in der frühen Zeit der römischen Religion, aus welcher die Festordnung stammt, allen sonstigen Zeugnissen widerspricht und darum ein so später und bedenklicher Gewährsmann wie Io. Lydus in dieser Sache keinen Glauben verdient (...), bleiben die durchschlagenden Beweisgründe, die ich an anderer Stelle [i.e. Wissowa *supra* n. 16, 232; 1912, 317] gegen die Möglichkeit einer solchen Ergänzung angeführt habe, mit unvermindertem Gewichte bestehen (...)" (these arguments are of a technical nature, and concern the choice of abbreviations and letter-type used on the *Fasti*-inscriptions). In fact there are no "Zeugnisse" against an early cult of Sol Indiges, and Wissowa simply ignores what evidence there is. For a refutation of his technical arguments cf. Degraffi (*supra* n. 15), 536. On Lydus cf. M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past. Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian*, (Leiden 1992).

²² Koch (1933, 10), "Der altrömische Dienst von Sol und Luna gehört in die Reihe derjenigen Kulte, die von der Religionswissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts, welche in dem bedeutenden Werke von G. Wissowa ihre systematische Zusammenfassung erhielt, als ungelöste Rätsel in den Anhang verwiesen wurden, da sie für die Eingliederung in den Bau des Ganzen keine Handhabe boten". As Latte (1960, 233 n. 2) puts it, the problem was that "Theorien den tatsächlichen Befund beiseite zu schieben suchten".

²³ Cf., e.g., Wissowa 1912, 366, describing Heliogabal's religious reforms as "die ärgste Entwürdigung, die römisches Wesen und römische Religion je erfahren haben"; Wili (*supra* n. 3), 164.

²⁴ I shall use this name for the Emperor to avoid confusion with the homonymous god, whom I shall call Elagabal. On the history and meaning of the various forms of the name Elagabal see Turcan 1985, 7-8.

²⁵ For recent summaries of the cult of Sol Invictus along these lines see MacMullen 1981, 85-86, H. von Heintze, "Sol Invictus" in *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, (Frankfurt am Main 1983), 145-146; Halsberghe 1984; W. Kellner, "Sol-Münzen als Zeugnisse einer politischen Religion" in *Festschrift Herbert A. Cahn*, Basel (1985, 59-77), 60-61, 64; R.

Although all scholars, with the exception of Seyrig (1971), agree that Sol Invictus originated as an oriental god, there has been little consensus on his precise character, and especially on his connection with Elagabal of Emesa. Many scholars claimed that Aurelian's Sol Invictus differed from Heliogabalus's Elagabal, and was actually the Palmyran Malachbel, or even Mithras. Much of what has been written on Sol Invictus can therefore best be characterized as an attempt to identify exactly which oriental god it was that inspired Aurelian to institute his cult of Sol Invictus in Rome²⁶.

In part, the confusion is a result of the fact that the direct literary evidence for the above is extremely meagre. In support of the claim that solar religion was preeminent in Syria, usually Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 24²⁷ is quoted, although such a conclusion is not, of course, warranted on the basis of this passage alone. In addition, modern scholars regularly define Ba'alim as solar deities, despite the fact that in antiquity they were almost always identified with Zeus or Jupiter. Seyrig (1971), in a study devoted specifically to the solar cult in Syria, strongly opposes the idea that Ba'alim were sun-gods. Indeed, he denies that sun-gods of any kind played a dominant role in the Syrian pantheon²⁸.

We should not be surprised, therefore, that there are no sources which state outright that Sol Invictus was an oriental Ba'al. In fact, although the sources all agree that Aurelian had a special veneration for Sol²⁹, we are hard put to find even indirect indications that this Sol was Syrian or Eastern. One ambiguous passage, often quoted, is SHA Aurel. 5,5:

"Data est ei (sc. Aureliano) praeterea, cum legatus ad Persas isset, patera, qualis solet imperatoribus dari a rege Persarum, in qua insculptus erat Sol eo habitu, quo colebatur ab eo templo, in quo mater eius fuerat sacerdos".

On the basis of this passage Habel (1889) concluded that Aurelian's Sol was identical to the Persian Mithras³⁰. As I understand the passage, however, the main point is that Aurelian, at a time when he was but a *legatus*, was already treated as an emperor by the Persian King. This special treatment is further emphasized by the fact that the plate was apparently "custom-made", representing Sol in a way well-known to Aurelian, and therefore by implication not in a manner typical of Iran.

More to the point is a second passage in SHA Aurel. (25, 3-6), describing the divine help Aurelian received in a decisive battle against Zenobia. After the battle, Aurelian immediately went to the most important temple of nearby Emesa, namely that of Elagabal.

"Verum illic eam formam numinis repperit, quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. Quare et illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus positis et Romae Soli templum posuit maiore honorificentia consecratum".

At first glance it is not unreasonable to conclude from this that Aurelian recognized the god

Muth, *Einführung in die griechische und römische Religion*, (Darmstadt 1988), 190 n. 519, 201, 286; M. Clauss, "Sol Invictus Mithras", *Athenaeum* 78 (1990, 423-450), 423; R. Del Ponte, *La religione dei Romani*, (Milano 1992), 244-250. Turcan (1985) is more cautious, differentiating to some extent between Elagabal, Sol Invictus, and Sol Invictus Mithras, but he, too, in the end, considers Aurelian's Sol Invictus to be much indebted to Elagabal of Emesa (cf. especially pp. 251-254). Letta (1989) assumes that Sol Invictus was the result of syncretistic tendencies, in which oriental sun-gods played a major role. Cf. also D.E. Kleiner, *Roman sculpture*, (New Haven & London 1992), 359, 400, 463. Among older studies, cf. Keune in *RE* II.3 (1929) s.v. Sol (die orientalischen), 906-913; H. Usener, "Sol Invictus", *Rheinisches Museum* 60 (1905), 465-491; Richter 1909-1915, 1143-1150; Wissowa 1912, 89-90; 365-368; M.P. Nilsson, "Sonnenkalender und Sonnenreligion", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30 (1933, 141-173, = *Opuscula Selecta* 2, 462-504), 161-2; F. Altheim, *Die Soldatenkaiser*, (Frankfurt am Main 1939), 226-229, 277-286; *idem*, *Der unbesiegte Gott*, (Hamburg 1957); Halsberghe 1972; H. Dörrie, "Die Solar-Theologie in der kaiserzeitlichen Antike" in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte I, die alte Kirche*, H. Frohnes & U.W. Knorr eds., (München 1974, 283-292). To my knowledge only Seyrig 1971, 1973 and I. Chirassi Colombo, "Sol Invictus o Mithra" in *Mysteria Mithrae*, EPRO 80, (Leiden 1979), 649-672, hold dissenting views. Seyrig, approaching the problem from a Syrian angle, rejects the idea that Ba'alim were solar deities, and suggests that a different origin for Sol Invictus must be found. Chirassi Colombo discusses the relationship between Mithras and Sol Invictus, and suggests that they were direct competitors. She stresses the Graeco-Roman elements pertaining to Sol and his cult and suggests that it was supported by the emperors as a counterpart to oriental Mithraism. A number of her arguments will be recognized in mine, although she approaches the problem from a different angle. This, perhaps, explains why her conclusions have not been integrated into recent scholarship concerning Sol.

²⁶ Habel 1889, 99-100 (Mithras); Keune, *RE* 2. Reihe 3 (1929) s.v. Sol (die orientalischen), 906-913, also feels that Sol Invictus and Mithras are often identical, but believes that Aurelian imported Malachbel. Cf. Richter 1909-1915, 1147; R. Dussaud, "Notes de mythologie Syrienne", *RA* 4^{me} Série, 1 (1903), 376; Wissowa 1912, 367. Cf. also Nilsson (*supra* n. 25), 162. J. Marquardt, *Roemische Staatsverwaltung*, (Leipzig 1885), vol. 3, 83, suggested that Aurelian reinstated Elagabal on the basis of SHA Aurel. 25,4-6; this was rejected by the *RE*, (*supra*), but taken up again by Halsberghe 1972, 1984 (see below). Although it was generally accepted that Aurelian attempted to combine Graeco-Roman and oriental traditions in the cult of Sol Invictus, this point was not stressed, and attention remained focused on the oriental character of solar religion; cf. *RE* 2. Reihe 3 s.v. Sol (die orientalischen) 908; *OCD*² (1970), 999 s.v. Sol.

²⁷ "Undique clamor, et orientem Solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere". Cf. Halsberghe (1972, 36 n. 1 – but cf. 35-6 n. 10!).

²⁸ Cf. also Seyrig 1973, and see below, p 138.

²⁹ E.g. SHA Aurel. 35,3; 39,2. Eutropius *Brev. AUC* XI,15, and many others.

³⁰ How Aurelian's mother came to be a priestess of Mithras is not explained by Habel.

Elagabal as his divine helper. It is striking, however, that this is not stated explicitly. *Eam formam numinis* is carefully vague, and need not necessarily refer to Elagabal himself; indeed, it probably cannot, because we know that in Emesa the cult of Elagabal was centered on an aniconic sacred black stone or baetyl³¹, while *forma numinis* seems to refer to an anthropomorphic figure³². As *quare* in the second sentence shows, Aurelian took the divine helper to be Sol, for whom he built temples in Emesa and Rome. Sol was invariably represented in traditional Graeco-Roman iconography during Aurelian's reign, and there are absolutely no indications from either coins, inscriptions or any other source that he considered Sol and Elagabal to be identical. On the other hand, as Elagabal was a local solar deity, it is quite plausible that statues of other sun-gods – Helios of Rhodes, for example, or Sol of Rome – were also present in his temple, and that it was in one of these that Aurelian recognized *eam formam numinis*. In short, keeping in mind that the readers for whom the SHA was intended could be expected to know the nature of Aurelian's Sol, there is nothing here which would force them to conclude that Aurelian's Sol Invictus and Elagabal were identical. This passage alone, therefore, cannot qualify as *proof* of this³³.

Indeed, for many scholars it was inconceivable that Aurelian should choose to reinstate the 'infamous' Elagabal in Rome, and they claimed that it was actually Malachbel of Palmyra whom he transformed into Sol Invictus. The two passages quoted in support of this supposition are not conclusive. The first (SHA Aurel. 31,7) states simply that Aurelian wanted the temple of the sun in Palmyra restored, while the second (Zos. 1,61) states that a statue of Bel from Palmyra stood next to a statue of Sol in the temple built by Aurelian in Rome. It is curious that the latter passage should be cited as "proof" that Sol Invictus was no other than the Palmyran Bel; the fact that there were two separate statues seems to imply quite the opposite. Surely the fact that the Palmyran Bel (*akin* to Sol) was set up in Aurelian's temple can be far more logically explained as visual proof of Aurelian's total victory over Palmyra. It is extremely unlikely that Aurelian would have elected the god of a defeated city to be the supreme deity of the Roman Empire³⁴.

Aurelian, of course, is thought to be the second emperor to have introduced the sun-cult into Rome, after the failure of the Severan attempt, especially under Heliogabalus. Concerning this first attempt of the Severi our sources are more abundant (though no more trustworthy); here the problem is of a different nature. There can be no doubt that a new god, Elagabal, was imported into Rome by the emperor Heliogabalus³⁵. Various sources state that he was

installed in Rome as supreme deity³⁶ and that he was a sun-god³⁷, although there are some doubts about his precise nature³⁸. After Heliogabalus's death his religious reforms were immediately repealed³⁹, and the god Elagabal was sent back to Emesa⁴⁰. Thus as far as the sources are concerned, the rule of the Emesan sun-god Elagabal in Rome lasted less than four years (219-222), there being no indication that his arrival antedated the reign of Heliogabalus, or that his cult survived in Rome beyond the latter's death⁴¹. The sources offer no support for the contention that Sol Invictus and Elagabal were one and the same god, yet somehow this has become an almost uncontested commonplace in modern scholarship⁴².

It is perhaps typical of 19th century positivistic historiography that the scant literary sources concerning Sol Invictus were considered adequate to conclude confidently that the god was an oriental Ba'al. Yet obviously these sources are, in fact, inadequate to warrant this statement⁴³. They

³¹ The central importance of this stone for Emesa and its cult is clear from the fact that it appears on many of the coins minted by Uranius in 253/4, when he organized the defence of Emesa against Sapor I. *RIC* IV.3 p. 205 nrs. 1-2, p. 206, nr. 8.

³² *Forma* is used in the first place to denote the figure or stature of a person. In connection with a god, *forma* therefore almost automatically assumes this meaning: *formae deorum* can even – poetically – be used as the equivalent of *dii* (Ovid, *Met.* 1, 73). If Aurelian had seen a vision of the aniconic baetyl in battle, which he later recognized in the temple, *forma* would be ill-suited to describe this, and one would rather expect a word such as *effigies*, *imago*, or *species*. Cf. Turcan 1985, 252.

³³ Aside from the fact that the SHA provides little concrete information on Sol, the source itself is of course an extremely difficult one to interpret. Cf. the introduction to *Histoire Auguste*, texte établi et traduit par J.-P. Callu, Paris 1992.

³⁴ On the identification of the temple of the sun in Palmyra cf. H.W. Drijvers, *The religion of Palmyra*, (Leiden 1976), 20, who rejects the idea that Palmyran sun-gods, minor deities, in any way influenced Aurelian.

³⁵ Herodian 5,5,7 ("νέον θεὸν Ἐλαγάβαλον"); Cassius Dio *Hist.* 79 (80) 8,4; SHA Heliog. 1,6; Zonaras *Epit.* 12, 14, B.

³⁶ Herodian 5,5,7; Cassius Dio *Hist.* 79 (80) 8,4; SHA Heliog. 3,4; 7,4.

³⁷ Herodian 5,6,5; Cassius Dio *Hist.* 78 (79), 31,2.

³⁸ His chariot, for instance, was drawn by six horses rather than the usually prescribed four for Sol (Herodian, 5,6,7). In the SHA Heliog. 1,4 some hesitation is apparent when the emperor is described as "Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos (...)". The name Elagabal has a Semitic etymology unconnected with sun and its Latinized form Heliogabalus, suggesting a connection with Helios, is late (SHA, Eutropius); earlier writers used more direct transcriptions which did not incorporate 'Helios' (cf. n. 24). On the Jovian nature of Elagabal cf. Seyrig 1971, 340-345.

³⁹ Herodian 6,1,3.

⁴⁰ Cassius Dio *Hist.* 79 (80), 21,2.

⁴¹ Halsberghe (1972) claims that the cult was already present in Rome earlier, but provides no conclusive evidence for this.

⁴² Cf. notably Halsberghe 1972, 1984.

⁴³ Inscriptions are often adduced in support of specific tenets, but although they are more numerous than our literary sources, they are less explicit, and none offer conclusive proof for any specific claim concerning Sol Invictus.

provide no proof either of a Syrian origin for Sol Invictus, or for his identification specifically with Elagabal. Why, then, are both tenets still accepted in modern scholarship? *How* could this conviction have taken root so firmly?

As we have already seen, religious historians in the 19th century systematically attempted to exclude solar and astral elements from what they considered truly *Roman* religion. This made Sol Indiges a problem, but a minor one, solved by presenting him as perhaps Greek rather than Roman, and certainly of minimal importance. Indeed, his cult was played down to the point where it was said to have disappeared completely early in the empire. Against this background it is obvious that Sol Invictus *a priori* had to be considered a foreign god as well. This does not, however, explain why scholars were convinced that he was Syrian. Virtually all cultures within the empire had a sun-god, and surely any sceptical reevaluation of the sources would have been enough to reveal their weakness as proof of an exclusively oriental origin of Sol Invictus. But we should not blame flawed methodology for this conviction.

EX ORIENTE TENEBRAE

The tenacity of the conviction that Sol Invictus was oriental can only be explained in conjunction with the general perception of Solar religion. In 19th century scholarship, which was surprisingly hostile towards solar and astral religions in general, this conviction had a strong ideological function. It tended to treat the advent of Sol Invictus not just as an oriental innovation, but as a bad one at that. To some extent this can be explained by the negative treatment Heliogabalus receives in our sources⁴⁴. But this should not blind us to the fact that many 19th century scholars went further, and bent the sources to fit their own world-view. Réville (1886) perhaps offers the best example of this negative approach, and it is worth quoting his remarks on Heliogabalus and Syria extensively to catch the tone of the discussion (240-242)⁴⁵:

“Cette fois le triomphe de l’Orient était complet. L’empire du monde dévolu à un enfant de quatorze ans, choisi par des soldats parce qu’il était beau et parce qu’il était prêtre! Le gouvernement dirigé par des femmes d’Émèse! Un Baal affirmant cyniquement sa souveraineté à la barbe du Jupiter Capitolin! Et le Sénat de Rom s’inclinant platement devant le dieu et devant son prêtre! (...)”

Il n’y a, en effet, plus rien de romain ni d’occidental en la personne d’Elagabal ou de sa mère Soaemias. En eux le vieil esprit de Canaan, contre lequel les prophètes d’Israël se sont élevés avec tant

d’énergie, s’affirme encore une fois dans un débordement suprême avant de disparaître de l’histoire. Amenée par deux siècles de bonne administration à un haut degré de civilisation matérielle, la Syrie, d’ailleurs si heureusement dotée par la nature, était devenue un lieu de rendezvous pour les représentants de toutes les traditions religieuses orientales et pour les apôtres de toutes les sectes. Au sein d’une population frivole et légère, ardente à la passion mais indolente à l’effort, avide de nouveautés mais superficielle, rusée et subtile mais sans consistance, toutes les théories et toutes églises s’étaient réciproquement fécondées et avaient produit une abondante floraison de systèmes religieux syncrétiques. (...)”

Le dieu d’Émèse (...) était franchement cananéen et n’en avait point honte. (...) C’était un dieu solaire, personnification du principe mâle et de la chaleur fécondante”.

Réville proceeds with a discussion of the meaning of the name Elagabal and a long catalogue of the emperor’s excesses. He emphasizes the oriental nature of these excesses, accusing Heliogabalus of being even worse than the average oriental despot, as the latter at least keeps his debaucheries confined to the palace away from the public eye⁴⁶. For the Romans, he feels, all this must have been the apex of horror, but Réville (1886, 251) resolutely rejects the idea that the emperor was simply mad: “Les nombreuses excentricités d’Elagabal que les historiens ont considérées comme des inspirations de la folie, ne furent également le plus souvent que l’application de certaines coutumes syriennes (...)”. Réville emphasizes that Heliogabalus was simply a typical oriental and that his base character and actions were, in his view, no more than what one could expect of such an individual.

Réville did not stand alone in his conviction that the oriental race was inferior. This evaluation was shared by many and is closely connected with the “decadence”-theory. Broadly speaking, the whole imperial history of Rome was seen as one of cultural, political and moral decline⁴⁷, and according

⁴⁴ M. Frey, *Untersuchungen zur Religion und zur Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal*, Historia Einzelschriften 62, (Stuttgart 1989); T. Optendrenk, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Elagabal im Spiegel der Historia Augusta* (1969).

⁴⁵ Réville’s study of the Severans was quite popular; it was reprinted a number of times, was translated into German, is still referred to in the Kl. Pauly (e.g. vol. 2 (1967) s.v. Elagabal 1, 239), and even by Turcan (1985).

⁴⁶ This theme already in E. Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, Methuen’s Standard Library, (London 1905 [1776]), vol. 1, 147, who contrasts the “inexpressible infamy” of the “public scenes displayed before the Roman people” under Elagabal with the “licence of an eastern monarch (...) secluded from the eye of curiosity by the inaccessible walls of the seraglio”.

⁴⁷ In the words of Cumont (1929, 22): “Cette société manque (...) d’imagination, d’esprit et de goût. Elle paraît atteinte

to scholars like Réville this was largely caused by corruptive oriental influences⁴⁸. By idealizing the Republic and vilifying the Empire they followed, to some extent, a trend set in antiquity, sharing the Republican nostalgia of their ancient counterparts⁴⁹.

Obviously this made all typically imperial institutions and innovations highly suspect, but few elements of imperial society were seen as such clear examples of this perceived decadence as the cult of the deified emperor⁵⁰. The distinction between the human and the divine is so deeply rooted in our consciousness that any attempt to cross that barrier has been interpreted as an almost inconceivable act of *hubris*. This perception of imperial divinity brought emperors in conflict with the “ideal” (namely Republican) Roman as described by Livy, among others. The concept of a divine emperor is therefore often considered distinctly “un-Roman” and thought to be modelled on the “oriental despotism” of the hellenistic kingdoms of the Near East⁵¹. The ruler cult, like Sol, with whom many scholars felt it was specifically linked⁵², became “indubitable” oriental imports. The abandonment of Republican temperance and the introduction of the cult of the deified ruler was thus fitted into the general framework of an all-pervasive orientalization of the Roman Empire⁵³.

As the Roman East was the home of Semitic peoples, various scholars tended to discuss the orientalization and perceived decadence of Rome along racist lines. Many felt that all political and religious imports of an apparently Semitic nature were so inferior to Roman usage, that they could never have been successful in Rome if the Semitic population itself had not increased drastically in the West⁵⁴. They not only attributed a supposed decline in morals to this influx of orientals but claimed that it also contributed physically to the decadence of Rome because it caused the degeneration of the superior Italic and Celtic stock of the West⁵⁵.

d'une sorte d'anémie cérébrale et frappée d'une incurable sénilité (...). Elle ressemble à un organisme incapable de se défendre contre la contagion”.

⁴⁸ Cf. Cumont (1929, 22) for a concise summary of this race-oriented approach (which he rejects) and Optendrenk (*supra* n. 44), 6; cf. 109 n. 20 with a number of significant quotations; on anti-oriental racism cf. also K. Christ, *Römische Geschichte als Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Darmstadt 1983), 5 who quotes G. Niebuhr as describing “orientals” as a “durch und durch böses und sittlich verdorbenes Volk” (1847).

⁴⁹ The pro-Republican bias of Roman historians like Livy and Tacitus has often been discussed, and this is not the place to go into this further. P.G. Walsh, “Livy and the aims of ‘historia’: an analysis of the third Decade”, *ANRW* II, 30.2, (1982, 1058-1074), 1064, states that the temptation to idealize the past was overwhelming for Livy and his whole generation, suggesting that they contrasted Republican Rome with the degeneracy of the first century for personal reasons (civil war) as well as for

propagandic purposes. Cf. the remarks of Price, n. 50; C.H.V. Sutherland, *The emperor and the coinage. Julio-Claudian studies*, (London 1976), 100-101.

⁵⁰ E. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial. Son histoire et son organisation depuis Auguste jusqu'à Justinien*, (Paris 1891), 1, shows clearly how his contemporaries felt about the imperial cult stating that “entre les différentes formes des religions antiques, celle qui nous choque le plus est peut-être l'adoration des souverains”. An excellent discussion of previous scholarship on this topic, concentrating on preconceptions of the type mentioned here, can be found in S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and power, the Roman Imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984. In a section entitled “Christianizing Assumptions” (Chapter 1, par. 3, pp. 11-15), Price shows that ruler-cults in the Graeco-Roman world have been regularly treated as a final stage in the decline of ancient religions. Even more interesting is another section entitled “Prejudice” (Chapter 1, par. 5, pp. 17-19), in which Price points out that many scholars, refusing to accept that Romans could have taken the imperial cult seriously, treat it as *Graeca adulation*; “Roman historians surveying the empire from the centre have taken over the attitude of members of the senatorial upper class (...) and have dismissed the Greeks under Roman rule as bickering flatterers contending for empty titles”.

⁵¹ The concept of “oriental despotism” played an important role in 18th and 19th century social and political sciences from Montesquieu to Marx, as did the dichotomy between the Graeco-Roman and the Oriental worlds as a whole. W. Nippel, “Max Weber's «The City» revisited” in: A. Molho, K. Raaflaub & J. Emlen eds., *City states in classical antiquity and medieval Italy*, (Stuttgart 1991, 19-30), 24, discusses this in relation to Max Weber, referring among others to J. Deininger, “Die politischen Strukturen des mittelmeeisch-vorderorientalischen Altertums bei Max Weber” in: W. Schluchter (ed.), *Max Webers Sicht des antiken Christentums* (1985), 72-110. The opposition Orient-Occident was already fostered in antiquity (one need but think of the comparison made between Octavian and Anthony) and this dichotomy has continued to have an almost uninterrupted influence up to the present day. Cf. L. Cracco-Ruggini & G. Cracco, “L'eredità di Roma” in *Storia d'Italia* 5.1, (Torino 1973, 5-45), 17-19; S. Dossa, “Political philosophy and orientalism. The classical origins of a discourse”, *Alternatives* 12 (1987), 343-357; P. Springborg, *Western republicanism and the oriental prince*, (Cambridge 1992).

⁵² On the emperor and Sol: Bernhard (*supra* n. 3), 277; Alföldi 1935, 94, 107-8; L'Orange 1935; A.D. Nock, “The emperor's divine Comes”, *JRS* 37 (1947), 102-116; Brilliant 1963, 208-211; E. Kantorowicz, “Oriens Augusti – Lever du Roi”, *DOP* 17 (1963), 117-178; S. MacCormack, “Change and continuity in late antiquity: the ceremony of the *Adventus*”, *Historia* 21, (1972, 721-752), 727-733; R. Turcan, “Le culte impérial au III^e siècle”, *ANRW* II 16.2, (1978, 946-1084), 1042-3, 1071-1073; P. Bastien, “Couronne radiée et buste monétaire impériale” in: *Studia P. Naster Oblata* I (1982), 263-274. Cf. *LIMC* Helios/Sol 408-450. In art, emperors are often thought to be assimilated to Sol (cf. p. 147 below). According to SHA Gall. XVIII, 2-3 Gallienus wanted a colossal statue of himself in the guise of Sol, but it was never completed. On coins, the radiate crown may be a solar symbol, especially when the Emperor with radiate crown faces the Empress on a crescent moon, but its precise significance is controversial; cf. M. R. Alföldi, *Antike Numismatik*, Mainz 1978, 172; Bastien 1982; Hijmans, *infra* n. 88, 169-170.

⁵³ Halsberghe (1972, 36-7), referring to the Eastern sun-god: “The emperors, who more and more came to consider themselves as Eastern despots, saw in (...) the indestructible and ever-victorious sun god a symbol of their power”.

⁵⁴ The terms ‘oriental’, ‘eastern’, ‘Syrian’, ‘hellenistic’, ‘Semitic’, etc., are used so loosely in the studies under consideration that they are virtually interchangeable.

⁵⁵ A much-quoted example of this approach is a study by T. Frank, “Race mixture in the Roman empire”, *American Historical Review* 21 (1910), 689-708, based mainly on funeral

We can now begin to discern a pattern of interconnected preconceptions and prejudices, leading to an intricate circular argument. On the one hand there is the negative evaluation of the Roman Orient with its racist connotations, best understood against the background of the 19th-century justification of West-European imperialism. On the other hand we see the widespread and highly popular conviction that the fall of the Roman West followed on logically from its decadence. It is hardly surprising to find the Orient treated as the source of the negative and corruptive influences which led to the supposed decadence of the Roman Empire. Sol Invictus, identified with one or other sun-god of Syria and often closely linked to the maligned ruler-cult, in many ways seemed to epitomize this dominance of the Orient. The very fact that Aurelian identified him as *dominus et deus imperii Romani* could be seen as a sign of the “oriental despotism” scholars loved to deride. Is it going too far to suggest that Wissowa’s consistent opposition to a Roman Republican Sol stems from this conviction that the Imperial Sol Invictus was utterly un-Roman and even anti-Roman?

EX ORIENTE LUX

Franz Cumont strongly attacked the predominant negative evaluation of the Orient, and played a fundamental role in reshaping the conception of the role of oriental cults in the Roman Empire. Although Cumont did not deny the decadence of Rome (cf. n. 47), in his view the influence of the East was so strong because oriental cultures, and especially oriental religions, were more advanced than anything Rome had ever offered⁵⁶. Cumont therefore easily accepted the oriental origin of the imperial solar cult as a proven fact⁵⁷. It fitted in well with his interpretation of the general development of later Roman culture and the role the Orient played in it. Cumont (1909) further supported this conviction with a discussion of the philosophical and theological base of the cult of Sol Invictus. He distinguished two major constituent elements, both of which he described as oriental: Chaldaean astrology on the one hand, and Stoic philosophy on the other⁵⁸. According to Cumont (1909, 478-479) this led to a solar theology which was the result of the combined efforts of Mesopotamian and Syrian priests and philosophers. This theology, he feels, probably gained dominance in Syria from the time of the Seleucids, transforming all local Ba’alim into solar deities. From there it penetrated the West from the first century A.D. The success of this cosmic and almost monotheistic religion was due to the fact that it was far superior to Roman “idolâtrie”.

In this way Cumont radically changed the tone of the discussion, but strengthened its basic tenets, providing a general oriental background against which the development and spread of the cosmic solar cult could be understood. However, as we have already seen, the interpretation of events in Rome to which Cumont adheres to is doubtful, and his claim that the Syrian Ba’alim were solar deities is rejected by Seyrig (1971). Thus the two central elements of Cumont’s thesis are open to doubt⁵⁹.

ORIENTAL ASPECTS OF SOL INVICTUS

Cumont’s approach greatly strengthened the conviction that Sol Invictus was Syrian, and by the first decade of the twentieth century the oriental origin of the imperial solar cult appeared beyond doubt. Attention focused on determining when the oriental sun-god entered Rome, the question now being at which point the *Roman* cult of the sun (namely Sol Indiges) was superseded by the *oriental* cult.

Both the perceived problem and the most popular solution are presented by Wissowa (1912, 365): “Einer für Sol oder für Sol und Luna bestimmten Weihinschrift kann man es (...) in den meisten Fällen nicht ansehen, ob sie sich auf den römischen oder den orientalischen Kult bezieht; doch spricht seit der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts die Wahrscheinlichkeit an sich für den letzteren, und im dritten ist (...) unter Sol kaum je ein anderer Gott als einer der syrischen Ba’alim verstanden worden”⁶⁰. According

inscriptions. He attempted to show a strong increase of Semitic blood in the occidental veins of the Roman plebs in the first centuries A.D., claiming that this fundamentally changed the racial character of Rome. Cf. Cumont (1929, 22) and N.H. Baynes “The Decline of the Roman Empire in the Western World: Some Modern Explanations”, *JRS* 33 (1943, 29-35), 31-33, for discussions (and criticism) of this and similar approaches.

⁵⁶ Cumont 1929, 2: “Si Rome, appuyée sur la force de son armée et sur le droit qu’elle constituait, garda longtemps l’autorité politique, elle subit fatalement l’ascendant moral de peuples plus avancés qu’elle. A cet égard, l’histoire de l’Empire, durant les trois premiers siècles de notre ère, se résume en une “pénétration pacifique” de l’Occident par l’Orient”.

⁵⁷ E.g. Cumont 1909, 447.

⁵⁸ Cumont feels that it is justified to treat the whole of Stoic philosophy as basically oriental because a number of Stoic philosophers, such as Poseidonius of Apamea, Cleanthus of Assos, and Chrysippus of Soli came from the East. Actually, according to Dr. B.L. Hijmans Jr. (personal communication), the Romans (e.g. Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, M. Aurelius, etc.) did not regard the Stoic school as “foreign” or “oriental” at all, and certainly not in the way Mark Anthony and Cleopatra, for example, were seen as such.

⁵⁹ Cumont’s influence on the study of Roman religion can hardly be overstated, yet few of his basic suppositions stand up to rigid reexamination. For sharp criticism, cf. MacMullen 1981, 116, 122-3, 200 n. 11.

⁶⁰ At this point Wissowa, in a footnote, cites as “interesting” an inscription (*CIL* VI 700), *Soli sacrum*, dedicated by a freedman in Rome who was born in Syrian Nisibis (currently

to Wissowa the name Sol Invictus or deus Invictus invariably points to an oriental milieu. He emphasizes, however, that Aurelian gave this Syrian cult a Roman form, being “(...) weit entfernt davon, wie Elagabal den ganzen Schwulst und Schmutz eines semitischen Ba’alsdienstes den Römern aufdrängen zu wollen”. This would explain why Sol Invictus on coins of Aurelian has a wholly Graeco-Roman iconography, according to Wissowa.

This common line of thought hinges on the assumption that the epithet *invictus*, despite being Latin, is so obviously Syrian that the oriental origin of Sol Invictus is clear from his name alone. Yet I have been unable to discover any evidence that *invictus* is a specifically “oriental” term. Cumont (infra, n. 61), 47, claims that the term *invictus* was a translation of the oriental-Greek ἀνίκητος, was not used in the West until the beginning of the Roman Empire, and after that was almost exclusively applied to deities of a solar or astral character. This is not supported by the available evidence, for one can easily give a Roman tradition for the epithet *invictus*: the *OLD* (1973, 959 s.v. *invictus* 2b) quotes *Apollo Invictus*, *Jupiter Invictus*, *Hercules Invictus* and a number of other gods from authors like Hostius, Vergil, Ovid, Propertius, Horace and Martial. Hercules Invictus is also mentioned on coins, and on inscriptions he is almost as popular as Sol Invictus. Other *invicti* on inscriptions include Jupiter, Mercurius, Saturnus and Silvanus. Surely one cannot maintain that in all these cases “oriental”, “solar” or even “astral” gods were meant⁶¹. Weinstock (1957), in a more general approach, traces the origins of the epithet to Alexander the Great, who was called ἀνίκητος by the Pythia in Delphi in 336 B.C. In the East, Alexander’s example was followed by the Seleucids; in the West Scipio Africanus introduced *invictus* as a semi-divine epithet for himself in a concerted programme clearly inspired by Alexander⁶². Other generals followed this example with variations, and Weinstock (1957, 229-237) extensively discusses Caesar’s policy in this respect, referring to a statue of him, dedicated in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription *Deo Invicto*. Not surprisingly, Augustus dropped all references to Alexander, stressing his human preeminence as *imperator* rather than a divine status implied by invincibility⁶³. Commodus, the ‘new Hercules’, was the first emperor to readopt the title *invictus* officially, obviously referring to Hercules Invictus. Caracalla was the next, and in this case, according to Weinstock (1957, 242), it was due to his interest in Alexander; he rejects the idea that any reference to Sol Invictus is intended. After Caracalla, *invictus* remained as a standard title for emperors until 324.

Weinstock’s study shows conclusively, I believe, that *invictus* cannot be treated as an oriental term, imported into Rome in the early Empire, and used specifically for astral deities. It was already present in Rome as a semi-divine epithet by the early third century B.C., and by the first century A.D. it had as strong a tradition in the West as it ever did in the East⁶⁴.

Another important point tackled by Wissowa is the iconography of Sol Invictus, well known from the many coins on which he appears. How striking it is that among all the oriental gods in the Roman Empire, Sol Invictus alone appears to show no trace of oriental or non-Roman elements in his iconography! Wissowa’s explanation that Aurelian had this done on purpose to disguise the oriental origin of his sun-god misses the point, because the iconography of Sol was established long before Aurelian’s reign.

Various scholars have tried to identify an oriental or Semitic element in the iconography of Sol Invictus in the later Empire, pointing notably to his raised right hand⁶⁵. L’Orange (1935, 93-94)

(Nusaybin on the Turco-Syrian border). One inscription has little force as evidence, of course, and in fact another inscription in the same volume of the *CIL* (2821 & 32551), not noticed by Wissowa, carries a dedication dated 246 A.D. by some *Belgian* soldiers from Viromandui to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Mars, Nemesis, Sol, Victory, *et omnibus diis patrensibus*. Despite this, the footnote in question is often cited as “proof” of the oriental origin of Sol Invictus; e.g. Richter 1909-1915, 1142. ⁶¹ F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, Vol. 1. (1899), 47-48 n. 2, referring to the many inscriptions in *CIL* VI (nrs. 312-332), is puzzled by the popularity of Hercules Invictus. He tentatively suggests that in these cases “Hercules” stands for the planet Mars. Similarly he explains Silvanus Invictus as a result of the fact that this god “était devenu un dieu solaire”. With Jupiter the epithet Invictus is simply poetic for *omnipotens* (Cumont refers only to Horace 3,27,73). In fact Cicero (*leg.* 2, 28 – not mentioned by Cumont) clearly implies that Invictus was a normal epithet for Jupiter. The circularity of Cumont’s “explanations” for Hercules Invictus and Silvanus Invictus is obvious. For *invicti* cf. *Thes. L.L.* s.v. *invictus* Ic (Hercules Invictus inadequately represented). I do not know of any explanations of the “oriental” character of *invictus* more explicit than that of Cumont. Keune (*RE* 2. Reihe 3 (1929) s.v. Sol, 906) states baldly: “Man nimmt jetzt zumeist an, dass wir (...) überall da mit fremden Gottheiten zu tun haben, wo auf einer Inschrift etwa der Zusatz *aeternus*, *divinus* oder *invictus* (bei letzterem ohne Einschränkung) begegnet”. L’Orange (1935, 93-4) simply refers to Usener (supra n. 25), 469, who does not give any sources or explanation. Letta (1989, 593) also simply states that the term is oriental, without providing sources. Cf. M. Rosenbach, *Gallienus Augusta. Allgott und Einzelgötter im gallienischen Pantheon*, (Tübingen 1958), 51.

⁶² Weinstock 1957, 221-222.

⁶³ As Weinstock (1957, 239 n. 159) points out, this decision was probably directed against Anthony, rather than Caesar.

⁶⁴ Cf. Chirassi Colombo (supra n. 25), 665-667.

⁶⁵ On the supposedly Semitic character of the gesture: F. Cumont, “Il Sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani

claimed that the introduction of the gesture in the iconography of Sol coincided with the introduction of the oriental Sol, named Invictus, by the Severi⁶⁶. This claim, however, is difficult to maintain. The oldest dated inscription mentioning Sol Invictus is from 158 (*CIL* VI, 717), clearly antedating both the Severi and the earliest images of Sol with raised right hand⁶⁷. Also worth noting are three medallions and an aureus discussed by Guarducci (1957-9). They each depict the same scene, but on the three medallions, which predate the reign of Septimius Severus, Sol holds a whip in his (lowered) right hand, while on the aureus, minted during Severus's reign, Sol raises his right hand in the gesture under discussion. As the inscription on one of the medallions dedicates it *Inventori lucis Soli Invicto Augusto*, this shows that the term *invictus* is not linked inseparably with this gesture. Furthermore, one wonders how an image of the sun-god which was already known under Antoninus Pius, and which remained current under the Severi, either with raised or with lowered hand, could ever be taken to represent two different gods.

Leaving these arguments aside, I find it extremely unlikely that the raised right hand of Sol was an innovation which would be recognized by the Romans as an oriental gesture, identifying this figure of Sol – otherwise unchanged – as a new Syrian god. As a gesture, the raised right hand, palm facing outwards, fingers straight, is so common that one meets it in all cultures and ages, albeit with differing details and meanings⁶⁸. Therefore I agree with Brilliant (1963, 209) that we should probably see no more in it than a “conventional and ecumenical sign of the radiant power” of Sol.

Neither is it very significant that the gesture was common in Syrian art under the Roman Empire⁶⁹. In fact, this makes it all the more striking that in Syrian art the sun-god was hardly ever depicted with a raised right hand. Surely one cannot argue that such a universal gesture as the raised right hand served to remind Romans of Syrian sun-gods, when these themselves were virtually never represented in this manner. On the other hand, if the Severi had wanted to add a Syrian element to the Graeco-Roman iconography of Sol making him clearly identifiable as a new Syrian sun-god, the obvious differences between the iconography of the Syrian sun-gods and Sol would have given them enough possibilities. For the Syrian sun-gods were war-gods, armed with spear and sword and wearing armour. I do not know of any such representations of the sun-god outside Syria. We must therefore reject L'Orange's theory, and conclude that the iconography of Sol shows no oriental elements⁷⁰.

It is impossible to find criteria by which the supposedly Syrian Sol Invictus can be distinguished from the preceding Roman Sol. Yet the dichotomy is still maintained, even in the two most recent studies on Sol Invictus, written by G. Halsberghe (1972, 1984)⁷¹. Halsberghe's work is valuable, for it provides us with the most extensive review of literary and epigraphical sources for Sol Invictus to date, but he interprets the material completely within the framework of his predecessors, whose theories he accepts as proven. Thus Halsberghe (1972, 34-37) offers a fair amount of evidence, mostly epigraphical, dating from the first century A.D., which, he feels, refers to the “autochthonous”

alzate”, *MemPontAcc* 1 (1923), 65-80, esp. 69-72; *idem*, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-23), (Paris 1926), 70. Cf. F. Ghedini, *Giulia Domna tra Oriente e Occidente. Le fonti archeologiche*, (Rome 1984), 33-36.

⁶⁶ Cf. Cumont (*supra*, n. 68, 1923); Alföldi 1935, 107; Brilliant 1963, 208-211.

⁶⁷ I know of only one earlier Roman representation of Sol with raised right hand, on a Cretan coin dating from the reign of Vespasian, BMCGrC IX, 3 nr. 13. Letta (1989) claims that this is the oldest example of Sol “nel gesto” in the Classical world. There are, however, also examples in Italic Greek art: cf. Helios in his quadriga on an Apulian oinochoe (*LIMC* Helios 78; cf. 19).

⁶⁸ Brilliant 1963, 24-5, offers examples ranging from the 8th century B.C. on Sardinia to the 6th century A.D. in Syria. H. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände: Geschichte einer Gebärde in der bildenden Kunst*, (Stuttgart 1984), 131-134 admittedly discusses the gesture as one typical of the hellenistic Orient, but see his figs. 160, 168, and 174, which show how widespread it actually was. The Apulian vases referred to in the previous note show that Helios could also be represented with a raised right hand in the Greek context of Southern Italy, although they cannot, of course, be connected with the Roman representations some four to five centuries later.

⁶⁹ L'Orange cites Cumont (*supra* n. 68, 1926), 70-71, where a large collection is given of men and gods in Syrian art with raised right hand.

⁷⁰ On the Palmyran sun-gods Yarhibol, Malachbel and Shamash cf. Drijvers (*supra* n. 34), *passim*; J. Teixidor, *The pantheon of Palmyra*, EPRO 79, (Leiden 1979); *LIMC* s.v. Yarhibol and s.v. Malakbel. Gawlikowski (*LIMC* V.1 s.v. Helios, in periphria Orientalis, p. 1034) believes that Malachbel was not originally a sun-god, but that his solar aspect was the result of solar syncretism. On Shamash in Harran cf. J. Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes*, (München 1986), 140-141; on coins of Helios-Shamash in Hatra, Tubach *op. cit.*, 286-290; on Barmanen in Hatra, Tubach *op. cit.*, 300-333.

⁷¹ In the following I shall refer only to Halsberghe's book in the EPRO series (1972), as his article in the *ANRW* (1984) is little more than a summary of the former. Halsberghe's work has met with heavy (and justified) criticism, yet to my knowledge no-one has systematically analyzed and refuted his conclusions. For criticism, cf. J. Beaujeu “Le paganisme romain sous le Haut Empire”, *ANRW* II 16.1, (1978), 19: “problématique, information, analyses, discussions, conclusions manquent également de pertinence et de solidité”. On Helios in late antique literature (mainly Orphic hymns, magical papyri, Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*, Neoplatonic works, etc.) see now W. Fauth's *Helios Megistos. Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (Leiden 1995); this work was not yet available when this article went into press.

Sol of Rome⁷². He subsequently states simply that “when, starting in the second century A.D., the Eastern sun worship begins to influence Rome and the rest of the Empire, the rare indications bearing witness to an ancient cult of Sol disappear”, failing to provide any evidence in support of this conclusion. Halsberghe identifies the new Sol Invictus decisively as Elagabal, the Emesan Ba’al and sun-god⁷³, whose cult was spread over the Empire not only by converted soldiers and emigrated Syrians but also through the proselytism of the Emesan priests. In part he attributes the success of oriental cults to the fact that “(...) in the course of the second century Rome had become an undermined and weakened body, unable to continue to resist the attacks and infiltrations of the Eastern religions”⁷⁴. According to Halsberghe (1972, 45-48) the Severi did not, therefore, *introduce* the Syrian sun cult into Rome, but simply gave it their official support. Not only Heliogabalus played a key role in this, but also Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, who came from Emesa and was the daughter of a priest of Elagabal.

Halsberghe (1972, 103-116) is the first to emphasize (rightly) that the cult of Sol Invictus did not disappear after the death of the emperor Heliogabalus in 222. In this way he provides a double link between Aurelian’s Sol Invictus and Elagabal of Emesa. Aurelian’s decision to elevate Sol as highest god of the Roman empire was inspired by his experience at Emesa, according to Halsberghe, but the god himself was modelled on the more Romanized version of Elagabal, still present in Rome⁷⁵. This Elagabal was no more than a point of departure for Aurelian in the development of a new Sol, who was to be *dominus imperii Romani*⁷⁶. The final product was a Roman sun-god modelled on the Syrian Elagabal, but also incorporating elements derived from Roman models⁷⁷; most notable among the latter, according to Halsberghe, is the iconography Aurelian chose for Sol Invictus. Halsberghe (1972, 162) attributes a lasting success to this Roman sun-cult of Aurelian, which he believes was a serious rival to Christianity. Even after the conversion of Constantine, he feels that the cult continued to be strong⁷⁸.

Halsberghe accepts the findings of his predecessors uncritically, even restating the conviction that Rome in the second century was an “undermined and weakened body”. He struggles with the abundant evidence for a cult or cults of the sun in Rome well before the reigns of the Severan emperors, and is hard put to it to show the difference between Sol Invictus and the previous sun-god. In the end the evidence he adduces shows simply that the dichotomy between the Roman Sol Indiges and the

“eastern” Sol Invictus is wholly unconvincing. Equally Halsberghe does not show how all references to Sol from the second century onwards can suddenly refer to Elagabal only, as he claims. He also fails to give an adequate explanation for the continued existence of the cult of Sol Invictus after the death of Heliogabalus, although the sources state clearly that the cult of *Elagabal* was shipped out of Rome. Why persist in the assumption that Sol Invictus was the same as Elagabal, if Sol Invictus was present in Rome well before the Severi, if he cannot be differentiated from previous sun-gods in Rome, and if he remained present in Rome after the death of Heliogabalus despite the fact that all explicit references to Elagabal disappeared? For Halsberghe this assumption is essential, because he is convinced that Aurelian was inspired in Emesa to raise Sol Invictus, i.e. Elagabal in his view, to the level of supreme deity. As Halsberghe is the first to acknowledge fully the abundant epigraphical and numismatic evidence for a continued presence of Sol Invictus in Rome after the death of Heliogabalus, he is forced to reject Cassius Dio’s claim (cf. n. 40) that Elagabal disappeared from Rome immediately afterwards. Otherwise he would be unable to explain the relationship between this Sol Invictus, already present in Rome, and Aurelian’s Sol Invictus “imported” from the “Orient”.

This review of previous scholarship and its underlying ideology and preconceptions has shown how little factual evidence there is for the current understanding of the origins of the cult of Sol Invictus. Its basis is rooted in an ideologically biased and long since discredited approach to the religious developments in imperial Rome. There is, in fact, no evidence for the postulated dichotomy between Sol Indiges and Sol Invictus, nor are there any conclusive sources in support of an oriental origin for Sol Invictus. This need not surprise us. In the last two decades, scholars have increasingly undermined the idea that an all-pervasive “orientalization” of religion took place in the Roman Empire. No one would deny that Eastern cults had a certain degree of influence throughout the Empire. But that Sol Invictus was not an oriental deity would fit

⁷² Halsberghe (1972, 26-37) discusses Sol Indiges at length, regularly calling him the “autochthonous Sol”.

⁷³ Halsberghe 1972, IX-X; 45, 52-53. Halsberghe claims, without supporting evidence, that all inscriptions mentioning only Sol Invictus also refer to Sol Invictus Elagabal.

⁷⁴ Halsberghe 1972, 42.

⁷⁵ Halsberghe 1972, 139.

⁷⁶ For the various phases of the introduction of this “new” supreme deity see Halsberghe 1972, 139-148.

⁷⁷ Halsberghe 1972, 157-159.

⁷⁸ Halsberghe 1972, 168-171.

in with the general reevaluation of Roman religious developments currently underway⁷⁹.

At this point, however, we have nothing with which to replace the existing concepts, because the true problem, often acknowledged but rarely faced squarely, is the inadequacy, not just of our source-material on the origins of Sol Invictus, but also of sources on his character in general, his cult, and his importance in the Roman pantheon. Although Halsberghe (1972, 1-25) adduces a promising number of texts, the volume is misleading: a large proportion is about Heliogabalus and his religious policies or about Aurelian, many other texts mention facts unrelated to the nature of the Roman cult of Sol, others again are Christian polemics, aimed solely at ridiculing the notion that the sun is a god. The fact, indeed, that Macrobius (ca. 400 A.D.) and Julian are our "best" sources on the nature of Roman beliefs linked to Sol is telling. They are so far removed – both chronologically and socially – from the general Roman cult of Sol (if, indeed, that ever existed), that it is impossible to judge their trustworthiness. There is little point, therefore, in yet another reevaluation of the inadequate literary sources concerning Sol.

In the remainder of this article I therefore propose to explore the feasibility of an alternative assessment of the origins and character of Sol Invictus on the basis of a hitherto ignored category of evidence, namely the iconographical sources. In the following review of this material, I hope to show that it not only can contribute significantly to our understanding of Sol Invictus, but that it should, in fact, be treated as our prime source.

THE REPRESENTATION OF SOL IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Research into Sol Invictus has so far virtually ignored the archaeological material pertaining to him, despite its relative abundance. In general the archaeological sources can be divided into two groups: architectural remains (mainly temples and shrines) and iconographical material. I will limit myself to a discussion of the second group, which is by far the largest⁸⁰.

The collection gathered in the *LIMC* shows clearly that representations of Sol form a well-defined and recognizable group. He invariably appears as a young god, clean-shaven, and is depicted in three basic aspects: in bust, standing, or riding a four-horse chariot (*Figs. 1-4*)⁸¹. He is normally represented with rays or a nimbus around his head and almost always carries either a whip or a globe (sometimes both) as an attribute. He is generally naked, but always wears a short chlamys. If he is dressed, it is in a long chiton (*Fig. 5*). In later

imperial times one of the hallmarks of his iconography is his raised right hand. On rare occasions he participates in a specific mythological scene, but usually he stands alone or in a group without an active role.

An important percentage of known representations of Sol is on coins, on which he was mainly depicted between the late 2nd and early 4th century A.D. Often the inscription on the coins identifies him as Sol Invictus⁸². Other representations are found on relief-sculptures, in frescoes, mosaics, and on products of the various minor arts such as

⁷⁹ G. Alföldy, "Die Krise des Imperium romanum und die Religion Roms", in *Religion und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Kolloquium zu Ehren von Friedrich Vittinghoff, W. Eck ed., (Köln & Wien 1989), 53-102, offers an extensive reassessment of the so-called orientalizing of Roman religion. MacMullen's (1981, 112-130) radical reduction of the influence of the East is also highly refreshing, which makes it all the more surprising that he did not extend this to his evaluation of Sol (*cf.* n. 25); *cf.* R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, (Hain 1984), on Mithras as a Roman god (the general approach is sound, but in specific arguments Merkelbach is often unconvincing); R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, (Harmondsworth 1986), 35-36, 574-575; W. Burkert, *Ancient mystery cults*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1987), 1-3; R. Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*, (Paris 1989), 13; R. Gordon, "Religion in the Roman Empire: the civic compromise and its limits" in *Pagan priests*, M. Beard & J. North edd., (Cambridge 1990), 240-248; E.M. Staerman, "Le culte impérial, le culte du soleil et celui du Temps", *Mélanges P. Lévêque* 4 (1990, 361-379), 367.

⁸⁰ The best collection of iconographical material is by C. Letta in the *LIMC* s.v. Helios/Sol. In addition I have made extensive use of my unpublished thesis (Hijmans 1989) for this section of my article. *Cf.* also K. Schauenburg, *Helios. Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott* (Berlin 1955).

⁸¹ For ancient sources on the iconography of Sol *cf.* e.g. Apuleius *Met.* XI, 24; Arnob. *Nat.* 6,12. Two representations of Sol seated are mentioned in the *LIMC* (Helios/Sol 160-161). In certain mythological and Mithraic scenes in which Sol participates actively, the range of types is obviously larger.

⁸² Between the 2nd and the 4th century A.D., I have counted at least 1500 different coin-issues with an image of Sol (the true figure is presumably substantially higher). For inscriptions on coins naming him **Sol Invictus** *cf.*: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 85 (Victorinus, Cologne, 269 A.D.), 87 (Probus, Rome, 276-282), 89 (Constantine, Trier, 310-313), 106 (Macrianus, Antioch 261-262; Gallienus, Antioch, 267; Diocletian and Maximianus, Carthage, 296-305; Constantine, various mints, 309-317), 107 (Maximinus Daia, Antioch, 311-313), 134 (Probus, Serdica, Cyzicus, and Ticinum, 276-282), 137 (Maximinus Daia, Trier and Antioch, 310-313), 138 (Constantine, London, 316), 158 (Aurelian, unknown mint, 270-275; Carausius, London, 287-293), 192 (Aurelian, Milan and Tripoli, 270-275; Constantine, Aquileia and Rome, 312/3 & 316/7), 196 (Aurelian, Ticinum, 270-275), 417 (Aurelian, Serdica and Cyzicus, 270-275); **Sol Oriens**: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 80 (Hadrian, Rome, 118); **Sol Augustus**: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 105 (Claudius Gothicus, Antioch, 268-270); **Sol Propugnator**: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 118 (Heliogabalus, Eastern mint, 218-219); **Sol Dominus Imperii Romani**: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 133 (Aurelian, Serdica, 270-275); **Sol Conservator**: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 417 (Aurelian, Serdica and Cyzicus, 270-275); **Sol Comes Augusti**: *LIMC* Helios/Sol 418 (Constantine, five mints, 317-321), 419 (Constantine, Antioch, 324-5).



Fig. 1. Fresco, Sol; 1st c. A.D. Naples, Museo Nazionale 9819. Photograph author.



Fig. 2. Mosaic, Sol within a zodiac; 3rd c. A.D. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum. Photograph DAIR 64.704.



Fig. 3. Intaglio, Sol in frontal chariot; 3rd c. A.D. Debrecen (Hungary), Déri Museum R XI 1.10. Photograph courtesy Déri Museum.



Fig. 4. Mosaic, Sol. Tunis, Bardo Museum A10. Photograph courtesy Bardo Museum.



Fig. 5. Follis (rev.), Sol; A.D. 319. Photograph DAIR 35.549.



Fig. 7. Fresco, "Sternestreit", detail. Naples, Museo Nazionale 9449. Photograph DAIR 9537.



Fig. 8. Fresco, "Sternestreit". Naples, Museo Nazionale 9449. Photograph DAIR 1936.309.

therefore, and not just the iconography, which shows that this figure is not Sol⁸⁸.

If rays alone do not constitute adequate grounds on which to identify a figure as Sol, the same can be said for every other element of his iconography taken singly. The whip identifies him as a charioteer, but is not specifically “solar”; the globe represents the cosmos, but as a symbol of (cosmic) power is certainly not limited to Sol. The raised right hand became a hallmark of his iconography in the third century, and is an important aid in identifying him, but not even this was unique to Sol. Therefore at all times only a combination of the above-mentioned iconographic elements identifies a figure as Sol⁸⁹.

SOURCE AND HISTORY OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SOL

Obviously the dates and the iconographical traditions of the representations of Sol Invictus are important in helping us to determine where Sol Invictus originated and when his cult was introduced into Rome.

There can be no doubt that the iconographical antecedents of Sol Invictus can be traced to the Greek and Roman-Republican representations of Helios and Sol. One of the most important precursors of the Sol Invictus type of the later Empire was Helios of Rhodes. On South-Italian red-figured ware we also find many representations of Helios, as well as in relief-sculpture etc. Some basic elements of Sol’s iconography, such as the four-horse chariot, the rays around his head, the chlamys and the chiton of the charioteers, and the whip are all already present in these images of the sun-god⁹⁰. None of the iconographical elements of Helios and Sol are in any way discordant or unexpected in a Graeco-Roman god (*Fig. 9*).

The chronology of the known representations of the Roman Sol is less easy to establish. The dates of a large percentage of the representations are very approximate or even controversial. Of 372 objects (excluding coins) presented in the *LIMC* s.v. Helios/Sol⁹¹, 49 have no date, 60 are dated within two centuries (usually 2nd-3rd century), 137 in one century (of which 92 in the 3rd century), 68 with a margin of error of about half a century⁹², and only 58 with a margin of error of four decades or less. This means that less than 16% of the objects can be considered accurately dated, while almost 30% are either not dated at all, or else have a margin of error of almost two centuries.

There is also a marked difference in the distribution of dates of objects dated accurately and of those dated less accurately. The latter are usually placed in the 2nd or 3rd century, while a high

proportion of the accurately dated objects is placed in the 1st century A.D. Usually, the accurate dates are based on a criterium independent of the presence of Sol. Terracotta lamp-types, for example, have been carefully studied and can often be dated to within a few decades. The *LIMC* includes 28 lamps in its catalogue, of which 2 are not dated, 12 are placed in the 1st century, 3 in the 2nd century, 8 broadly in the 2nd-3rd century, 1 in the 3rd century, 1 in the 3rd-4th century, and 1 in the 4th century. The largest single group, over 42% of the total, thus belongs to the 1st century⁹³. Although

⁸⁸ The scene can be found in Pompeii in the houses of Fabius Rufus (VII 16,22), and Apollo (VI 7,23), and in Naples, Mus. Naz. 9239 and 9449. The painting of “Helios and Rhodes”, Naples Mus. Naz. 9537 (*LIMC* Helios/Sol 160), is probably a fragment of this scene showing only “Hesperus”; cf. S.E. Hijmans, “Sol or Hesperus? A Note on two fragments of the ‘Sternenstreit’ in the Archaeological Museum in Naples”, *Mededelingen NIR* 54 (1995), 52-60; *LIMC* Apollon/Apollo 420-421, E.W. Leach, “The iconography of the black salone in the casa di Fabio Rufo”, *KJbVFriühGesch* 24 (1991), 105-112; L. Caso, “I affreschi interni del cubiculo ‘amphithalamos’ della casa di Apollo”, *RivStPomp* III (1989), 111-130; E.M. Moormann, “Rappresentazioni teatrali su scaenae frontes di quarto stile a Pompei”, *PHS* I (1983), 73-117, esp. 84-91; O. Elia, “Lo stibadio dionisiaco in pitture pompeiane”, *RM* 69 (1962), 118-127 (who identifies the figures as Helios, Dionysus, and Aphrodite).

⁸⁹ Certain “negative” criteria for the identification of Sol may also be helpful. I do not know of any representations of a bearded Sol, for example, except – possibly – on the arch in Orange (*LIMC* Helios/Sol 361).

⁹⁰ Cf. *LIMC* s.v. Helios, *passim*. Good examples are: 135, a bust of Helios with rays, long hair, and a chlamys (3d cent. B.C.; cf. n. 152); 380 (= *fig. 9*), a relief from Troy with Helios (radiate nimbus) in a quadriga (ca. 300 B.C.; cf. nr. 120, a relief of ca. 340 B.C. on which Helios has a nimbus only, and representations on Apulian vases, e.g. 23, 28, 78). For Helios on Greek coins of the pre-Roman period: *LIMC* Helios 178-190 (Rhodes) and 194-221, 241-285 (other Greek cities; 35 in Asia Minor and Syria; 24 in Greece, including the islands, Macedonia, etc.; 14 in Magna Graecia; usually more than 1 coin per entry).

⁹¹ The aim of this paragraph is to check the objectivity of the dates given, and to attempt to gain an impression of the measure in which the presence of Sol influenced the dates. Therefore only the main object per entry was counted, because parallels and objects only referred to briefly are never dated by Letta in the *LIMC*. Coins were not included for two reasons; in the first place they can be dated objectively without taking the presence of Sol into account, and in the second place they form a very specific group of evidence, which should be treated separately, and not be confused with the other visual media (see below).

⁹² This includes vague indications such as “first half of 3rd century” or “beginning of 2nd century”, etc.

⁹³ These lamps come from all parts of the Roman Empire. The *LIMC* gives only a small selection of lamps with representations of Sol. Sixteen lamps from the 3rd and 4th centuries presented by V. Tram Tan Tinh, “Le baisier d’Helios”, *Alessandria e il Mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di A. Adriani*, (Roma 1984), vol. 2, 318-328, e.g., on which Sol kisses Sarapis, are only referred to as parallels under n. 238, and have therefore not been included in these calculations. It seems likely that similar groups of lamps remain “hidden” behind each of the examples discussed. As I cannot ascertain how representative the group of lamps in the *LIMC* is, the figures presented here do not justify firm conclusions; and in any



Fig. 9. Relief, metope, *Helios*; ca. 300 B.C. Berlin, Staatliches Museum SK 71-72.

usually these lamps depict only busts of Sol, the chlamys, the rays, and at times either a whip, a globe, or both are also represented⁹⁴, so that the image as a whole always fits in completely with the standard iconography of Sol (Fig. 10).

Besides lamps, a fair number of other objects can also be dated firmly to the Republic or the Early Empire. On Republican coins, Sol was a rare, but not unknown figure⁹⁵. Sol had a Republican temple near the Circus Maximus, and although no Republican representations linked to Sol are known from this temple, we may have some from imperial times⁹⁶. Various wall-paintings representing Sol as a full-length figure or bust are known from Pompeii (Fig. 11, cf. Fig. 1)⁹⁷, while there were also a number of smaller representations of the sun as a charioteer⁹⁸. In Germany there is a 1st-century representation of Sol on the well-known *Jupiter-Pillar* of Mainz (dated A.D. 60), and other representations of Sol from the 1st century have also been found in Germany and France⁹⁹.

Thus, although the number of Roman representations of Sol that can be securely dated to either the 1st century A.D. or earlier is relatively small, it is clear that the iconography of Sol Invictus was already well established throughout the Roman Empire long before the reign of the Severi. Therefore the fact that many of the less accurately dated objects are conventionally placed in the 2nd-3rd centuries is, I suspect, in part the result of a circular argument. Provincial art is notoriously difficult to analyse, and if, as is often the case, the find-circumstances are unknown, the dates become

case 28 lamps form too small a "sample". We must also take into account that lamps may form a specific, atypical group in view of the potential connection between lamps and the light of the sun-god.

⁹⁴ LIMC Helios/Sol 9.

⁹⁵ H.A. Grüber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, (London 1910), Vol. 1, 146 nrs. 995-997 (124-103 B.C.); nrs 3245-3246 (76 B.C.); 474 nr. 3833 (61 B.C. or 52 B.C. cf. J.P.C. Kent, *Roman Coins*, London 1978 nr. 71); 525 nr. 4044 (46 B.C.); 536 nrs. 4110-4113 (45 B.C.); 578 nrs. 4248-4254 (39 B.C.); 585 nrs. 4284-4289 (38 B.C.). Vol. 2, 137 nrs. 125-135 (217-215 B.C.; dates according to Göbl (infra n. 104), 2, nr. 1419); 268 nr. 509 (dates vary from 115 to 94 B.C.; cf. Kent *op. cit.* nr. 40); 300 nrs. 645-646 (90 B.C.); 398 nrs. 60-62 (42 B.C.); 486 nrs. 87-92 (42-1 B.C.); 506 nrs. 141-143 (38-7 B.C.).

⁹⁶ Tacitus *Annales* XV 74. Guarducci (1957-9) suggests that the representation of Sol on the 3 medallions and the aureus, discussed above (p. 125), was inspired directly by a famous relief or painting in this temple.

⁹⁷ Naples, Museo Nazionale 9819 (from Casa dell'argentaria, Pompeii VI 7,20); virtually identical is the representation of Sol still *in situ* in the Casa di Apollo, Pompeii VI 7,23 (LIMC Helios/Sol 90-91). Busts of Sol in the Casa della caccia antica (Pompeii VII 4,48) on the Via dell'Abbondanza, Pompeii IX 7,1 (LIMC Helios/Sol 271), in the atrium of a small house, Pompeii IX 7,19 (the painting has now disappeared), and Naples, Museo Nazionale 9519, from Pompeii (LIMC Helios/Sol 270).

⁹⁸ E.g. in frescoes of the myth of Daedalus and Icarus: Casa del Sacerdos Amandus (I 7,7), Casa dei cubicoli floreali (I 9,5), Casa del fabbro (I 10,7), and Caserma dei gladiatori (V 5,3); cf. LIMC s.v. Daedalus & Icaros 38.

⁹⁹ LIMC Helios/Sol 363. For other early representations of Sol cf. a relief from Vienne, France (LIMC 27), various intaglios (LIMC 38, 144, 202), a bronze statuette from Boscoreale (LIMC 114), the altar of the Lares Augusti (LIMC 168), the niello inlay on the breast-plate of the so-called Caligula-statuettes in Naples (LIMC 218), a relief from Mainz (LIMC 256), a fresco from the villa della Farnesina in Rome (LIMC 302), and a relief in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (LIMC 353, cf. 354).



Fig. 10. Lamp, Sol; ca. A.D. 100. Brussels, Musée Royale R 602 bis. Photograph ACL 35647 E, Brussels.



Fig. 11. Fresco, Sol. Pompeii VI 7,20 (house of Apollo), atrium. Photograph ICCD N 38458, Rome.

very approximate. The presence of Sol Invictus, it seems, has often led scholars to assume automatically that the object must date from the late 2nd or 3rd century, because it is generally accepted that the cult of Sol was not introduced into most parts of the empire before then. As I have shown, the validity of this assumption is doubtful. If it were possible to date these objects more accurately using independent criteria, as in the case of the typology of terracotta lamps, I suspect that many would, in fact, prove to be earlier. Thus to adduce the conventional dates of much of the archaeological evidence, which appear to be based on the assumption that Sol belongs especially to the 3rd century, in support of the same assumption, is obviously unacceptable. It should be stressed that in any case the actual numbers have little meaning in these comparisons, unless they are placed in context of the total numbers of comparable monuments for each period. In the case of the lamps discussed above, for instance, it may well be that figural representations as a whole were much more popular on lamps in the 1st century than in the 3rd century. MacMullen (1981,

116) illustrates the danger of quantifying objects in isolation by tabulating all known Latin inscriptions pertaining to Isis. He shows that the number steadily increased in the course of the first two centuries A.D. to a peak in the early 3rd century, followed by a sharp decline. This seemingly significant variation in the number of Isiac inscriptions does not, in fact, tell us very much about the fortunes of that cult, for as MacMullen points out, a table of frequency of all Latin inscriptions shows a virtually identical fluctuation. In other words, the rise and fall of Isiac inscriptions coincides with that of Roman inscriptions as a whole.

To my knowledge no figures or tables have been compiled concerning the relative numbers or the geographical spread per period of iconographical monuments from the Roman Empire. This makes it impossible at this stage to offer any conclusions about the relative popularity of Sol in different periods and different regions. We can only conclude that Sol was present in all parts of the empire, and that his iconography had an uninterrupted history from the 4th century B.C. to the end of Antiquity.

Coins constitute the only non-literary sources frequently mentioned in studies on Sol Invictus. Unfortunately coins are rarely taken into account systematically. Usually a few coins on which Sol appears are cited haphazardly, without due consideration for their numismatic context and the limitations inherent to this source-group¹⁰¹.

Sol appeared sporadically on Republican coins from the second half of the third century B.C. onwards¹⁰². After Mark Antony, however, no Roman coins bearing Sol were minted until the reign of Vespasian¹⁰³. This gap was followed by another until the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, each of whom minted a few coins with the bust of Sol or Sol in a chariot. Under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius no Roman coins with Sol were minted, but a few medallions did appear (Guarducci 1957-9). In 186 and 191 Commodus issued a number of coins bearing Sol and from his reign to that of Constantine, virtually every emperor did so.

Septimius Severus probably issued coins representing Sol yearly from 196-211, and Caracalla issued a number of such coins in 215, 216 and 217. Heliogabalus also issued a fair number of coins bearing Sol in 219-221. After a short break, Severus Alexander resumed the minting of coins on which Sol was represented in 229, and continued this until his death in 235. Of the soldier emperors, Maximinus Thrax (235-238), Gordianus III (238-242), Philippus I and Otacilia Severa (244-249), Valerian I (253-260) and Macrianus all minted a fair number of coins bearing Sol. Gallienus (253-268) appears to have minted such coins yearly, and Saloninus and Salonina minted coins with Sol in the same period. Claudius Gothicus (268-270) issued a surprisingly large number of coins with Sol, and even Quintillus (270) issued a number of such coins during the few months of his reign. A number of usurpers in the West, including Postumus (259-268), Regalianus (260) and Victorinus (268-270), also issued various coins bearing representations of Sol. None were minted by usurpers in the East, except Vabalathus (271-274; I know of only 1 emission).

Obviously Sol was a firmly established deity on Roman coins when Aurelian became emperor (270-275). Aurelian, however, issued far more coins bearing Sol than his predecessors did and with greater iconographical variation. He was also the first (and only) emperor to call Sol *dominus et deus imperii Romani* on his coins. The special importance of Sol for Aurelian is thus confirmed by his coinage. In the following decennia, Jupiter held a similar importance for Diocletian, Hercules

for Maximianus Herculeus, and Sol, again, for Constantine. There is absolutely nothing in Aurelian's coinage to suggest that Sol was new or oriental, any more than Diocletian's Jupiter was, or Maximianus's Hercules.

From Aurelian to Constantine all emperors issued coins bearing Sol, but the frequency of these issues varied. Tacitus (275-276), Carus and Carinus (282-3), Diocletian (284-305), Maximianus Herculeus (286-305), Constantius Chlorus (293-306), and Severus II (305-307) all issued only a few coins with Sol. On the other hand Florianus (276), Probus (276-282), Numerianus (283-284), Galerius Maximianus (293-311), Maximinus Daia (305-313) and especially Constantine (306-337) issued far larger numbers of coins representing Sol (*Fig. 12*). This lasted until 317, when the number of issues per year started to drop. The last known Roman coin with Sol was minted in Antioch shortly after 323.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this review of the coins on which Sol is represented. In the first place it is obvious that the coins of Sol issued by Heliogabalus are part of a broader Roman tradition which shows no oriental influences. Despite this, Frey (*supra* n. 44, 78-9, 101-2) voices a common opinion when he suggests that Sol on the coins of Heliogabalus refers to the

¹⁰⁰ In the following survey, I will refer only to Roman Imperial coins, ignoring the local autonomous coinage of the Greek cities. I have avoided references as this would overburden the footnotes of this article. Most coins can be found in the *LMC Helios/Sol* 18-24, 60-62, 79-89, 104-112, 118-121, 132-138, 155-159, 192-197, 208-209, 237-238, 317-321, 336-337, 398, 410-422, 432-444 (often a large number of coins per entry). *Cf.* n. 101.

¹⁰¹ I have discussed the relevant coins extensively in my unpublished thesis: Hijmans 1989, vol. 1, 16-34 & vol. 2, 140-170. The most comprehensive published surveys are by Usener (*supra* n. 25), Bernhard (*supra* n. 3), D.W. MacDowall, "Sol Invictus and Mithra. Some evidence from the mint at Rome" in *Mysteria Mithrae*, EPRO 80, Leiden 1979, 557-571; and Kellner (*supra* n. 25). Coins are important sources for ancient history, but often they are wrongly interpreted. *Cf.* the warnings of D. Mannsperger, "Römische Reichsprägung", *ANRW* II, 1 (1974, 919-996), 920-928; R. Göbl, *Antike Numismatik*, (München 1978), 186, stresses that "(...) alle Münzausgaben in einer ganz bestimmten ökonomischen und politisch-propagandistischen Absicht und daher nach bestimmten Prägeplänen veranstaltet wurden (...)". *Cf.* also A.H.M. Jones, "Numismatics and history", in: R.A.G. Carrson & C.H.V. Sutherland, *Essays on Roman coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, London 1956, 13-33; Sutherland (*supra* n. 49), 96-121 (esp. 120-121), 132; A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Galba's Aequitas", *NC* 141 (1981), 20-39.

¹⁰² *Cf.* n. 95.

¹⁰³ J.P.C. Kent, B. Overbeck & A.U. Stylow, *Die römische Münze*, (München 1973), nr. 226. It seems more than likely that this coin should be linked to the transformation of the Colossus of Nero into a statue of Sol. *Cf.* the coins of Aeternitas bearing busts of Sol and Luna, p. 143 and n. 134 below.



Fig. 12. Multiple Solidus, Constantine (obv.) and Sol (rev.); Siscia, A.D. 317. Photograph DAIR 35.530.

Emesan god Elagabal. I believe this to be incorrect. The Roman Sol on the coins of Heliogabalus is almost invariably identical in every iconographical respect with the established types of Sol, which had been current in Rome for quite some time. There is nothing in the legends or iconography of these coins to suggest that Heliogabalus considered this Roman Sol to be identical with his own Elagabal, as Frey believes. In fact, during Heliogabalus's reign Elagabal regularly appeared on Roman Imperial coins in his normal guise as an aniconic rock on a wagon, surmounted by an eagle¹⁰⁴. On these coins the rock is either identified as *Sanctus Deus Sol Elagabal*, or else he is called *Conservator Augusti*. The coins of Sol, on the other hand, rarely have a descriptive legend, although once he is called *Conservator Augusti*, and once *Propugnator Sol*¹⁰⁵. This is the only example of *propugnator* as an epithet for Sol, and on the coin Sol has a unique iconography: he carries the thunderbolt of Jupiter rather than his own whip or globe. Elagabal, of course, was a Ba'al, and Ba'alim were normally identified as Zeus/Jupiter. As we have seen above, there was some confusion concerning the identity of Elagabal himself in this respect (cf. n. 38). Was this adjustment in the normal iconography of Sol made in order to bring Sol closer to the Ba'al of Emesa by giving him an attribute of Jupiter? If this was the case, then the fact that such a modification was considered is further evidence that the normal Sol of Rome was no closer to Elagabal of Emesa than to

any other local solar deity of the Roman empire¹⁰⁶. Indeed, with the death of Heliogabalus in 222 the aniconic rock of Elagabal disappeared from Roman coins and never reappeared¹⁰⁷, while Sol remained, and appears only to have grown in popularity. It is especially interesting that Gallienus issued so many coins with a representation of Sol. Previous scholarship on Sol Invictus has virtually ignored this fact, yet in many respects Gallienus's numismatic policy towards this god foreshadows that of Aurelian¹⁰⁸. De Blois (*supra* n. 108, 165-169) tries

¹⁰⁴ LIMC s.v. Elagabalos 4, 6, 8-11, 15 (including local coinage – more than one coin per entry). Cf. M. Thirion, *Les monnaies d'Elagabale*, Bruxelles & Amsterdam 1968, nrs. 243-245 (minted in Rome), 358a-365 (minted in the orient).

¹⁰⁵ On the legends, cf. RIC 4.2, pp. 24-5. For Sol without identifying legend: Thirion (*supra* n. 104) 97-98, 140, 161-169, 205-216, all minted in Rome; the only coin with Sol minted in the East, according to Thirion, is the one with the legend *Soli Propugnatori* (nr. 366).

¹⁰⁶ It is probably not by chance that this coin of Sol with a thunderbolt is the *only* coin of Sol from Heliogabalus's reign on which a legend identifying him as Sol was deemed necessary. According to Thirion (*supra* n. 104, 75 nr. 366) this is the first time Sol is mentioned by name on a Roman coin; however, cf. the Sol Oriens-issue by Hadrian, *supra* n. 82.

¹⁰⁷ Coins of Emesa minted by Uranius Antoninus form the only exception, cf. n. 31.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Rosenbach (*supra* n. 61), 41-52, with references. Rosenbach suggests that Gallienus saw the pantheon much in line with the theories of Porphyry and Plotinus, but as L. De Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus*, (Leiden 1976), 167-169 shows, this is all highly speculative, based on a series of often implausible assumptions.

to place Gallienus's coins in a broader context, and refers to a number of other emperors who also minted such coins in the period between Heliogabalus and Aurelian. Accepting the general position that Sol was a Syrian deity, he suggests that these coins were part of the aggressive policy of these emperors towards the Persians and Parthians in the East. In fact, however, the number of coins bearing representations of Sol that were issued between 229 and 268 suggests that virtually each year saw at least one emission, and that all emperors minted their share. A number of these emperors never campaigned in the East, and the fact, furthermore, that certain Western usurpers such as Regalianus or Postumus also minted coins representing Sol makes it hard to maintain that such coins formed part of the imperial war-propaganda against the East¹⁰⁹.

On the other hand, the large number of coins bearing Sol which were issued by Gallienus may imply that he had a special veneration for the sun. Perhaps they should be placed in the context of certain remarks in the SHA Gall. 16 2-5, stating that Gallienus also ordered a colossal statue representing himself as Sol, that he sprinkled his hair with gold-dust, and that he regularly went about wearing a radiate crown. Whether Gallienus had a special veneration for Sol or not, it is certainly obvious from the number of coins representing Sol issued both by himself and his successors Claudius Gothicus and Quintillus that Aurelian hardly needed to travel to Syria to find inspiration for "his" sun god Sol Invictus.

Yet this review of Roman coins bearing Sol, interesting though it is, cannot help us to determine the relative popularity of Sol with more precision. Roman coins constitute a very specific type of source. They are certainly not a direct reflection of Roman society and its religious views. Rather, coin-representations were the result of a complex interaction between Roman numismatic tradition, standard imperial propaganda-themes and to some extent the specific religious or ideological messages communicated by the reigning monarch (cf. n. 101). Only Roman numismatic tradition, for instance, can explain the fact that Sol Invictus appears on more Roman imperial coins than Mithras, Isis, Sarapis, Cybele and Attis, Jupiter Dolichenus and a few other oriental deities taken together¹¹⁰. The latter are hardly represented on imperial coins, apparently because it was against Roman tradition (or imperial policy?) to grant clearly un-Roman deities a prominent place on imperial coins. Sol Invictus, on the other hand, is present on at least 1500 emissions from the second

to early fourth centuries¹¹¹. Obviously, we should be wary of any conclusions concerning the relative popularity of Sol based on these data.

Similar care should be taken in any attempt to relate the chronology of representations of Sol on coins to the chronology of his cult. The striking hiatus between the Republic and the 2nd century A.D. as far as representations of Sol on coins are concerned does not reflect an absence of Sol in Roman religious life in that period. We need but consider the two obelisks in Rome dedicated to Sol by Augustus¹¹², Nero's well-documented interest in the god¹¹³, the evidence adduced by Halsberghe (1972, 34-37) and the archaeological material from the 1st century A.D. already discussed, to realize this. The gap must therefore be explained within the framework of the imperial minting policy: such an explanation, which must be based on an analysis of the policies involved in the choice of religious coin-representations for the whole 1st and 2nd century A.D., is well beyond the scope of this article.

With this survey of the iconographical evidence pertaining to Sol, certain conclusions are already clear: we have established beyond doubt that the iconography of Sol Invictus had an uninterrupted history and development in the Graeco-Roman world from the late 5th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. and beyond. This tradition offers no support for the contention that Sol Invictus was introduced by the Severi from the orient as a new deity, breaking with the Graeco-Roman sun-god (Helios or Sol Indiges). If Sol Invictus was Syrian, and if the difference between him and the Roman Sol Indiges was in any way important, one would have expected an iconographical differentiation between the two to avoid confusion¹¹⁴. No oriental god in the Roman Empire had a Latin name, clear Greek

¹⁰⁹ The theory put forth by De Blois was not new. Cf. R. Turcan, *Le Trésor de Guelma. Étude historique et monétaire*, (Paris 1963), 15-18, for references and a more detailed refutation.

¹¹⁰ I am referring to Roman coins from the official imperial mints only; the autonomous coinage of the Greek cities forms a separate topic with its own difficulties. Cf. K. Kraft, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien*, (Berlin 1972).

¹¹¹ Hijmans 1989, II, 140-170.

¹¹² *CIL* VI, 701-702.

¹¹³ Cf. M. De Vos, "Nerone, Seneca, Fabullo e la *Domus transitoria* al Palatino", *Gli orti Farnesiani sul Palatino* (Roma Antica 2), (Roma 1990, 167-186), 176-178, with references; Staerman (*supra* n. 79); O. Neverov, "Nero-Helios" in *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, M. Henig & A. King eds., (Oxford 1986), 189-194.

¹¹⁴ The attempts by various scholars to treat the introduction of the epithet invictus and the iconographical element of the raised right hand as such an innovation do not carry conviction, as we have seen.

and Roman antecedents, a fully Graeco-Roman iconography and a substantial presence on Roman imperial coins. The names, the iconography, and the coinage of Isis, Sarapis, Mithras, Attis, Cybele, Jupiter Dolichenus etc. reveal a marked contrast. Seyrig (1971, 1973), moreover, points out that in the 2nd century the sun-god was only a minor deity in Syria. The Ba'alim, supposed inspirators of the Roman Solar cult, were at that time still invariably equated with Zeus or Jupiter, and had a cosmic, but not a specifically solar aspect. The idea that they were truly solar deities is a 19th-century misconception, based on an uncritical reading of the written sources. In fact, as Seyrig shows, the concept of the Ba'alim as solar deities probably originated in the West in the 3rd century, under the inspiration of the solar cult, which was enjoying a growth in popularity at Rome¹¹⁵. We may conclude, therefore, that Sol Invictus was not a Syrian deity, imported into Rome by the Severi, but a Roman god, present in the city from its earliest history. The far more difficult task now facing us is to gain a measure of understanding of the role and position Sol had in the Roman pantheon. Here too the iconographical and archaeological evidence can provide important information, but the task is a complex one, and at this point I can give little more than a preliminary analysis of the material available.

INTERPRETING REPRESENTATIONS OF SOL

Sol, like any imperial Roman god, was a figure whose role and character cannot be caught in one definition, but depends largely on the context within which he figured. This is immediately apparent when we study the *LIMC* s.v. Helios/Sol, and especially its subdivisions, the number of which is perhaps less surprising than their complexity. Letta gradually progresses from purely descriptive categories to more interpretative ones: there is a substantial difference between "Sol alone; head full-face", for instance, and "Sol and Luna as cosmic frame" or "the emperor as Sol". What emerges is that the iconographically homogeneous group of Sol-representations actually encompasses a wide range of "types" with highly divergent roles and meanings. Often such a diversity of "meanings" is to be found within one "type". For example as "Sol alone: standing" the *LIMC* (Helios/Sol 114-119) includes virtually all bronze statuettes of Sol. In some cases it seems likely that these statuettes came from lararia¹¹⁶, but in other cases they may equally well have been part of a larger bronze object, such as a lamp¹¹⁷. Here the

LIMC is of little or no help. It gives no information about the direct context of the objects it lists, let alone the broader conceptual context. Its subdivisions are based primarily on iconographic criteria and material considerations and are therefore of little use in the analysis of the role and meaning of Sol in the various currents of Roman religion.

Sol differs markedly from almost all other traditional Roman gods in one important sense: the sun, as a natural phenomenon, is both visible and reliable. Although Sol is a god, this visibility sets him apart from most other gods, whose presence is not immediately apparent and whose advent is unpredictable. This difference from the traditional Roman gods is apparent in the treatment of Sol in the Roman Empire. Sol appears to have had a function, not just as a god, but also as a reliable cosmic phenomenon. I would suggest, as a working hypothesis, a division of the representations of Sol into two basic groups, reflecting this dichotomy:

1. Sol as a god in the traditional sense, which would include statuettes from lararia, representations of Sol in mythological scenes in which he has an active role (rare), and cult statues of Sol (lost, but copied on reliefs and perhaps on coins, and referred to in literary sources). The fact that temples of Sol existed and feast-days were dedicated to him is further evidence that he had a role as a god in the classical sense.
- 2a. Sol as a cosmic or temporal emblem or element (planet), which would conventionally include most representations of Sol and Luna "framing" a scene in which they have no specific role, Sol (with or without Luna) in cosmological contexts such as the mosaic of Merida, Sol as the god of a day in the week, etc.
- 2b. Sol as an image of heaven, a group which is related to the preceding, but can be differentiated from it because here Sol is shorthand for part of the world (sky – as opposed to Tellus or Oceanus) rather than of the cosmos.

¹¹⁵ Cf. M. Gawlikowski, "Helios (in peripheria Orientalis)" in *LIMC* V.1, p. 1034, who states clearly that the importance of solar gods and the expansion of solar syncretism in Roman Syria has been much exaggerated.

¹¹⁶ In Boscoreale, e.g. a statuette of Sol was found together with two statuettes of Isis, one of Jupiter, one of Neptune, one of the Genius Familiaris, and one of a faun (?) on a podium in room 12 of a villa rustica directly south of the train station (*NSc* 1921, 436-442, esp. 440-441 & fig. 11). A bronze statuette from Ortona (J. Mertens, *Ortona V*, Brussels 1976, 31, pl X; cf. *NSc* 1975, 528 fig. 36) was also found in a villa rustica, and may well have belonged to a similar context.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the statuette of Sol on a bronze lamp in the Archaeological Museum of Florence (inv. nr. 1676), *LIMC* Helios/Sol 316.

The role and meaning of Sol as an independent god is difficult to analyse. It is obvious that Sol was revered as a god. The relief in Naples, dedicated by L. Arruntius Philippus and Q. Codrus Iason *pro salute (?) et memoria Imperatoris Caesaris Marci Aurelii Antonini Augusti*, shows the dedicants in the act of offering meat on a tripod on which a fire is burning, in front of a statue of Sol (*Fig. 6*)¹¹⁸. It is not clear whether the emperor is Marcus Aurelius¹¹⁹ or Caracalla¹²⁰. The raised right hand of the statue of Sol, however, makes it more likely that it dates to the time of Caracalla, as this gesture does not appear to have been a common element of the iconography of Sol before the reign of the Severi¹²¹.

Here we are obviously dealing with a god in close connection with the imperial ruler-cult, clear evidence that Sol was more than a symbol or emblem only. There is more evidence of this type. The votive aedicula in the Palazzo Conservatori in Rome, also mentioned above (p. 130), carries a representation of Sol and is dedicated to Jupiter, Mars, Nemesis, Sol, Victoria and *omnes dii patrenses*. Various statuettes of Sol apparently formed part of the *lararia* of certain households. Sol had an important role as an independent god in the cult of Mithras, and he was one of the *dii milites* under Constantine (*Figs. 13-14*). On a sarcophagus in Grottaferata he and Vulcan together reveal Venus's infidelity to Jupiter, showing that Sol could also partake actively as a god in his own right in mythological scenes¹²². Both in inscriptions as well as in literature there is evidence that Sol regularly played a role as a god in his own right.

Various representations show Sol apparently on an equal footing with another god (e.g. Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Sarapis) (*Figs. 15-16*)¹²³. This is especially true for the Jupiter-pillars in Germany, on which Sol appears alongside Ceres, Fortuna, Hercules, Juno, Jupiter, Luna, Minerva, Neptune, Venus, Victoria, Vulcan, and the weekday-gods¹²⁴. A group of terracotta lamps from Egypt is also interesting in this respect. The lamps show the bust of Sarapis being kissed by Sol. This is linked to specific "miracles" which took place in the temple of Sarapis in Alexandria, and which are also recorded on coins and in literature. Rufinus tells us that on a certain day the rays of the sun, shining through a tiny hole in the wall, fell on the lips of the statue of Sarapis. Anticipating this moment an iron statue of Sol was drawn magnetically to the statue of Sarapis, thereby appearing to move of its own accord. Apparently Sol was

represented as a visiting god, in what Thelamon (*infra*, n. 128, 250) describes the ritual union of Sarapis and Sol (*Fig. 17*)¹²⁵.

It is quite likely that many representations of Sol alone refer to him as an independent god. These lack a direct, iconographical context clarifying the position of Sol, which means that only the broader archaeological context within which the representation was found can help to determine his role. The *LIMC* mentions a great many representations of Sol alone, but often the context is either unknown, or else difficult to ascertain. The fresco of Sol found in the Casa dell' argenteria in Pompeii (VI 7,20), for instance, comes from the atrium of that house (*Fig. 1*). The scant publications concerning the excavation suggest that other paintings in the atrium included representations of the four seasons, implying that Sol is not so much a god here, as a cosmic symbol¹²⁶. Further information is necessary, however, and would include closer study of the related painting of Sol in the casa di Apollo (VI 7,23), also poorly published (*Fig. 11*). Only consultation of the excavation diaries, photographic archives, etc., can provide the necessary additional data.

For many other representations of Sol alone, for instance on gems, lamps, small statuettes of Sol, etc., even the most basic information concerning the circumstances of their discovery is lacking. In all these cases, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine the character of Sol with any degree of certainty.

¹¹⁸ I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion in Roman art*, (Rome 1955), 173, suggests that the fact that the dedicants are not *capite velato* shows that Sol Invictus is worshipped in a non-Roman manner. This may be true, but it does not necessarily reflect on the Roman or non-Roman character of Sol. Ryberg also illustrates two sarcophagi, for instance, on which a bull is sacrificed for Jupiter and a man pours a libation for the god without being *capite velato*.

¹¹⁹ H. Von Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler zu den römischen Göttergestalten", *ANRW* II 17.2 (1981, 1032-1199), 1054-5 nr. 5b.

¹²⁰ *LIMC* Helios/Sol 189.

¹²¹ Although I do not doubt that this is a statue of Sol, this cannot be certain, for the head is missing and it may, of course, have been a portrait.

¹²² *LIMC* Helios/Sol 186.

¹²³ E.g. *LIMC* Helios/Sol 233-238.

¹²⁴ *LIMC* Helios/Sol 256-260, 262-263, 278-282 (sometimes more than one monument per entry). For other monuments in NW Europe cf. *LIMC* Helios/Sol 261 (from Plimpton: Sol, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter – i.e. five of the seven weekdays?), 265 (From Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Sol, Apollo, Mithras, and a local – solar? – deity), 268, 269, etc.

¹²⁵ Cf. Rufinus *H.E.* II, 23 (*G.C.S.*, IX2 pp. 1027-1028), F. Thelamon, "Serapis et le baisier du soleil", in: *Aquileia et l'Africa* (Antichità alto-adriatiche 5, 1974), 227-250 (with further sources and parallels); Tran Tam Tinh (*supra* n. 96).

¹²⁶ *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1938, 175-178. Cf. K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis*, Berlin 1957, 101-2.



Fig. 13. Relief, Soldiers carrying the Dii Militares Victoria and Sol; ca. A.D. 315. Rome, Arch of Constantine. Photograph DAIR 1935.622.



Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 13. Photograph DAIR 1935.624.



Fig. 15. Intaglio, Sol and Jupiter. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum 3677. Photograph Lehnart Larssen.



Fig. 17. Lamp, Sol kisses Sarapis; 3rd c. A.D. Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romaine 29062. Photograph courtesy Musée Gréco-Romaine.



Fig. 16. Relief, Minerva, Sol, Fortuna (on the sides not shown: Juno, Victoria, Mars, Ceres, Vulcan, Venus). Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum. Photograph Rheinisches Bildarchiv 22381.



Fig. 18. Votive triangle, in the apex Sol on moon crescent; in the lower register Sol (r.) and Luna (l.). Wiesbaden, Museum 6775 (on permanent loan to Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte). Photograph courtesy Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Frankfurt.

Sol and Luna often appear as a pair of symbolic or emblematic figures without any obvious role. This is quite clear on various ringstones on which Sol and Luna are represented as minute busts, somehow connected with (but not active in) the main scene¹²⁷. On many reliefs, mosaics, paintings, etc. we find similar “flanking” representations of Sol and Luna (Fig. 18)¹²⁸. Scholars have offered various interpretations for this pair. On sarcophagi, for instance, it has been suggested that Sol and Luna indicate the time (day or night) when the main scene took place. Sol is usually in the upper left-hand corner, rising up in his chariot out of the Ocean, while Luna in her biga descends towards the Ocean on the right. This would represent the beginning of the day, with the sun rising, while the presence of Luna on the left and Sol on the right would mean that it is the beginning of the night¹²⁹. It should be noted, however, that Sol and Luna appear only rarely on mythological sarcophagus-reliefs. The vast majority of representations of Sol and Luna as a symbolical pair can be found in non-mythological contexts. Therefore, the interpretation of Sol and Luna on sarcophagi as indicators for “day” or “night” is doubtful, even though it is simple and straightforward. It would be preferable to find a more generally applicable interpretation of the meaning of this pair.

Perhaps a sarcophagus from Pozzuoli, now in the archaeological museum of Naples, offers a clue which can indicate the right direction¹³⁰. In the upper left-hand corner, Luna in her biga is riding to the right, while in the upper right-hand corner Sol is galloping to the left. This is the only scene of this type that I know of in which Sol and Luna are represented as riding in opposite directions. It is

¹²⁷ Cf. e.g. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*, (München 1979), vol. 2, 152 nr. 1198; *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen 3*, Kassel, (München 1968-1975), nr. 82.

¹²⁸ *LIMC Helios/Sol* 323-407. The selection is quite incomplete; cf. e.g. the many reliefs of Saturn from North Africa with Sol and Luna, not mentioned in the *LIMC*: M. Le Glay, *Saturne Africain*, Paris 1966, 223-228. For illustrations: M. Le Glay, *Saturne Africain, Monuments*, 2 vols. Paris 1961-1966, pls. IV.3, VII.5, XII.6, XIII.1.3, XXI.2.3, XXIII.2, XXIV.1.2, XXV.5-7, XXVII.4(?), XXVIII.2.3.7, XXXIII.2 (weekdays), XXXIV.4, XXXVIII.3.5. Many more reliefs are not illustrated by Le Glay. I wish to thank Dr. E.M. Moormann for calling my attention to this publication.

¹²⁹ Cf. e.g. the Prometheus-sarcophagus in Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. 329: the chariot of Sol rises up from the lap of Oceanus, H. Sichtermann & G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen*, (Tübingen 1975), 63-64, nr 68, pls. 165-7; cf. 28-9, nr. 18; 65 nr. 70; *LIMC Helios/Sol* 342.

¹³⁰ *LIMC Helios/Sol* 347. Sichtermann & Koch (*supra* n. 132), 62-63, kat. 67, pl. 162-4.

interesting that the myth represented in the main scene, that of Prometheus, is a myth of creation, and it is tempting to think that Sol and Luna symbolize the chaos before creation by driving in such an uncoordinated manner.

If the inversion of Sol and Luna suggests chaos, it may not be farfetched to suggest that in the normal composition, Sol and Luna stand for cosmic order. This is certainly the line followed by Deonna (1947), and often repeated. According to Quet (1981, 132), Sol and Luna stress the cosmological character of a given representation, or symbolize its eternity and all-encompassing nature. In her discussion of Sol and Luna in the cosmological mosaic in Merida, Quet (1981, 135) concludes that they are the guarantors of cosmic harmony and the universality of cosmic order. Sol and Luna are regularly explained in these terms. On a relief from the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine in Rome, the lower register shows Isis and Sarapis flanked by Juno and Jupiter Dolichenus, while in the upper register Castor and Pollux face each other in the middle, flanked by a bust of Sol on the left and of Luna on the right¹³¹. According to von Hesberg (*supra* n. 122, 1085), Sol and Luna place the representation “in eine kosmische Sphäre”¹³². Quite a number of gods are accompanied by Sol and Luna in this manner, sometimes in contexts where Sol or Luna also play different roles. On Mithraic reliefs, for instance, Sol regularly appears in two different guises, often on the same monument: together with Luna he forms a “cosmic frame”, but he also has an active role in many of the scenes from Mithraic mythology (cf. *LIMC* Helios/Sol 242-255, many examples per entry). There are even cases where Sol is an active god, a cosmic symbol, and a weekday at the same time. On a relief from Bologna representing Mithras slaying the bull, Sol, in the left corner, sends his raven-messenger to Mithras as he generally does on such reliefs. Luna, on the right, forms a “cosmic” pair with Sol, and between them, from left to right, are the busts of Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury, i.e. the weekdays. They have been placed in inverted order so that Sol and Luna would keep their respective flanking positions¹³³. To refer to Sol and Luna simply as “cosmic” deities in such representations is not very informative, however. We can grasp their meaning more fully if we turn to coins on which Aeternitas, personified, is represented. Her most common attribute is a phoenix, but almost as often she carries a bust of Sol in one hand, and a bust of Luna in the other. These busts, in fact, are her attributes on the earliest Aeternitas-coins, which were minted by Vespasian¹³⁴. That the concept of *aeternitas* is

linked to the cosmos is clear, but Sol and Luna – light and darkness – do more than simply stress that link: like the Phoenix they refer to the ebb and flow, the constant death and renewal which characterizes cosmic eternity; periods of darkness are always followed by periods of light¹³⁵.

As a conventional pair of the type described here, Sol and Luna do not disappear with the advent of Christianity. This is surprising, because all the other evidence shows that Sol was treated in the same way as all pagan gods: he disappeared from the coinage of Constantine, and references to him were purged; he played an important role in the pantheon of the conservative senatorial opposition to the Christian emperors and in Julian’s religious alternative to Christianity. In other words, he was as incompatible with Christianity as any Roman god. And yet, as a “cosmic frame” together with Luna he continued to exist, without interruption, side by side in both senatorial and early Christian art, well into the Middle Ages. Here apparently, the differing fortunes of Sol closely follow the lines of the dichotomy described above. Sol as a god disappears, but Sol and Luna as an emblematic or symbolic pair are retained¹³⁶.

It is obvious from the examples cited above that Sol and Luna were a popular pair, and this short discussion has brought us only to the beginning of an understanding of their role as a symbolic emblem. Clearly there is scope for further study, based on a wider collection of material than that offered in the *LIMC* (cf. n. 131). This is necessary not only to clarify further what the cyclical or

¹³¹ *LIMC* Helios/Sol 364.

¹³² Sol and Luna often figure on objects linked with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, such as the triangular bronze votive plaques, cf. e.g. *LIMC* Helios/Sol 331-334.

¹³³ Merkelbach (*supra* n. 79), 320 fig. 71. The busts of a number of the weekday gods have been restored.

¹³⁴ *LIMC* Aeternitas 2-10, 16-24, 26.

¹³⁵ Cf. R. Van Den Broek, *The myth of the phoenix according to classical and early Christian traditions*, *EPRO* 24, (Leiden 1972), 233-304 for the relationship between Sol and the Phoenix.

¹³⁶ Deonna (1947, 1948) gives the most extensive discussion of the theme of Sol and Luna, following it from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond. Although his article is a useful source of information, his interpretation of symbols as “Sol and Luna” is often dubious: on a Republican denarius, e.g., he interprets an X as a “solar cross” while in fact it is simply a value-mark (1947, 35); many of his examples of Sol and Luna in funerary art are equally unconvincing (1947, 42-47). For some interesting examples of Sol and Luna in early Christian art, cf. also F. Gerke, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, (Baden Baden 1980 [1967]), 58-59. Surprisingly, Gerke implies that the Sol-Luna duality was initiated by Constantine on his arch in Rome: “Sie begründete (...) die im ganzen Mittelalter verbindlich gebliebene christliche Sol-Luna-Ikonographie”. This, of course, cannot be maintained in view of the popularity of that pair in Antiquity.



Fig. 19. *Antoninianus (rev.), Sol with prisoners; Aurelianus, A.D. 270-275. Photograph DAIR 35.541.*

“cosmic” connotations are of Sol and Luna, but also to establish the chronology of this symbolism, the specific religious or social contexts in which the symbolism may have been especially important, possibly significant regional variations, as well as any other patterns which may emerge once the material is studied systematically. I need hardly apologize for not going into these questions here – such a study merits at least an extensive article, if not a book, of its own.

SOL AND THE EMPERORS

In some cases, finally, Sol appears to hover between the two basic groups described: as *comes* of the Roman emperor, for instance, he is probably to some extent cosmic, emphasizing that the emperor guarantees order and continuity on earth as Sol does in the cosmos, or some such idea. Sol can apparently also actively help the emperor, however, if we accept the literary witnesses to Aurelian’s belief that Sol helped him against Zenobia at Emesa. Certainly on many of Aurelian’s coins, Sol is flanked by one or two seated captives, whom he is sometimes represented as trampling

underfoot (Fig. 19). Here, it seems, Sol is rather an image of (imperial?) power than of cosmic order; perhaps the coins even refer to his direct aid to the emperor.

Another interesting example is the arch of Constantine. Here we find Sol in a tondo on one side, counterbalanced by Luna on the other side, in a typical example of Sol-Luna-iconography (Figs. 20-21)¹³⁷; in a military procession, a statue of Sol is carried as one of the military deities together with Victoria (Figs. 13-14)¹³⁸; and in the Eastern arch Sol is represented on one side, opposite the emperor, whose iconography echoes that of Sol (Figs. 22-23)¹³⁹. On Constantine’s arch, therefore, we find Sol as a symbol with Luna, Sol as a god in his own right, and Sol in close relationship with the emperor.

The emperor and Sol are often closely connected¹⁴⁰. Letta dedicates two chapters to this topic in the *LIMC Helios/Sol* (H & I), suggesting that on the one hand there are monuments on which Sol

¹³⁷ *LIMC Helios/Sol* 362.

¹³⁸ *LIMC Helios/Sol* 201.

¹³⁹ *LIMC Helios/Sol* 408.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. n. 52.



Fig. 20. Relief, Sol; ca. A.D. 315. Rome, Arch of Constantine. Photograph DAIR 32.71.



Fig. 21. Relief, Luna; ca. A.D. 315. Rome, Arch of Constantine. Photograph DAIR 32.20.

and the emperor were represented as separate figures, with Sol symbolizing the emperor's supreme powers, while on others the emperor was represented as Sol. The so-called Licinius-cameo (*LIMC* Helios/Sol 409) is an example of the first type of symbolism. The emperor, standing on a frontal quadriga (echoing the solar chariot), receives a globe (cosmic symbol of power) from Sol and Luna, while two Victories emphasize his invincibility (*imperator invictus*). In the actual iconography of the emperor, however, there is no element reminiscent of Sol. In that sense, the bust of Constantine in his arch in Rome is more closely related to that of Sol, as both have raised their right

hand, both are *invictus* (Constantine is crowned by a Victoria) and both probably held a globe in their left hand (*Figs. 22-23*). Other examples of this group in the *LIMC* consist of medallions and coins with staggered busts of the emperor and Sol (*Fig. 24*), representations of Sol handing over a globe to the emperor, etc. In all cases the emperor and Sol are separate figures, but Sol is somehow closely involved with the emperor¹⁴¹. This role of Sol is logical, if only because certain emperors obviously considered themselves to be under the specific protection of Sol.

¹⁴¹ *LIMC* Helios/Sol 410-422.



Fig. 22. Relief, Sol; ca. A.D. 315. Rome, Arch of Constantine. Photograph DAIR 32.605.

The second group in the *LIMC* (Helios/Sol 426-450) is quite a different matter. According to Letta this group consists of images of the emperor as Sol, although what this exactly means remains vague. To the best of my knowledge, no emperor was ever represented as *identical* with Sol, for in all cases he carries attributes which show clearly that he is not Sol¹⁴². Letta (1989, 624), however, attaches great importance to the role of the radiate crown in this respect¹⁴³. In his view it should be interpreted primarily as a solar symbol, and therefore when the emperors are represented with a radiate crown, and also copy certain other elements of Sol's iconography (globe, raised right hand) this results in their identification with Sol "in maniera più o meno palese". In fact, the significance of the radiate crown, especially on coins, has been much discussed, and the whole topic is still controversial¹⁴⁴. Imperial radiate crowns are clearly represented on coins as actual physical objects, probably worn by

emperors on certain occasions as part of their ceremonial dress. All emperors from Nero to Constantine were represented radiate on coins, but this was generally restricted to certain denominations only (e.g. dupondii, antoniniani, i.e. double denarii and double sestertii), suggesting that radiate busts identified "double" denomination coins. This conventional use of the radiate crown, as

¹⁴² An exception may be the marble statue in the Museum of Art in Raleigh, North Carolina. Vermeule (*supra* n. 86) believes it to represent the young Caracalla as Sol. I disagree, and have argued elsewhere that the statue represents a Dioscur rather than Sol ("Castor, Caracalla, and the so-called Statue of Sol in the North Carolina Museum of Art", *BABesch* 69 (1994), 165-174).

¹⁴³ Cf., e.g., *LIMC* Helios/Sol 432.

¹⁴⁴ Turcan (1978, 1042): "Parmi les attributs dont la signification fait l'objet d'exégèses problématiques comptent au premier chef la couronne solaire des empereurs et la croissant lunaire des impératrices"; Bastien (*supra* n. 55) gives a summary of the discussions. Cf. Hijmans, *supra* n. 88, 169-170.

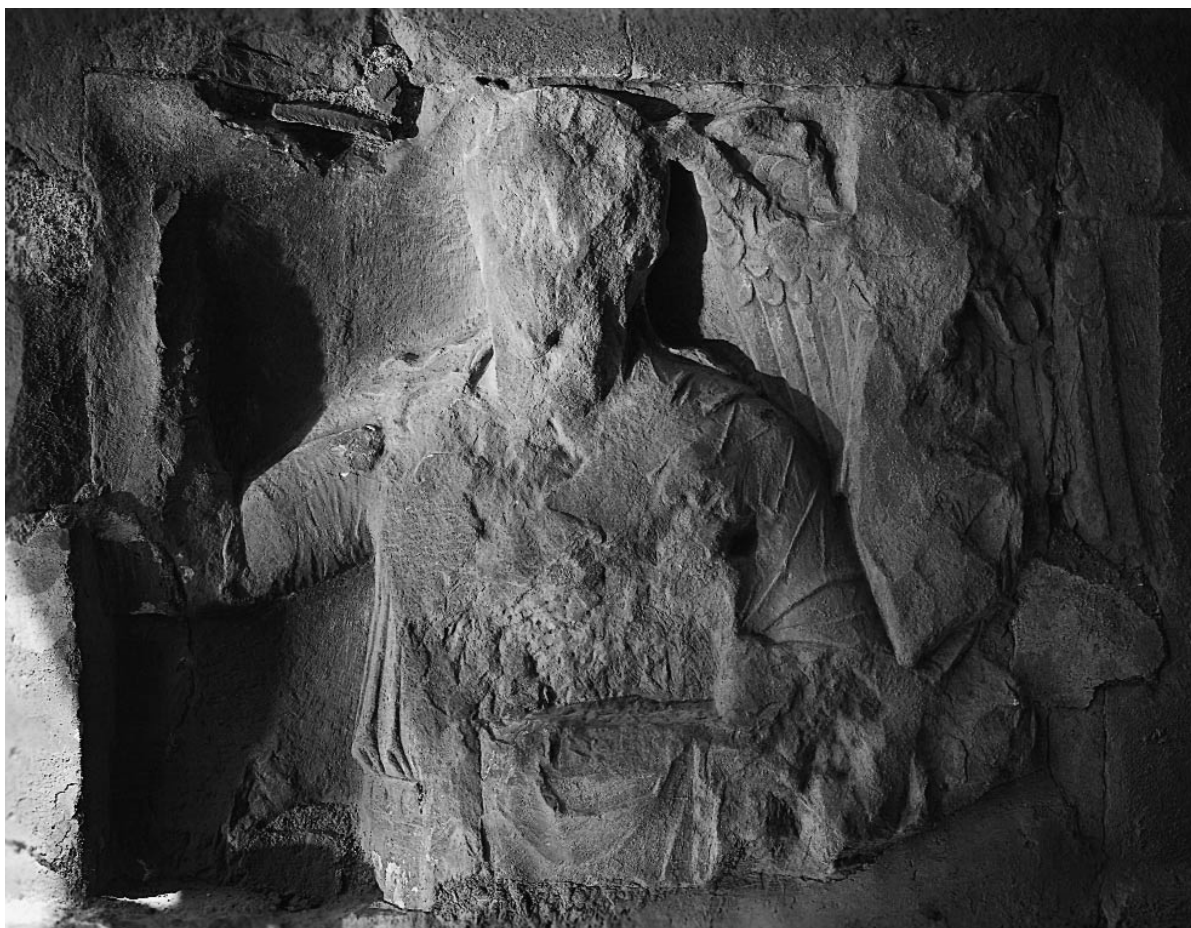


Fig. 23. Relief, emperor (presumably Constantine); ca. A.D. 315. Rome, Arch of Constantine. Photograph DAIR 35.612.

prominent under emperors who ignored Sol as it was under those who revered him, casts doubt on the crown's "solar" connotations. On the other hand, there are clear examples of emperors manipulating this conventional symbol to recall Sol; on certain coins, for instance, the radiate bust of the emperor facing the bust of the empress on a crescent moon, must surely recall Sol and Luna. An echo, however, is not an identification; whether such emperors considered themselves to be an *imperatore-Sol* in the sense that Letta would have it has yet to be proven¹⁴⁵.

CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL REMARKS

This article has two purposes: the first is to show that the current theories concerning the origin and character of Sol Invictus are wrong, with the subsidiary aim of explaining the development of these

¹⁴⁵ Allusions on inscriptions to emperors as a "new sun" and the like (cf. Lane Fox, *supra* n. 82, 12 & n. 4) are a separate matter. The sun is a physical reality which, as the source of light, has great symbolical power. Most ancient literary allusions to sun(light) draw primarily on that symbolism, rather than referring to the sun as a god. Only thus can we explain how Christ, just as those emperors, could be referred to as the new sun in early Christian literature. On the imperial radiate crown, cf. Alföldi (1935, 139-144), who gives the most extensive discussion of its origin and symbolic meaning. He links it to representations of Hellenistic rulers (cf. R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic royal portraits*, Oxford 1988, 42; H. Kyrieleis, "Θεοὶ ὀπάτοί. Zur Sternensymbolik hellenistischer Herrscherbildnisse" in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie*, Festschrift F. Hiller, 1986, 55-72), who wear a diadem which actually existed, from which symbolic rays of divine light emanate. On Roman coins, Alföldi feels, the whole crown should be interpreted as symbolic, because the diadem, being a symbol of kingship, was tabu in Rome and could not have been actually worn by the emperors. This is an *ad sententiam* argument, which ignores both literary and iconographic evidence to the contrary. A more balanced discussion of the radiate crown can be found in a study by Bastien (1982). Unfortunately, Bastien limits himself to the meaning of the radiate crown on



Fig. 24. Aureus (obv.), Constantine and Sol. Photograph DAIR 35.552.

theories and the strength of their influence. The second purpose is to introduce an alternative approach to the problem of Roman solar cults.

It was a lengthy but unavoidable task to reveal the weakness of the influential though outdated studies of earlier generations. Turcan (1985) quotes Réville extensively – not uncritically, but the unwary reader will hardly realize the underlying ideology in Réville's work. Wissowa is regularly quoted, as are scholars from his "school", and the same is true of Altheim. Cumont remains influential: his most important works are still being reprinted¹⁴⁶. As we have seen, the relatively recent studies of Halsberghe (1972, 1984) are fully in line with the tradition established by these scholars. It is their continued influence that makes an analysis of their methodology and ideology necessary. Their studies of Sol, proceeding from a biased interpretation of inadequate sources, have obscured, rather than illuminated, the character of this god.

The ground has been cleared for renewed research on Sol Invictus, and as we have seen the most promising way to proceed is to try to deduce his role in Roman religion from the archaeological evidence. Archaeological material such as that reviewed above is not well adapted, however, to answer typically "historical" questions. It requires its own interpretation, in which we must beware of the common approach in Classics to make maximum use of literary sources. There are essential differences between the two types of sources,

which, unfortunately, are only rarely acknowledged. Written sources often provide detailed factual information, but essentially exist in isolation, confined within the narrow limits determined by their author and his aims. It is the task of the historian to identify these limits and to determine the extent to which the information provided by the source has a broader validity beyond them. Archaeological sources, on the other hand, should never be studied in isolation, but derive meaning solely from their context. The task of the archaeologist is to identify and analyse the complex network of contextual relationships within which the individual archaeological data fit, and which, by revealing recurring patterns, imbue them with meaning. Broadly speaking, one could conclude that written sources are most suited for *histoire événementielle*, while archaeological material is better adapted for *histoire de la longue durée*. Yet in practice, classicists tend to use only written sources to write the general story, while archaeological data serve only to illustrate specific details. As a result of this, both types of source-material are often studied in the wrong way: written sources are overinterpreted, while archaeological data are discussed in isolation. Frey's interpretation of Sol on the coins of Heliogabalus as Elagabal is a good example. Had Frey studied the iconographic tradition and the numismatic context of these coins, he would have been more cautious.

Context, in the broadest sense, is thus fundamental to the study of archaeological evidence. In this article I have concentrated on the iconography of Sol, making it possible to place individual representations of Sol within an iconographical tradition. This has already yielded interesting results; but the iconographical tradition is not the only important contextual aspect of the material. A broader approach should be taken, aimed at including the physical, geographical, chronological and parallel iconographical contexts as well. This would help to identify more complex and meaningful patterns and groupings than those already discernible, and could result in a better understanding of such phenomena as: the relative popularity of Sol; the various religious and social spheres in which the god

imperial busts on coins. Whether the object actually existed, and if so, when and where it was worn, and what it meant, are questions he does not touch upon. The matter is too complex to discuss fully here, but I shall return to the radiate crown of the emperors in another place. Cf. *LIMC Helios/Sol* 443 for coins of the emperor and empress recalling Sol and Luna. Most examples in Letta's section on "imperatore-Sol" (*LIMC Helios/Sol* 426-450) are unconvincing.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. F. Cumont, *Le religioni orientali nel paganesimo romano*, Rome 1990³.

functioned; his relationship to other gods and their cults; the geographical spread of the various aspects discerned; and the changes these aspects underwent in the course of time. Literary sources can aid us in the interpretation of these patterns, but care must be taken to ask the right sort of questions. If we accept that archaeological sources are suitable only for the analysis of general trends in history, then the only written sources we can turn to in support of our conclusions are those which are extensive enough, general enough, and *detailed* enough to allow us to extrapolate general developments from them. It is essential that we never use written sources on one level of detail, to support our interpretation of archaeological material at another level.

But it is not just the differences in substance between literary and material sources which should always be kept in mind. Of foremost importance is the identification of the prime sources. In the case of Sol Invictus, the prime sources are archaeological, and these must be studied independently until we are able to hypothesize general trends and developments in certain aspects of solar religion or related attitudes to Sol. Only at that point will it be worth searching for information on those trends (or similar ones) in other sources (literary, epigraphical), in an attempt to support or modify the hypothesis. In a final stage, the detailed fragments of information, so typical of the written record, can be consulted, and fitted in within the broad trends.

The primacy of the archaeological record is valid for the study of many aspects of Roman history, for archaeology does, indeed, "have unique access to the long term"¹⁴⁷. Furthermore the literary record for the Roman period shows such major lacunae that we regularly find ourselves virtually in prehistory when dealing with aspects of the Roman past¹⁴⁸. It is not just in the case of Sol Invictus that the archaeological record proves to be far richer than the literary one. Nor has the biased interpretation of the literary evidence been restricted to the study of Sol. It is time, therefore, that archaeologists broke the vicious circle which devalues their material in current scholarship, and interpreted their evidence independently. Only then can we hope to attain a true synthesis of the archaeological and the written evidence.

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¹⁴⁷ I. Hodder, *Reading the past*, (Cambridge 1986), 77-102 (esp. 101), cf. 177.

¹⁴⁸ G. Fowden, "Between pagans and Christians" (review article of Lane Fox, *supra* n. 82), *JRS* 78, (1988, 173-182), 180.

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Private Latrines in Ostia: a Case Study

Johannes Boersma

INTRODUCTION¹

Every visitor to Ostia antica, whether he be a professional or an amateur, is attracted by the large, luxuriously equipped public lavatories which have been preserved at various places throughout the town and which have been carefully restored². Over the decades these latrines have aroused both curiosity and admiration, and rightly so, because they present a vivid example of the high standards of sanitary provisions in the towns of the Roman empire. In contrast to these impressive public amenities, the inconspicuous latrines that are still often preserved in private Ostian homes are mostly disregarded, mainly because they are generally in a bad condition and have never been restored³. However, if one wants to obtain a complete picture of all of the sanitary provisions that the people at Ostia had at their disposal, the minor latrines have to be taken into consideration as well, together with the big public ones. Besides, the presence or absence of a latrine in a domestic building is one of the instruments to gain insight into the social standards of a building and the status of the people who lived or worked in it.

This article does not intend to deal extensively with all of the sanitary amenities attested in the Ostian houses during the Imperial period; for this, much further research would be needed. It merely presents a case study of the sanitary provisions in one particular block at Ostia in order to show how promising this theme is. The block in question is block V.ii, bordered by *Semita dei Cippi* on the west, *Via della Fortuna Annonaria* on the north, *Via dei Cippi* on the east, and a nameless street on the south side. Fourteen different buildings of varying character and function are contained within this block which can be considered fairly representative of all of the different kinds of buildings to be found in Ostia during the later Imperial period, in particular the 4th century A.D. A detailed description and analysis of all the visible remains of block V.ii by a Dutch team during the period 1976-1979 were published in a monograph ten years ago; this article is based upon this report⁴. I was inspired to take up the subject in question when I attended a seminar on Classical and Medieval latrines held at Nijmegen University in 1994, where I was invited to discuss the latrine in the House of Fortuna Annonaria which is situated in block V.ii⁵. It then

occurred to me to deepen the subject by including all of the latrines registered in the different buildings throughout the block, on the ground floor as well as on the upper floors, commenting upon their location and distribution in the hope that this might contribute to a better understanding of the social status of the particular buildings and apartments – eventually, of course, to be considered in the context of the entire interior decoration of the building. The ideas expressed here may encourage further study of the sanitary provisions in Ostia and elsewhere.

BLOCK V.II AT OSTIA⁶

Block V.ii was in all probability laid out during the later Republican period, the 3rd century B.C., when the area extending to the east side of the *Castrum* was gradually built (*Fig. 1*). The block was laid out to the east side of *Semita dei Cippi*, which ran southwards from the river. This road was a main thoroughfare of goods and its importance was still increasing when, in the early 1st century B.C., the Forum of the town was reconstructed, as a result of which all traffic of goods from the river through the town centre was blocked for ever. Only at about the middle of the 4th century A.D. was *Semita dei Cippi* blocked itself by the construction of an *exedra* at the crossing with the *decumanus*. The block was bordered on the north side by *Via della Fortuna Annonaria*, which was the extension of the street running along the south side of the *Castrum*. *Semita dei Cippi* and *Via della Fortuna Annonaria* both determined the initial layout of the block. It measures 81.20 m on the west side and 53.70 m on the north side, measurements of length that are supposed to represent the original layout of the block which would have had measurements of length and width of 280' by 180' (Roman feet). Eventually, the plan of the block was far from

¹ The English text was corrected by the Taalcentrum VU.

² For the public latrines at Ostia, see Meiggs 1973, 143; Pavolini 1986, 219-221.

³ For latrines in Ostian houses, see Packer 1971 *passim*.

⁴ J.S. Boersma *et al.* 1985, *Amoenissima civitas. Block V.ii at Ostia: description and analysis of its visible remains*, Assen.

⁵ S. Piras – Ch. Waslander 1994, *Latrines*, Meppel.

⁶ For the building history of block V.ii, see Boersma 1985, 201ff.

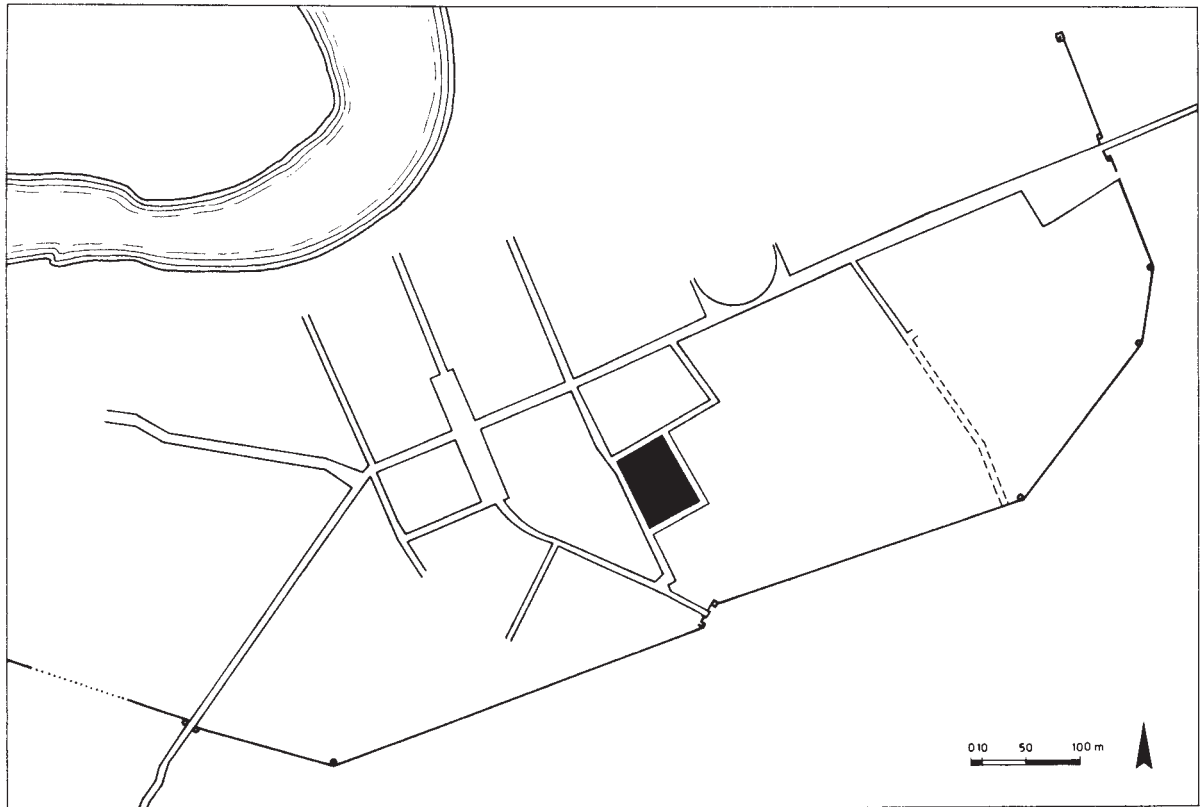


Fig. 1. Plan of Ostia with block V.ii indicated in black.

rectangular, however, and its surface area could be established only approximately. The ground area has been established to be as much as 4440 m², with a practicable area of 3515 m², excluding the space occupied by the walls of the buildings⁷. So far no precise dating has been possible of the original layout of the block. The earliest traces of building activity attested are a short stretch of wall built in *opus incertum*, on which the outer south wall of the House of the Porch V.ii.4-5 was subsequently founded. This wall perhaps dates as early as the pre-Sullan period⁸. During the first two centuries of the Imperial period the block went through different stages of building and rebuilding, which need not concern us here. It suffices to recall the grand-scale reconstruction of almost the entire west part of the block during the Trajanic period, which was a crucial moment in its building history and which determined the future shape of *Semita dei Cippi*⁹. The street was lined with shops and workshops above which lay apartments, together probably three stories high. The backyards of the buildings could be reached from *Semita dei Cippi*

through long narrow corridors and were possibly not yet fully occupied at this time. Not much is known about the character of the buildings in the east part of the block during these centuries. Here, intensive building activity is registered only during the Severan period, when *Via dei Cippi* was in its turn newly lined with houses and workshops¹⁰. During the 4th century, the number of workshops and shops was gradually reduced, when several of them were incorporated into the houses and turned into living rooms¹¹. This article centres on the block as it appeared during the second half of the 4th century A.D., when the two mansions (House of the Porch V.ii.4-5 and House of Fortuna Annonaria V.ii.8) had acquired their final, splendid appearance and when the other buildings in the block had likewise received their ultimate shape

⁷ Boersma 1985, 221.

⁸ Boersma 1985, 97-98, 209, 243-244 (Trench A, Corridor 31).

⁹ Boersma 1985, 209, 211-215, fig. 201.

¹⁰ Boersma 1985, 209, 215-216.

¹¹ Boersma 1985, 219.

(Fig. 2). After this time, only minor alterations are attested. Constant rebuilding on a small scale during the course of this century shows that the houses, shops, workshops, storage rooms and baths contained within the block were still fully inhabited and used.

During the second half of the 4th century A.D., block V.ii comprised 14 different buildings, among them two pairs of buildings which formed an ensemble (V.ii 1-14 and V.ii 11-12). Five out of these buildings were entirely devoted to public use: V.ii.1 Row of shops, V.ii.2 Storage building, V.ii.9 and V.ii.10 Shop-and-factory buildings, V.ii.14 Factory or storage building. Beside these buildings, the Baths of the Philosopher V.ii.6-7 also had a public function. All together these buildings comprised about half the ground area of the block (1630 m² of 3515 m², that is 46%). If the rooms incorporated in domestic buildings used as shops or workshops are also included, the total ground area of public use amounts to slightly over half the total ground area available (1990 m² of 3515 m², that is 57%)¹². The rest of the ground area was destined for private use, 1525 m² of 3515 m², that is 43%. Among the domestic buildings ranked first of all the two mansions in the block, the House of the Porch V.ii.4-5 and the House of Fortuna Annonaria V.ii.8. Apart from these two, the block contained three smaller size houses: two apartment dwellings V.ii.3 and V.ii.13, and House V.ii.11-12. The latter had originally consisted of two separate buildings which were later united.

Whereas, as far as the ground floor is concerned, the areas of public and private use can be established with a fair degree of certainty, complications arise in the case of the upper floors. The very existence of an upper floor, or floors, may be shown by the remains of staircases and drainage grooves or pipes in the walls, but it is a hazardous task and often sheer guesswork to establish their number and extent. In the final report of block V.ii, the presence of upper floors has been assumed for Apartment house V.ii.3 (three stories in the final stage, in the front as well as in the rear)¹³, the House of the Porch V.ii.4-5 (three stories in the front part and perhaps two stories in the rear)¹⁴, the Baths of the Philosopher V.ii.6-7 (three stories in the front part)¹⁵, the House of Fortuna Annonaria V.ii.8 (two stories)¹⁶, House V.ii.10 (two stories)¹⁷, House V.ii.11-12 (two stories)¹⁸, and the House of the Well V.ii.13 (two stories)¹⁹. If this reconstruction is accepted, all of the upper floors together would have comprised an area of 1600 m², that is 31% of the total area of the block which amounts to

as much as 5115 m², including both the ground floor (3515 m²) and the upper floors (1600 m²). On the assumption that all of the upper floors were used as apartment dwellings, the total area of private use in the block would have been as much as 3125 m², that is, 61% of the total occupied area, including both the ground floor (1525 m²) and the upper floors (1600 m²)²⁰. The conclusion is that, whereas the distribution of the ground area among areas for public use and areas for private use (57% and 43%, respectively) was fairly equal, the situation changes drastically when the upper floors are included – also allowing for the hypothetical character of the reconstruction. In my estimation the area that was available for private use in block V.ii during the 4th century A.D. amounted to as much as two thirds (61%) of the total practicable area, whereas that available for public use was only slightly over one third (39%). The block thus had a principally domestic character, which is something to keep in mind when the standards of its sanitary provisions are discussed.

LATRINES IN THE BLOCK

Public latrine

One public and four private latrines are attested on the ground area of the block. In front of the entrance to the baths of the Philosopher V.ii.6-7 a large latrine was situated with 10-15 seats²¹. This latrine was directly accessible from *Semita dei Cippi* via a long, narrow corridor and had been installed as early as the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. as part of the renovation programme of the west part of the block. The latrine was clearly designed as a service to the people that came to live in the block, shopkeepers and artisans, and their clients, as well as the occupants of the newly built upper apartments of houses V.ii.3, V.ii.4-5, and V.ii.6-7.

Domus

Beside the public latrine at the entrance to the baths the two mansions that are contained within the

¹² The individual rooms are: V.ii.3, rooms 2, 4, 5; V.ii.4-5, rooms 2, 4, 5, 21-23; V.ii.8, rooms 18, 19, 21; V.ii.12, room 1; V.ii.13, room 14, 15 (Boersma 1985, 224).

¹³ Boersma 1985, 116-120.

¹⁴ Boersma 1985, 93-95.

¹⁵ Boersma 1985, 131-132.

¹⁶ Boersma 1985, 152-155.

¹⁷ Boersma 1985, 168-169.

¹⁸ Boersma 1985, 174-175, 179-180.

¹⁹ Boersma 1985, 185-187.

²⁰ Boersma 1985, 224.

²¹ For the description of the latrine, see Boersma 1985, 124-125, 392-393.

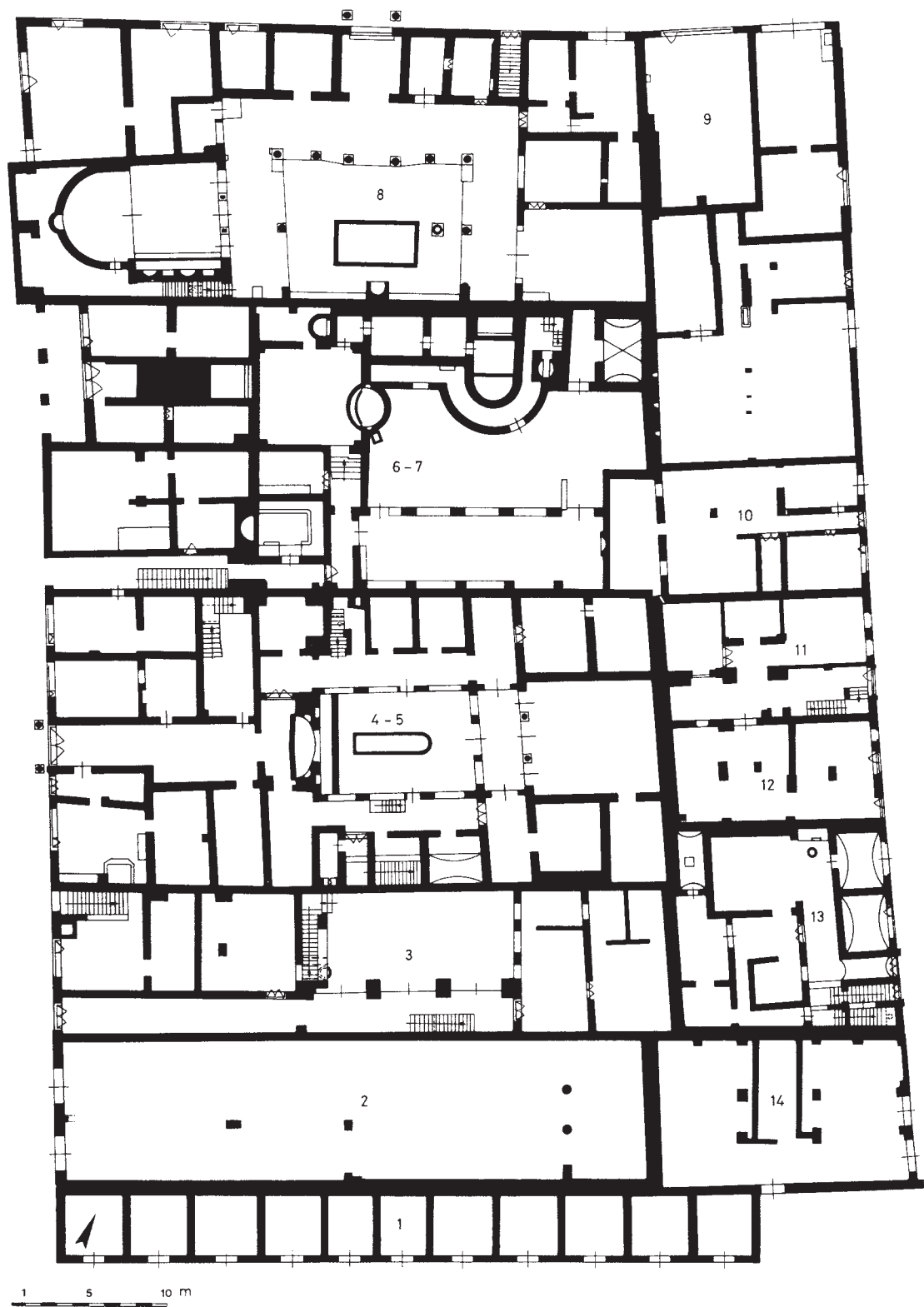


Fig. 2. Plan of block V.ii at Ostia during the second half of the 4th century A.D.

block, the House of the Porch V.ii.4-5 and the House of Fortuna Annonaria V.ii.8, had latrines of their own – as is only to be expected. The House of the Porch²² had a symmetrical plan with a series of front rooms on the street (shops and workshops), a centrally located courtyard surrounded by porticoes and *cubicula*, and a series of beautifully decorated rooms in the rear, among them a grand colonnaded hall. Three inner staircases have been established and the house is assumed to have been three stories high in front and two in the rear. On the ground floor was a two-seat latrine which, at the time when the house got its definite shape (that is, about the middle of the 3rd century A.D.), was installed into the space (no. 8)²³ below the staircase leading from the courtyard portico (no. 26B) to that section of the upper floor which was incorporated in the mansion proper²⁴. The latter was relatively small in comparison to the total surface area of the house and was made up only of the rooms surrounding the courtyard on the north, east and south sides, also including a small part of the upper floor at the north and east sides. There is evidence to show that, apart from the sanitary installation on the ground floor, another latrine was installed on the upper floor of the mansion: a drainage groove preserved in the northeast corner of the staircase room (no. 8) attests to the former presence on the floor above of another, possibly one-seat latrine. This latrine would have been reached from the landing, which opened onto the area above the courtyard portico²⁵. At a later stage, when precisely is impossible to say, the groove was filled in and the latrine evidently put out of use.

Whereas these two latrines were at the exclusive disposal of the *dominus* of the house and his family, a third, one-seat latrine was intended for the tenants. This latrine was installed in a room (no. 19)²⁶ alongside the broad staircase that opened onto the corridor which is assumed to have been above the courtyard portico, from where the various apartments on the upper floor, or floors, could be reached. The latrine was entered from the staircase's vestibule (no. 18), which was closed off from the courtyard by double doors. A drainage pipe coming from the upper floor ended into the latrine and attests to the presence of another latrine on the floor above which was installed right above the ground-floor latrine. This latrine was probably entered from the upper corridor. Unlike the latrine on the upper floor at the north side of the courtyard, which served the mansion proper but was eventually put out of use, the sanitary provisions for the tenants remained intact as long as the house was inhabited.

The drainage pipe from the upper floor which ended into the latrine beside the broad staircase has

a parallel in a similar drainage pipe which has been preserved in the room (no. 7), probably a *cubiculum*, situated between the two rooms provided with staircases on the opposite, north side of the courtyard. This room was reconstructed when the *domus* was built, at about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Piers were then built into the corners of the room, the southern one of which was provided with a drainage pipe²⁷. Whereas the latrine above the understairs (no. 8) discussed above was reserved for the inhabitants of the mansion proper, the drain in the *cubiculum* attests to the presence of another latrine which must have served the tenants of the upper-floor apartment in the northwest part of the house, which was reached from a staircase installed in a room (no. 6) in the front part²⁸.

The function of two more drainage grooves in the east walls of the side corridors at the east end of the courtyard (nos. 27 and 29) cannot be properly explained. Both grooves were put out of use later and filled in just the same way as the drainage groove in the understairs (no. 8). Again, no precise dating of the filling has proved possible. One of the fillings was covered with the same plaster as covered the wall of the corridor and the drains can, therefore, be assumed with confidence to have been already put out of use during the period under discussion, the second half of the 4th century A.D.²⁹.

The sanitary provisions encountered in the House of the Porch are found in much the same state in the other mansion in the block, the House of Fortuna Annonaria V.ii.8³⁰. This house must have looked quite different from the House of the Porch due to the fact that it had presumably been designed as a *domus* from the beginning (1st century B.C.?) and had retained much of its original character. Most conspicuous was the courtyard surrounded by columns instead of brick piers as in the House of the Porch. Besides, the house is assumed to have been only two stories high against three for the House of the Porch and it would, therefore,

²² For the description of the House of the Porch, see Boersma 1985, 11-25, 72-104, 304-376.

²³ This and all subsequent room numbers used in the text refer to the room numbers on the plans of the buildings in Boersma 1985.

²⁴ Boersma 1985, 324-327.

²⁵ Boersma 1985, 325, 376. For the reconstruction drawing of the house, see Boersma 1985, fig. 111.

²⁶ Boersma 1985, 345-347.

²⁷ Boersma 1985, 324 and fig. 5.

²⁸ Boersma 1985, 93-94.

²⁹ Boersma 1985, 13, 363, 365 (plaster), 376.

³⁰ For the description of the house, see Boersma 1985, 47-58, 138-160, 408-426.

have made quite a different impression from the street as well as from the interior.

A lavishly equipped one-seat latrine was installed in the space (no. 16) below the staircase that led from the courtyard to the part of the upper floor of the house that was incorporated in the mansion, probably comprising the west and northwest part of the building. The latrine could be reached from the hall (no. 15) to which it was close. It has always received considerable attention because of its nice floor of *opus sectile* and ingenious flushing system which used the water from the *nymphaeum* against the south wall of the hall³¹. The date of construction of the latrine has not been established; it probably coincides with the mid 2nd-century reconstruction of the house. But only when the hall was remodelled by the addition of an apse and a *nymphaeum* was the flushing of the latrine provided for. In the House of the Porch the upper-floor latrine of the mansion was located on the landing of the staircase, but in the House of Fortuna Annonaria a different solution had to be found as the staircase reached the upper floor in only one flight. In all probability the latrine was installed to the north side of the hall, as is suggested by the vertical drainage channel in the southeast corner of the room (no. 20) beside the hall³². Unfortunately, the masonry of the channel could not be dated precisely, though it could date to as early as the middle of the 2nd century A.D., when the house was thoroughly restored. However, it might also have been constructed only at the time the hall was modernized.

As to the sanitary provisions for the upper floor apartment at the northeast and east side of the house, which was reached by a staircase (no. 4) opening off Via della Fortuna Annonaria, a drainage pipe in the northeast corner of the room (no. 3) to the west side of the staircase is taken as evidence for the presence of a latrine on the upper floor. Although it is difficult precisely to envisage the earlier situation, so much is clear that here, too, a latrine was put at the disposal of the tenants living on the upper floor of the house. Both mansions were thus lavishly equipped with sanitary provisions: latrines for the owner of the house and his family on the ground as well as on the first floor, and separate latrines for the tenants of the upper-floor apartments – in the case of the House of the Porch also on the ground floor, possibly because here there was more than one upper floor containing a number of different apartments, whereas the House of Fortuna Annonaria was probably only two stories high.

The reconstruction of the sanitary provisions in the two mansions is based upon the presence of

drainage grooves and pipes which have been preserved in the walls. Before I go on to discuss the sanitary provisions in the other houses in the block, this assumption needs some further explanation. At different places throughout the block – and, in fact, throughout the entire town – vertical drainage grooves, most of them nowadays without their pipes, have been preserved in the walls. In those cases in which the grooves were set in the inner side of the outer walls of a building and were thus situated *inside* the building in question, it is assumed that their function was to remove the waste water of the upper floor (or floors) of the building and that they can be used in particular as indicators of the presence of latrines on the upper floors. (I refrain here from discussing the possible presence of kitchens and bathrooms on the upper floors like the ones that have been preserved in the House of the Painted Vaults.) The assumption that “inner” drainage grooves functioned as part of the sanitary system of a building is based upon the observation that drainage pipes installed in the outer walls inside a building cannot possibly have served in abducting rain water from the roof but must instead have served to carry away the waste water from the upper floor³³. Instead rain water was carried away by drainage pipes set into grooves on the outside of the outer walls of a building, as, for instance, at the northeast corner of the House of the Porch³⁴.

Whereas the function of drainage grooves at the inside of the outer walls of a building seems clear enough, drainage grooves set in the inner walls are more problematic. Here, the position of the grooves in the plan of the building is an element of primary importance to decide what could have been the particular function of the drain in question. Thus, the drainage pipes that are set in the east corners of the courtyard of the House of the Porch evidently served to carry away rain water which fell on the roof of the courtyard portico, whereas they had nothing to do with any sanitary provisions for the upper floor of the house³⁵.

Other houses

Apart from the two mansions discussed above, two more houses in the block were provided with

³¹ Boersma 1985, 149-150, 422-423.

³² Boersma 1985, 152, 425. The drainage pipe probably ended into the drain of the latrine in the understairs (no. 16).

³³ For a different opinion, see Packer 1971, 73 note 52: “Water could not be piped to floors above the first, and drain pipes from the upper floors probably were connected more often with removing water from the roof than from upstairs latrines.”

³⁴ Boersma 1985, 304, 376.

³⁵ Boersma 1985, 97, 376.

latrine facilities. Those were the medium-sized House of the Well V.ii.13, situated in the southeast corner of the block and entered from Via dei Cippi, and Apartment house V.11.3 lying to the south side of the House of the Porch, which was entered from *Semita dei Cippi*.

The House of the Well V.ii.13³⁶ had two shops along the street flanked by an entrance corridor and a staircase. A long narrow courtyard with a well extended behind the shops running the full length of the house. This courtyard gave access to the domestic quarter proper which was centred around a vestibule and occupied the greater part of the ground area. The entire upper floor area was originally conceived as a separate apartment, or apartments, which was reached directly from the street. Afterwards, when precisely is unknown, the upper front rooms were incorporated into the ground-floor apartment, which necessitated the construction of an inner staircase in the southeast corner, opening off the courtyard. The rear part of the upper floor, however, continued to be a separate apartment which was, as before, directly accessible from the street. The house has been reconstructed with only one upper floor which extended over the full ground area.

The house had two latrines. There was a one-seat latrine on the ground floor, which was installed in the space (no. 3) below the inner staircase in the southeast corner of the house³⁷. This latrine was originally entered from the courtyard, but the instalment of the inner staircase made it necessary to create a new access from the understairs of the outer staircase, the former entrance having been blocked by the new stairs. Both in the original and new situation the latrine was clearly destined for the exclusive use by the inhabitants of the ground floor. The existence of another latrine on the upper floor is deduced from the presence of a drainage pipe in the southwest corner of the courtyard (no. 4)³⁸. Apparently a latrine for the convenience of the tenants on the upper floor was installed at the end of the outer staircase. All in all, the master of the house and his family as well as the tenants were rather well provided for.

Apartment house V.ii.3 has been defined as a strip *insula*³⁹. The house was long and narrow with a shop or workshop on the street which was flanked by a staircase to the upper floor, and a long corridor leading into a courtyard with a well, which gave entrance to the rear rooms. An inner staircase led from the portico at the south side of the courtyard to an apartment above the rear part of the house, whereas another staircase in the northwest corner of the courtyard led directly to a second

floor that was added at a later date. Eventually, the house was three stories high with apartments around a central courtyard. In my reconstruction there were two upper apartments on the street above the front rooms and three apartments in the rear, the ground-floor apartment included.

The sanitary provisions of the house seem to have been rather poor, which must have been something of a nuisance to the people who lived there, probably in quite considerable numbers. A drainage channel has been established below the corner pier in the backroom (no. 4) of the shop or workshop along the street⁴⁰. The channel opened into the front room and could have been used for a latrine installed below the outer staircase, which was a common place for it. Such a latrine would have served the people living and working in the front room and possibly also those living in the rear part of the house as the front room was accessible from the corridor. In the final stage this door was blocked, however, and entrance into the front room was exclusively from the street. Possibly, there was also a latrine in the rear part of the house, in the first room (no. 8) entered from the courtyard. Here, a drainage groove in the south wall suggests that some kind of sanitary provisions were installed in the corner of the room, next to the doorway⁴¹. Another latrine may then be envisaged on the upper floor which was installed in a similar place. The groove was found to be partially filled with mortar and seems, therefore, to have been put out of use at some particular moment. Unlike in the rear part of the house, there is nothing to suggest the existence of latrines on the upper floors in the front part.

Meagre though the evidence may be, some conclusions can still be drawn. The front and rear parts of the house were of a different character and, as far as the ground floor is concerned, had a different function. The front rooms on the ground had a commercial or industrial function, whereas the rear rooms behind the courtyard were living rooms. Both seem to have been equipped with a latrine. This was not so in the case of the upper floors. The upper apartment in the rear reached the standards of the ground floor and was provided with a latrine, but those in front lacked such a provision, which

³⁶ For the description of the house, see Boersma 1985, 68-69, 181-189, 446-456.

³⁷ Boersma 1985, 182, 448.

³⁸ Boersma 1985, 448.

³⁹ For the description of the house, see Boersma 1985, 28-35, 111-120, 381-387. Strip *insula*: Boethius 1951, 447; Meiggs 1973, 251.

⁴⁰ Boersma 1985, 113, 382.

⁴¹ Boersma 1985, 385.

clearly made them less comfortable. These would have been the cheaper lodgings of the *insula*, whereas the quiet rear part was reserved for the better apartments.

Baths of the Philosopher

The Baths of the Philosopher V.ii.6-7⁴² occupied the rear half of the parcel lying to the north of the House of the Porch. The baths were erected during the second half of the 3rd century A.D. behind a complex of shops and workshops along *Semita dei Cippi*. The complex had been built as early as the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. and had then been equipped with a large public latrine which, as said above, served the entire neighbourhood. The upper floors were reached from a staircase installed in the narrow corridor leading towards the entrance to the baths. In my reconstruction the front part of the complex was three stories high. No drainage grooves have been found in the walls of the different rooms, but a drainage groove coming from the upper floor ends in the latrine (no. 4) implying that the upper floors were not totally devoid of latrines⁴³. Sanitary provisions in the front part of the baths were, therefore, apparently of a somewhat higher standard than those in Apartment house V.ii.3 discussed above. Nevertheless, probably no great difference existed between the social status of the upper apartments in both buildings which had been built as part of the same big renovation programme of the west part of the block. Another groove for a drainage pipe has been preserved in the east wall of the *frigidarium* (no. 16) of the baths⁴⁴. The presence of this groove cannot be properly explained, as it seems unlikely that the upper floor also extended over the baths proper. If it did, another latrine may have been installed here when the baths were built in the courtyard.

Other buildings in the block

Three of the buildings contained within block V.ii had a definite commercial or industrial function. A row of shops V.ii.1 lined the street on the south side of the block, probably forming an entity with Building V.ii.14, which can best be identified as a storeroom or workshop⁴⁵. To the north side of the shops a large, partially covered area V.ii.2 was probably used for the storage of goods⁴⁶. The northeast corner of the block was occupied by a Shop-and-factory building V.ii.9⁴⁷, which has been identified as a manufactory with shops. As might be expected, neither of these buildings was provided with a latrine.

Three other buildings in the block had a somewhat hybrid character. Building V.ii.10⁴⁸ was originally

built as a house but was subsequently drastically remodelled, possibly because of a change in the function of the building which may then have lost its domestic character. When the house was restored after 1979, a large drain came to light running from the courtyard in the rear through the corridor and bending into a small backroom⁴⁹. This drain probably served to carry away rain water from the courtyard. A latrine might have emptied into the drain, but its location cannot be established more precisely.

Buildings V.ii.11 and V.ii.12⁵⁰ were originally built as two separate buildings. At a particular moment in time which it is impossible to know exactly, the two buildings were united into one building which had a domestic and probably also an industrial function. Throughout its history Building V.ii.11 was presumably two stories high with an inner staircase. Building V.ii.12 was possibly originally designed as a manufactory with a shop on the street. Neither building was provided with a latrine, nor does a latrine seem to have been installed after the two buildings had been united into one house which was comparable in size with the House of the Well next to it. It must be conceded, though, that the buildings in question have been rather badly preserved and that any traces of a latrine could easily have been destroyed.

CONCLUSION

Some conclusions can now be drawn from our survey regarding the presence of latrines throughout block V.ii. On the assumption that the presence of vertical drainage grooves in the inner side of outer walls, as well as in inner walls (exceptions excluded) attests to the presence on the upper floor of sanitary provisions, by which in this case we mean a latrine rather than a kitchen or bathroom, latrines have been established in the following buildings:

⁴² For the description of the baths, see Boersma 1985, 35-47, 120-137, 388-407.

⁴³ Boersma 1985, 392-393.

⁴⁴ Boersma 1985, 398.

⁴⁵ For the description of the row of shops V.ii.1, see Boersma 1985, 25-26, 104-107, 377-378. For the description of Building V.ii.14, see Boersma 1985, 70-71, 189-191, 457-458.

⁴⁶ For the description of Building V.ii.2, see Boersma 1985, 26-28, 107-111, 379-380.

⁴⁷ For the description of Building V.ii.9, see Boersma 1985, 58-62, 160-166, 427-432.

⁴⁸ For the description of Building V.ii.10, see Boersma 1985, 62-64, 166-171, 433-437.

⁴⁹ Boersma 1985, 465-466.

⁵⁰ For the description of Building V.ii.11, see Boersma 1985, 64-67, 171-178, 438-441. For the description of Building V.ii.12, see Boersma 1985, 67-68, 178-181, 442-445.

Apartment house V.ii.3

| | |
|-------------|--|
| ground | latrine in front shop latrine in rear apartment |
| upper floor | latrine in rear apartment |

House of the Porch V.ii.4-5

| | |
|------------|---|
| mansion | two-seat latrine on the ground latrine on the upper floor |
| apartments | one-seat latrine on the ground two latrines on the upper floor |

Baths of the Philosopher V.ii.6-7

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| ground | public latrine |
| upper floor | one or two latrines |

House of Fortuna Annonaria V.ii.8

| | |
|-----------|--|
| mansion | one-seat latrine on the ground latrine on the upper floor |
| apartment | latrine on the upper floor |

House of the Well V.ii.13

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| mansion | one-seat latrine on the ground |
| apartment | latrine on the upper floor |

No latrines are attested in the following buildings:

Row of shops V.ii.1 with annex V.ii.14
Storage building V.ii.2
Shop-and-Factory building V.ii.9
Building V.ii.10
House V.ii.11-12

There is reason to believe that a definite relationship existed between the character and function of the buildings in the block and the presence or absence in them of one or more latrines. As might be expected, the two *domus*, the House of the Porch and the House of Fortuna Annonaria, ranked highest. Not only were those parts of these houses that were inhabited by the *dominus* himself and his family equipped with latrines but provisions were also made for the tenants of the upper-floor apartments. The owners of the mansions were probably somewhat selective in the choice of their tenants considering that the latter had a daily view into their mansions' courtyards. They will have wanted to keep up the status of the upper apartments and not rented them out to people of common origin. This is suggested by the installation of latrines on the upper floors which shows that the tenants were provided with some comfort. This was also true in the case of the far more modest House of the Well where the same lack of privacy prevailed. Here, too, the owner will have been selective in the choice of his tenants. The distribution of latrines in Apartment house V.ii.3 attests to a greater appreciation of the apartments situated in the rear part of the house which looked onto the courtyard than of those situated in the front part which looked onto

the street. This is shown by the presence of a latrine in the rear part but not in the (upper) front part. A latrine which may have been installed in the front shop or workshop on the ground floor would hardly have been intended for common use by the tenants of the upper floors as well. That the rear apartments were valued higher than the front ones is understandable as they were far away from the street noise while receiving ample light and air from the courtyard.

The upper apartments of the Baths of the Philosopher present a somewhat different situation. Although the front part of the complex was built at the same time as that of Apartment house V.ii.3 and showed much the same character, its social status seems to have been slightly different. First of all, the public latrine which was installed here made the building a focus of attention for the whole block. In addition, sanitary provisions were also provided for the upper floor, possibly triggered by the presence of the latrine on the ground. Probably, the upper-floor latrine was situated where the staircase entered the upper floor and served the entire floor. When the baths were built in the courtyard another latrine was perhaps installed on the upper floor, although a great deal is uncertain here⁵¹.

Four of the buildings in which no latrines are attested had a commercial or industrial function: V.ii.1-14, V.ii.2, and V.ii.9. That these buildings were not provided with sanitary provisions is only to be expected; the people working and living there will have used the public latrine of the baths in Semita dei Cippi. The two buildings V.ii.10 and V.ii.11-12 cause some problems, however. The former was possibly turned into a workshop at a later stage but had originally a domestic function; but even then it had not had a latrine. The same goes for the latter building, at least part of which is assumed to have had a domestic function. The social status of these houses was apparently too low for any sanitary provisions to be installed into them. This is in agreement with the absence of another desired commodity, a well. All the houses of the block which were provided with a latrine also had water facilities. The two mansions drew water from the aqueduct of Ostia and from earlier wells, and also the courtyards of the House of the Well V.ii.13 and Apartment house V.ii.3 were provided with a well.

When discussing the presence of latrines in the Ostian flats Packer states that "On the ground floor, simpler apartments and shops were never

⁵¹ Boersma 1985, 398: drainage pipe in the east wall of the *frigidarium* (no. 16) of the baths.

equipped with separate kitchens and rarely with latrines. – If such conveniences were not common in ground floor apartments, it may be presumed that they were usually non-existent on upper levels⁵².” As far as the ground floors are concerned, this statement has proved to be true also for block V.ii. But as regards the upper floors the situation is less simple. Not all the upper floor apartments in the block had the same social status. In the upper apartments that were part of a *domus* sanitary provisions were also provided for the tenants, and this goes not only for the big mansions such as the House of the Porch but also for a small *domus* such as the House of the Well. Apparently these apartments reflected the social status of the houses they were part of. And the upper floors in flats like Apartment house V.ii.3 and the Baths of the Philosopher might or might not be equipped with latrines according to the location and status of their respective apartments. That some upper apartments were actually quite respectable is, in fact, well illustrated by the living conditions of a man like Seneca, who inhabited an apartment above a baths.

After all, one can hardly imagine a man of his standing not to have been provided with the most elementary sanitary provisions⁵³.

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⁵² Packer 1971, 73.

⁵³ Seneca, *Epistulae* 56.1: “supra ipsum balneum habito.”

Valerio Belli, Giovanni Bernardi e un Gruppo di Intagli non antichi

Gabriella Tassinari

Se la moltiplicazione delle pubblicazioni glittiche ha notevolmente ampliato la nostra documentazione, sono i cataloghi di Musei e collezioni private con gemme antiche a predominare, mentre tuttora inedita è la maggior parte degli intagli e cammei postclassici¹. Alcuni dei testi più recenti includono anche esemplari giudicati di antichità dubbia, per cui si propongono datazioni entro ampi margini di tempo. Alla ricostruzione di questa produzione glittica, i cui punti di riferimento sicuri sono assai scarsi, si vuol portare un contributo, prendendo in esame un insieme di intagli non antichi con Vulcano al lavoro come fabbro. Lo schema di per sé non denuncia "falsità", poiché assai strette sono le somiglianze con l'iconografia antica. Tuttavia questa composizione se ne distingue molto bene ed è così individuabile da consentire un discorso unitario: il confronto tra queste gemme è stringente, talvolta sin nei particolari, identici.

Obiettivo della ricerca è suggerire alcune linee di lettura di ciò che ha determinato la creazione di questa nuova iconografia, la sua circolazione, la ricezione, l'interpretazione e l'adattamento da parte del repertorio figurativo glittico al gusto del tempo; il discreto numero di esemplari dimostra che il motivo ha incontrato un certo successo. Pertanto a giustificare delle omissioni che sono scelte deliberate, non verrà specificamente analizzato l'aspetto tecnico (non è stata infatti possibile la visione diretta degli intagli esaminati) né l'inserimento nella temperie figurativa del tempo, ciò che presupporrebbe un complesso riscontro con le coeve analoghe raffigurazioni su altre classi di materiali, così da pervenire a una visione del formarsi e del diffondersi di tale iconografia.

Questo è lo schema degli intagli (dall'originale): Vulcano, talvolta barbato, seduto di profilo verso sinistra (unica eccezione la gemma n. 11) con il torso di $\frac{3}{4}$, una gamba di solito più avanti dell'altra, di frequente nascosta, alza sopra la testa, con ampio gesto, il braccio sinistro col martello in atto di colpire, mentre con l'altra mano abbassata tiene in genere un elmo poggiato su un alto podio cilindrico che spesso funge da incudine, con le estremità superiori e inferiori sporgenti e modanate, come il sedile del dio. Vulcano è nudo, ma dalla spalla gli pende la clamide svolazzante che forma un'ampia curva (una *velificatio* più o meno pronun-

ciata) e ricade dietro il braccio e con un lembo sul femore: è questo un elemento peculiare che non sembra comparire nelle gemme antiche (anche se, ricordiamo, non è determinante indizio di "modernità" l'assenza di riscontro che può esser semplicemente dovuta alla situazione attuale). Un'altra caratteristica è che talvolta non è chiaro il tipo di oggetto fabbricato. A questa composizione comune vengono apportate le variazioni (alterazioni, addizioni o innovazioni) che fanno la specificità di un intaglio; ad esempio sullo sfondo possono stagliarsi due lance o strani riempitivi; oppure la scena è arricchita dall'aggiunta di un'altra figura, maschile o femminile o un erote.

E' parso opportuno fornire una assai breve descrizione degli esemplari, sottolineando le varianti, e riunendoli in due raggruppamenti stilistici.

Gli intagli nn. 1-6, del primo gruppo, sono del tutto simili riguardo allo stile, caratteristico nel rendere in modo sommario le estremità, la capigliatura (o un curioso copricapo? una corona di lauro?) e il profilo dei visi a marcati e schematici tratti orizzontali, che risultano quasi uguali; singolare è anche la resa a solchi rotondi dei muscoli dell'addome e delle gambe.

1. Agata zonata in toni castani e bianchi, ovale, superficie superiore piana e posteriore convessa; mm. 27 x 14,5 x 3,5; Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid (*Fig. 1*)². Come nelle tre gemme seguenti, dall'elmo salgono una serie di segmenti verticali, "raggi" (per rendere il cimiero?). Linea di terreno.

2. Lapislazzuli ovale, superficie superiore piana e posteriore convessa; mm. 21 x 15,5 x 3; Museo

Desidero esprimere i miei più vivi ringraziamenti, per l'invio delle fotografie delle gemme e delle placchette e l'autorizzazione a pubblicarle, a E.A. Arslan (Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano); A.M. Gerhartl-Witteveen (Provinciaal Museum G.M. Kam, Nijmegen); H. Heres (Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlino); C. Theuerkauff (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie, Berlino); E. Vassilika (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) e al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Madrid. Sono inoltre grata a A. De Luca per la fotografia dell'intaglio dei Musei Capitolini.

¹ Un'analisi, con alcune proposte per rimediare, come è necessario, all'attuale situazione, frutto dell'atteggiamento per cui la pubblicazione delle gemme non antiche non era di competenza dell'archeologo, in Zwielerin-Diehl 1993, 373-374. Cfr. anche Zwielerin-Diehl 1991, 24-25.

² N. inv. 45; Casal Garcia 1990, I, 206; II, 115, n. 149.



Fig. 1. Agata zonata (Inv. 45). Original. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid. Foto Museo.



Fig. 2. Lapislazuli (Inv. 2). Original. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid. Foto Museo.



Fig. 3. Corniola (Inv. 337). Original. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid. Foto Museo.



Fig. 4. Agata zonata (Inv. KM/G 189). Original. Provinciaal Museum G.M. Kam, Nijmegen (Foto I. Diakonoff).

Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid (Fig. 2)³. Come la precedente. Linea di terreno.

3. Agata zonata in toni castani e bianchi, ovale, piana; mm. 18 x 13,5 x 3; Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid⁴. La scena è marcata da una linea continua tutt'intorno; il sedile del dio e l'incudine sono ornati da una ghirlanda a festone. Linea di terreno.

4. Corniola ovale, piana; mm. 20,5 x 18 x 4,5; Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Madrid (Fig. 3)⁵. Un erote aiuta Vulcano a sostenere l'elmo sopra l'incudine. Linea di terreno.

La Casal Garcia non data specificamente ognuno di questi intagli; li inserisce nella serie moderna, prodotti di un incisore che situa cronologicamente non prima del XVII secolo⁶.

Salvo rare eccezioni, si ignora la provenienza dei 2436 pezzi, per lo più intagli, della dattiloteca del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Madrid⁷. L'ordinamento attuale e le descrizioni molto sommarie che nelle guide e nelle notizie del Museo si danno delle gemme non permettono di identificarle

con sicurezza a una a una. Inoltre non sono precisati gli esemplari donati, comprati o trovati; così, si ignora a quali pezzi corrispondono le rare indicazioni di provenienza. In base agli scarsi dati relativi all'origine di questa eterogenea collezione, si può solo stabilire che alcuni pezzi vengono dagli scavi di Ercolano, di Pompei e della Spagna; una parte è di quella raccolta reale, in cui sono confluite quasi tutte le gemme straniere, specie dalla Francia; un'altra parte infine è frutto di numerosi acquisti da collezionisti di Spagna, Francia e Italia.

5. Agata zonata, a bande opache e trasparenti, bianche e rossastre, ovale, piana; mm. 19,8 x 16,2 x 3,6; collezione Guyot, Provinciaal Museum G.M. Kam, Nijmegen (Fig. 4)⁸. L'oggetto del lavoro è forse un elmo. Sullo sfondo una figura maschile nuda, stante, di profilo verso sinistra, una lancia in una

³ N. inv. 2; Casal Garcia 1990, I, 206; II, 115, n. 150.

⁴ N. inv. 75; Casal Garcia 1990, I, 206; II, 115, n. 151.

⁵ N. inv. 337; Casal Garcia 1990, I, 206; II, 116, n. 152.

⁶ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 72-74; Chaves Tristán-Casal Garcia 1993, 316.

⁷ Per la storia della collezione glittica del Museo Archeologico, Casal Garcia 1990, I, 55-60; Chaves Tristán-Casal Garcia 1993, 316-317.

⁸ N. inv. KM/G 189; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 92, n. 189.

mano, tocca con l'altra il bordo superiore di uno scudo verticale. Linea di terreno.

La Maaskant-Kleibrink data la gemma al XVI-XVII secolo(?). L'aggiunta dell'incisore è costituita dal secondo personaggio (definito guerriero dalla Maaskant-Kleibrink) che rende originale e complessa la scena, poiché per la mancanza di precisi attributi che lo contraddistinguano, la sua identità rimane dubbia. Giustamente la Maaskant-Kleibrink⁹ ricorda come nel XVI e XVII secolo era ampiamente noto l'episodio virgiliano di Venere da Vulcano piuttosto che quello omerico di Teti da Efesto; comunque nessuno dei due racconti include una visita di Achille o di Enea alla fucina del dio. Dal momento che, almeno a quanto mi consta, non figura su altre gemme questa simultanea riproduzione dell'opera del dio e della persona cui è destinata, non è facile specificare se l'eroe sia Achille o Enea. A favore della prima ipotesi stanno i monumenti antichi, peraltro rari, in cui egli compare nell'officina, ma l'unico conosciuto dalla metà del '500, a Roma, è il coperchio del sarcofago al Museo Capitolino¹⁰ che però non sembra possa aver influito sull'intaglio di Nimega, differente. Infatti nella scena centrale Vulcano seduto tiene poggiato sull'incudine lo scudo che i tre ciclopi martellano, destinato ad Achille presente, stante, nelle due scene laterali, in due diversi episodi. E' il desiderio di rappresentare sui sarcofagi un ciclo di Achille in cui l'eroe appaia in ogni scena a condurre a questa variante del mito. Né va escluso che il personaggio sull'intaglio sia Enea, sia per la succitata osservazione sulla maggior notorietà di Virgilio, sia perché Enea è raffigurato (ma non così) nella fucina di Vulcano, in gemme del XVI secolo (cfr. note 112-114). Rimane dunque la singolarità della composizione che ritengo una creazione dell'incisore, del tutto nuova.

Il pezzo viene da quella collezione, che forma il nucleo dell'attuale raccolta municipale di Nijmegen, posta nel museo G.M. Kam, riunita da P.Ch.G. Guyot, ben noto collezionista, e da lui donata, insieme a gran parte delle sue antichità, alla città nel 1850. Ricordiamo che tra le gemme ora a Nijmegen numerose sono quelle di Guyot¹¹.

6. Calcedonio ovale, piano; mm. 14 x 11 x 3; in una montatura d'oro; proveniente dalla collezione Wellcome, ma non catalogato negli inventari della collezione che documentano le fonti di acquisto di molte gemme; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 5)¹². L'oggetto a cui lavora Vulcano sembra mancare. Sullo sfondo due lance verticali. Linea di terreno.

Inserito, come il seguente, tra gli intagli datati al XVI-XVIII secolo.

Tra il 1981 e il 1983 è giunta al Fitzwilliam Museum la maggior parte della collezione glittica



5.



6.

Fig. 5. Calcedonio (Inv. CM. 151. 1982). Originale. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Foto Museo.

Fig. 6. Corniola (Inv. CM. 121. 1982). Originale. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Foto Museo.

di Sir Henry Solomon Wellcome¹³, famoso filantropo sostenitore della ricerca medica, figura guida nell'industria farmaceutica, accanito collezionista di ogni aspetto dell'attività umana del passato. La collezione glittica di Wellcome (arricchita da acquisti particolarmente intensi dal 1913 fino alla sua morte, nel 1936) consiste di vari tipi di intagli, cammei, sigilli (greco, romano, persiano, amuleti gnostici...) antichi e non, fino al XIX secolo, nonché di più di 15000 impronte di pietre incise di gesso, zolfo e vetro, eseguite nel XVIII - prima parte del XIX secolo.

7. Corniola ovale, piana; mm. 16 x 13 x 3,5; scheggiata sul bordo; proveniente dalla collezione Wellcome, acquistata ad un'asta Sotheby (3-4 marzo 1931); Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 6)¹⁴. Meno spiccate sono in questo intaglio le caratteristiche stilistiche del gruppo; ad esempio il profilo del volto o le modanature sporgenti del sedile e dell'incudine. Vulcano sembra ma non è seduto; poggia solo l'ampia curva del suo mantello; il suo piede è ridotto a qualcosa di filiforme; il braccio alzato con il martello (?) quasi si confonde sullo sfondo; l'oggetto a cui lavora non è chiaro; la composizione è stata riempita da due lance oblique e da una serie di ghirlande (?) dritte e capovolte, interpretate¹⁵ come zoccoli di cavallo, appesi al muro. Linea di terreno.

Per le sue differenze stilistiche, è parso più opportuno isolare il seguente intaglio, nonostante rientri nel primo gruppo.

8. Lapislazuli ovale; già collezione del Margravio di Brandeburgo-Ansbach; Staatliche Museen,

⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, *ibidem*.

¹⁰ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, II: Mythologische Cyklen*, Berlin 1890, 54-56, n. 43, tav. XXI, fig. 43.

¹¹ Sulla collezione Guyot, A.V.M. Hubrecht-A.M. Gerhartl-Witteveen, *Preface*, in Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, V; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XIII.

¹² N. inv. CM. 151. 1982; Nicholls 1983, 44-45, n. 206.

¹³ Su Wellcome, Nicholls 1983, 7-8.

¹⁴ N. inv. CM. 121. 1982; Nicholls 1983, 44-45, n. 205.

¹⁵ Nicholls 1983, *ibidem*.



Fig. 7. Lapislazuli (Inv. FG 8778). Impronta. Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlino. Foto Museo.



Fig. 8. Lapislazuli (Inv. FG 8778). Originale. Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlino. Foto Museo.

Antikensammlung, Berlino (Figg. 7-8)¹⁶. Sia Tölken che Furtwängler giustamente identificavano nella seconda figura, stante, Atena; entrambi consideravano il pezzo antico, ma Furtwängler, come vedremo, in seguito riconosceva che esso apparteneva alla serie moderna dei lapislazuli. Il confronto con un diaspro, della collezione Stosch, a Berlino, datato al III sec. d.C.¹⁷ con la stessa composizione – Vulcano seduto, in *exomis* e pileo, tiene il martello e, sopra l'incudine, il fulmine; Atena stante, con mantello e elmo, tende la mano verso il dio – evidenzia, in questo, i fattori “moderni”. Lo stile è particolare nel rendere in modo strano gli attributi (ad esempio l'elmo di Atena), i profili schematici dei visi, le figure allungate e sinuose, i panneggi con numerose linee sottili; come spesso, manca l'oggetto a cui lavora Vulcano.

La collezione del Margravio di Brandeburgo-Ansbach, al Museo di Berlino dal 1758 (moglie del Margravio Federico (1735-1763) era la colta principessa Guglielmina, sorella di Federico il Grande)¹⁸, presenta le caratteristiche dei gabinetti di gemme principeschi: contiene una vistosa quantità di anelli di poco valore, 256 intagli e cammei, databili dal III sec. a.C. fino al tardo Impero, nonché vari pezzi moderni, ritenuti antichi a causa dei loro soggetti classici.

Il secondo gruppo di intagli è più antichizzante, cioè è costituito da pezzi che imitano gli antichi, nella tematica e nello stile, così fedelmente da poter ancora ingannare.

9. Lapislazuli ovale, piano; mm. 18 x 15; scheggiature all'orlo, leggermente deteriorato; Musei

Capitolini, Roma (Fig. 9)¹⁹. Vulcano è barbato, l'elmo è collocato su una piccola incudine posta su un basamento cilindrico; sullo sfondo si stagliano due lance. Linea di terreno.

Si esamineranno i motivi per cui non è accettabile la datazione proposta al II-III sec. d.C.²⁰. Del resto, non si tratta di una di quelle gemme rinvenute durante i lavori di sterro a Roma, nei primi decenni dopo il 1870, ma di un esemplare acquistato dalla Commissione Archeologica Municipale, istituita nel 1872. La notizia è data in breve sul relativo “Buletto”, nel 1874, dove l'intaglio, non datato, è descritto come Vulcano in atto di fabbricare le armi di Achille²¹.

10. Si differenzia dalla precedente solo per alcuni particolari, come qui la ghirlanda che orna il sedile e il basamento su cui è posta l'incudine (Fig. 10). L'intaglio compare in quella collezione di calchi di Philipp Daniel Lippert²², di cui furono pubblicate la prima e la seconda migliaia (“Chilie”) nel 1755 e nel 1756, con testo latino del famoso filologo professore J.F. Christ di Lipsia; la terza nel 1762

¹⁶ N. inv. FG 8778; E.H. Tölken, *Erklärendes Verzeichnis der antiken vertieft geschnittenen Steine der Königlich Preussischen Gemmensammlung*, Berlin 1835, III, 120, n. 287; Furtwängler 1896, 321, tav. 62, n. 8778.

¹⁷ Furtwängler 1896, 307, tav. 60, n. 8394; Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 186, tav. 90, n. 517.

¹⁸ Sulla collezione, Gröschel 1979, 52, 54.

¹⁹ Righetti 1955, 11, tav. I, n. 6. Significativamente, l'intaglio è considerato antico anche in Brommer 1978, 220, Cat. n. 9.

²⁰ Righetti 1955, 11.

²¹ BullCom II (1874), 253.

²² Lippert¹ III, n. 75, I, 229.



Fig. 9. *Lapislazuli. Originale. Musei Capitolini, Roma. Foto A. De Luca.*

commentata dall'amico filologo Heyne; una scelta di 2000 pezzi seguì nel 1767 e un supplemento nel 1776. Inoltre questo intaglio è pubblicato nel noto catalogo del Raspe (1791), che descrive 15800 paste colorate, accurate repliche di cammei e intagli antichi e moderni, eseguite da James Tassie²³. Quanto alla pietra, il Lippert (nel testo latino si usa "sarda", ma è un fenomeno usuale, date le loro strette affinità) e il Raspe la definiscono corniola. Il Raspe dà solo il riferimento al Lippert e una brevissima spiegazione, la stessa dello stringato testo latino dell'Heyne, cioè che Vulcano seduto forgia un elmo. Invece nel testo tedesco il Lippert disquisisce sull'abbigliamento di Vulcano e sui vari destinatari dell'elmo – Marte, Achille, Enea o altri

– e si chiede per chi qui il dio lavori. Come di consueto in tali autori, per questo e il successivo intaglio manca qualsiasi datazione.

11. L'intaglio (con schema invertito rispetto al precedente), classificato come agata di molti colori, appartenente al Prof. Christ, a Lipsia (*Fig. 11*)²⁴, presenta un'interessante modifica, poiché riflette la commistione di due composizioni analoghe: più precisamente uno "scambio" di attributi dalla tipologia di Vulcano a quella di Dedalo che fabbrica l'ala, tenuta con una mano, come il dio con i pezzi di armatura, sull'incudine, posta su una roccia. Linea di terreno.

²³ Raspe 1791, n. 6450.

²⁴ Lippert¹ II, n. 71, I, 228; Raspe 1791, n. 6460.



Fig. 10. Corniola. Impronta pubblicata in Lippert¹ III, n. 75, I, 229. Attuale collocazione ignota. Foto DAI Roma.

Proprio per l'aggiunta dell'ala, Christ, nel suo commento ai calchi del Lippert, propone sia l'interpretazione di Vulcano intento alla sua opera, sia quella di Dedalo. Invece il Lippert ritiene un errore vedervi Dedalo e spiega l'intaglio come Vulcano che forgia un'ala per i calzari di Mercurio o per il fulmine di Giove. Questa identificazione è seguita dal Raspe che appunto non nomina Dedalo.

Purtroppo non è sicuro il tentativo di riconoscere questa gemma nella corniola documentata nella tavola del testo dell'antiquario Miliotti (Fig. 12)²⁵. E' infatti lecito un ragionevole scetticismo sulla fedeltà delle incisioni che corredano i testi, come questo, dei secoli XVII e XVIII, all'iconografia dei pezzi, poiché di frequente i disegnatori e gli incisori travisavano, alteravano, snaturavano la composizione da riprodurre, modificandola secondo lo

stile dell'epoca e/o traducendola nella loro maniera personale²⁶. Così, non verificando la corrispondenza del disegno, può rimanere il dubbio che l'arma sia stata male interpretata e resa come un'ala e il sedile come una corazza. Nel suo testo, giudicato privo di valore scientifico, e dove la proporzione delle pietre moderne è molto alta²⁷, il Miliotti spiega l'intaglio come Dedalo occupato a fabbricare le ali. L'autore parla anche della collezione che egli ha formato e da cui ha scelto i pezzi

²⁵ *Description d'une Collection de Pierres gravées, qui se trouvent au Cabinet Imperial à St. Petersbourg*, par Alphonse Miliotti, Vienna 1803, 120.

²⁶ Per questi problemi, Tassinari 1994, 33-36 e *passim*.

²⁷ Sul Miliotti *cfr. ad es.*, Reinach 1895, 132-134; Furtwängler 1900, III, 423; Zazoff 1983, 178 e nota 165.



Fig. 11. Agata. Impronta pubblicata in Lippert¹ II, n. 71, I, 228. Già collezione Christ; attuale collocazione ignota. Foto DAI Roma.

più belli per offrirli al pubblico. Essa è stata riunita in 15 anni di viaggi in Europa, principalmente a Napoli e in Sicilia; ma la parte più interessante e più numerosa è dovuta alle fortunate vendite di preziosi gabinetti avvenute a Parigi. Questa collezione, sottratta alle tempeste della rivoluzione francese, è passata con il Miliotti a S. Pietroburgo, dove l'Imperatrice Caterina II l'ha acquistata nel 1792.

Poiché la produzione glittica in esame è conosciuta finora in modo marginale, incontra difficoltà la sua precisazione cronologica. Si è visto come generalmente non sia possibile ricostruire le raccolte di cui fecero parte originariamente le gemme o come non si possa ancorarle ad un preciso momento di acquisto o come esso non risulti determinante. Dunque, esclusa la possibilità di

suffragare la datazione con dati esterni, si è costretti a ricorrere agli elementi antiquari e a valutare quegli "errori", cioè quelle convenzioni artistiche tipiche del suo tempo che l'artista moderno non riesce ad evitare. Non sussistono dubbi a proposito della modernità dello stile nelle gemme nn. 1-8; inoltre i motivi "antichi" sono stati fraintesi, alterati, rielaborati, contaminati con particolari pittorici e narrativi, non documentati sugli analoghi intagli antichi. Più difficile provare i sospetti di autenticità delle gemme del secondo gruppo, non tradite dal loro stile (ma nell'intaglio n. 11 sono state mischiate due iconografie). Depone a favore della non antichità, oltre a ciò che si dimostrerà, la strettissima somiglianza iconografica con le altre gemme, persino in quei dettagli "moderni" (il tipo di mantello, sedile e



Fig. 12. Corniola. Incisione pubblicata in Description d'une Collection de Pierres gravées, qui se trouvent au Cabinet Imperial à St. Petersbourg, par Alphonse Miliotti, Vienna 1803, 120.

incudine) e, in un caso, anche la pietra, il lapislazuli²⁸. Le gemme analizzate non sono isolabili per materiale; non si riscontra l'associazione di determinate pietre a precisi motivi figurativi; predominano tuttavia la corniola, l'agata e il lapislazuli²⁹. Se, come noto, la prima è la pietra più usata e comune in tutte le epoche, grazie alle sue caratteristiche intrinseche, cronologicamente significativo è l'impiego del lapislazuli³⁰ opaco, dal bellissimo colore azzurro o blu intenso, talora tendente al violaceo, non uniforme, di frequente punteggiato di macchie giallo oro e biancastre, per le picchiettature di pirite che creano un effetto maculato inconfondibile. Corrisponde assai probabilmente al "*Lapis sapphirus*" di Plinio che ne dà una descrizione precisa con esplicita annotazione delle "scintille" d'oro. La sua struttura e la diversa durezza dei componenti (oscilla in media tra 5-6 di Mohs) ha sempre creato dei problemi in antico, rendendo più difficile e delicato il lavoro sia nell'incisione (spesso si scheggiava) sia nella lucidatura manuale. Apprezzatissimo nell'antichità, è assai raro nella glittica greca: non mancano intagli in lapislazuli in epoca ellenistica e anche in quella romana, quando però sono altri i materiali in voga, di più facile approvvigionamento e lavorazione; è quindi eccezionale rinvenire esemplari in lapislazuli. Tali inconvenienti furono superati proprio con quella produzione di massa, di cui fanno parte i nostri intagli nn. 1-8, che utilizza largamente il lapislazuli³¹. Di questa fabbricazione, attribuendola al XVI e XVII secolo, parlò per primo Furtwängler³² a proposito dei lapislazuli ripetutamente impiegati nel tardo Impero per sigilli e per talismani; osservava che grandi quantità di lavori in lapislazuli venivano eseguiti in modo molto superficiale (*allerflüchtigster*) e grossolano (*rohester*) sulla scia di antichi motivi e perciò talvolta non erano facilmente riconoscibili dai rozzi esemplari tardoromani. E lo studioso ammetteva che appartenevano all'epoca moderna quegli intagli del Catalogo di Berlino (nn. 8733-8821; tra essi vi è il nostro n. 8) da lui invece classificati alla fine delle mediocri pietre antiche.

Le osservazioni del Furtwängler sono state confermate e ampliate. Vediamo quali dati possiamo ricavare dagli intagli simili ai nostri nn. 1-8, per lo più in lapislazuli e corniola, premettendo che purtroppo la maggior parte di essi non sono pubblicati. Tale situazione obbliga ad una certa cautela nell'affermare che nell'ambito di questa produzione emergono vari stili e gruppi, per ora più individuabili che ben determinabili. Lo dimostrano i lotti più cospicui di questi intagli, cioè quelli di Nijmegen (Provinciaal Museum G.M. Kam), datati al XVI-XVII secolo, della serie moderna del Museo

Archeologico Nazionale di Madrid, e del Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna, ascritti dal XVI alla metà del XVII secolo, editi rispettivamente dalla Maaskant-Kleibrink, dalla Casal Garcia e dalla Zwierlein-Diehl, che hanno avuto il merito di aver richiamato l'attenzione su questi prodotti di massa in lapislazuli e in corniola. Dunque, si evidenzia che vari pezzi, pressoché identici tra loro, si possono riunire e collocare in diversi "filoni". Ma, visti i pochi cataloghi a disposizione, il tentativo di definire "mani" o "officine" si potrebbe rivelare arbitrario. Comunque, il confronto tra intagli, in corniola e in lapislazuli (ma anche in altri materiali), con tipi ricorrenti, resi nello stesso modo (ad esempio quello dell'Amore stante), manifesta che essi provengono dalle stesse officine. Inoltre, nonostante la documentazione sia limitata, la produzione si palesa copiosa, come del resto già rilevava Zazoff, indicando che ci sono molti di questi lapislazuli, da lui datati al XVII e XVIII secolo, nella collezione del Cabinet des Médailles di Parigi e che quasi tutte le grandi raccolte ne possiedono almeno alcuni; così a Kassel (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen) ce ne sono più di un centinaio³³.

Tali lavori moderni – spesso di dimensioni maggiori degli esemplari antichi – sono caratterizzati da rendimento molto sommario e dall'eccessiva accentuazione della parte inferiore del corpo delle figure stanti, esageratamente spostata in fuori (peculiarità ovviamente non rilevabile nelle nostre figure, per lo più sedute). E che ci si rivolga, per i soggetti e per lo stile, agli intagli tardoromani, prodotti di massa scadenti e grossolani, è dimostrato da vari esempi. Uno significativo è il più volte

²⁸ Così, è stata giustamente avanzata l'ipotesi di un lavoro moderno per un intaglio in lapislazuli con una composizione simile alla nostra e molto vicina alle antiche – Apollo citaredo seduto sopra un sedile ornato da una ghirlanda – al Museo Archeologico di Firenze (F.M. Vanni, *Gli Intagli*, in Tondo-Vanni 1990, 170, n. 53, 198).

²⁹ Che la corniola e il lapislazuli non siano i materiali esclusivi di questa produzione è stato già notato; *ad es.*, Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 91, n. 184; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 25; Chaves Tristán-Casal Garcia 1993, 316. Cfr. anche Furtwängler 1900, 308, n. 21.

³⁰ Sul lapislazuli cfr., A. Lipinsky, *Oro, argento, gemme e smalti*, Firenze 1975, 297-300; G. Devoto, *Geologia applicata all'archeologia*, Roma 1985, 87-88; G. Devoto-A. Molayem, *Archeogemmologia. Pietre antiche, glittica, magia e litoterapia*, Roma 1990, 134-139, 186, 189-191, 227.

³¹ Proprio la sua difficilissima lavorazione dà adito alle considerazioni dell'incisore Louis Siries, alla metà del XVIII secolo, sul tipo di pietra – appunto il lapislazuli – usato per un suo intaglio: Levi 1985, 186-188. In linea generale, ricordiamo come la maggior fortuna di alcune pietre invece di altre deriva anche dalla disponibilità di attrezzi e tecnologie capaci di vincere le loro durezza.

³² Furtwängler 1900, III, 362 e nota 1.

³³ Zazoff 1983a, 343, nota 295. Cfr. note 48, 56, 61.

citato lapislazuli di Berlino, datato al più tardo III sec. d.C.³⁴, con Bonus Eventus (?) stante, con cornucopia, mantello dietro le spalle, con quella serie di linee superflue, tipiche di queste composizioni. La Sena Chiesa accosta quest'intaglio ad un analogo diaspro del Museo Nazionale di Aquileia³⁵ e sottolinea le singolarità stilistiche dei pezzi: i capelli a fiocchi, il panneggio a elementi curvilinei alternati ad altri a V (in particolare, a V è sotto il collo), il rendimento a "salsiccia" degli arti, il modo di stilizzare le ginocchia (quasi piegate) e di raffigurare i piedi leggermente sollevati dal suolo. La studiosa richiama intagli su vetro di III-IV secolo con analoghi elementi stilistici e tecnici e pensa ad un'officina di intagli di vetro e pietre dure, di III o IV secolo, collocabile forse in Oriente. Della stessa officina sarebbero il suddetto intaglio e altri del Museo di Berlino³⁶. Invece l'intaglio di Aquileia e quello di Berlino, proprio per le loro indubbie affinità con le gemme del nostro primo gruppo (solo qualche elemento formale è diverso, come la pettinatura), sono giustamente considerati moderni da altri studiosi³⁷ che ricordano un'altra simile agata zonata, a Berlino, datata al più tardo III sec. d.C.³⁸ con Ercole contro Cerbero e con quel panneggio ad arco delle nostre gemme. Va notato che entrambi gli intagli di Berlino appartengono alla più antica collezione della corte di Brandeburgo, come 1/3 di tutti i lapislazuli del Museo; nell'inventario molto sommario del 1649 non è annotata la raffigurazione ma solo il materiale delle 67 gemme, quasi tutti intagli; nell'inventario del 1672 è documentata l'agata con Ercole e Cerbero³⁹. Come accennato, sono numerosi i pezzi di Berlino, prima ritenuti antichi, di ordinaria esecuzione, dal Furtwängler poi ricollegati a questa produzione di massa⁴⁰. Giustamente la Zwierlein-Diehl sottolinea che proprio la fattura molto superficiale (*flüchtig* è l'aggettivo che la studiosa usa per questa produzione), la qualità misera, l'uso di pochi strumenti fa sì che tali gemme moderne appaiano simili ai rozzi intagli della più tarda età imperiale e che appunto a quell'epoca siano tuttora, di frequente, ascritti⁴¹. Perciò vanno ricondotti alla produzione in esame, e in particolare prevalentemente ai nostri nn. 1-7, quegli intagli in lapislazuli, per lo più, in corniola, diaspro, eliotropio o plasma, con figure maschili (divinità o eroti) stanti, di rado sedute, che invece sono datati al III sec. d.C., attestati a Monaco (Staatliche Münzsammlung)⁴² e nella settecentesca collezione glittica Riminaldi, donata al Museo di Ferrara e ivi conservata, sulla cui provenienza non si hanno dati, ma presumibilmente formata da acquisti sul mercato antiquario romano⁴³. Due altri lapislazuli dello stesso tipo, assegnati al III-IV sec. d.C., si trovano sia nella

collezione Lewis (pezzo dall'Henig posto in relazione con i due succitati intagli di Berlino)⁴⁴, ereditata dal Corpus Christi College di Cambridge, alla fine del 1800, costituita da gemme, antiche e non, acquistate da Lewis in Italia, Francia, Grecia e Paesi orientali, sia al Musée des Beaux-Arts di Rennes⁴⁵, tra gli intagli e cammei dell'eclettico Gabinetto di antichità di Christophe-Paul, marchese di Robien (1698-1756). Oppure è lasciato aperto il discorso sulla cronologia di queste gemme; così, per una corniola con il solito tipo dell'erote stante con arco e le linee sinuose ad indicare la clamide svolazzante (*Fig. 13*), datata al III-IV sec. d.C.⁴⁶, della collezione del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (sulla provenienza delle gemme non si hanno dati; è molto probabile che parecchie siano state comperate a Roma e a Aquileia), come intagli analoghi sono portati a confronto dalla Mandrioli Bizzarri una corniola di Aquileia (riferita invece da qualche studioso alla produzione in questione)⁴⁷ e un lapislazuli di Kassel (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen), giustamente ascritto dallo Zazoff al XVII-XVIII secolo, nel gruppo dei lapislazuli, e del tutto affine ai nostri⁴⁸. Del resto la stessa studiosa propone una datazione al III-IV sec. d.C. o al XVII-XVIII secolo

³⁴ Furtwängler 1896, 322, n. 8770 (senza illustrazione); Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 186, tav. 89, 515.

³⁵ Sena Chiesa 1966, 323, tav. XLVII, n. 928a.

³⁶ Furtwängler 1896, 322, tav. 62, nn. 8760, 8769, 8785, 8795.

³⁷ Zazoff 1983a, 343 nota 295 (cita solo l'intaglio di Berlino); Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 91; Casal Garcia 1990, I, 73; Chaves Tristán-Casal Garcia 1993, 316.

³⁸ Furtwängler 1896, 322, tav. 62, n. 8792; Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 190-191, tav. 92, n. 535.

³⁹ Gröschel 1979, 52. Per i due intagli in questione l'autore (57, nn. 54-55) segue la datazione al più tardo III sec. d.C. Per la storia della collezione, cfr. anche Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, 9; per i pezzi, Furtwängler 1896, 320-322, tav. 62, nn. 8733-8821.

⁴⁰ Furtwängler 1896, 320-322, tav. 62, nn. 8733-8821 (vari pezzi non sono illustrati, ma classificati dal Furtwängler dello stesso tipo).

⁴¹ Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 393; cfr. anche 386.

⁴² AGDS 1972, 58, tav. 222, n. 2453; 68, tav. 231, nn. 2522a, n. 2524; 82, tav. 245, n. 2639; 104, tav. 262, n. 2789.

⁴³ A. D'Agostini, *Gemme del Museo Civico di Ferrara* (Quaderni dei Musei Ferraresi/2), Firenze 1984, 28, n. 24; 48, n. 83 (considerato non finito). E' probabilmente da ricondurre alla produzione in esame anche un lapislazuli con Eros seduto su una roccia, datato al II-III sec. d.C. (*ibidem*, 30, fig. 30).

⁴⁴ M. Henig, *The Lewis Collection of Engraved Gemstones in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, BAR, Suppl. I, Oxford 1975, 31, tav. 7, n. 99.

⁴⁵ Robien 1972, 25-26, n. 25.

⁴⁶ Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 90, n. 143.

⁴⁷ L'intaglio (dove sono meno accentuate le solite caratteristiche) è pubblicato in Sena Chiesa 1966, 320, tav. XLVI, n. 912; è citato come confronto con il gruppo dei lapislazuli in Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 91; Casal Garcia 1990, I, 73.

⁴⁸ Zazoff 1983a, 394, nota 40, tav. 130, 4. Pressoché identico è un altro lapislazuli, *ibidem*, tav. 130, 5.



Fig. 13. Corniola. Originale. Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna (da Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 90, n. 143).

per una serie di intagli bolognesi in lapislazuli, per lo più con figure maschili stanti (perciò risaltano meno le analogie con i nostri pezzi) che presentano quelle caratteristiche stilistiche già evidenziate, come il rendimento “a salsiccia” degli arti⁴⁹.

Si deve alla Maaskant-Kleibrink l'aver identificato varie di queste gemme tra le pubblicate dal noto filologo, professore e antiquario olandese Iacobus Gronovius (1645-1716), nella seconda parte delle sue due nuove edizioni (1695; 1707), ampiamente diffuse, dell'opera di Abraham Gorlaeus (1549-1609). Come infatti indicava lo stesso Gronovius, grato agli esperti conoscitori che l'avevano aiutato, tra cui Graevius e Smetius, molte delle numerose gemme da lui aggiunte non erano di Gorlaeus, bensì prese da celebri collezioni o da altri testi. E appunto tra le gemme incluse da Gronovius ve ne

sono parecchie di moderne, come giustamente sostiene la Maaskant-Kleibrink⁵⁰. La studiosa segnala il caso, in Gronovius, di una corniola antica, con un Panisco che suona la tibia, di Smetius, ora a Monaco, e della sua imitazione moderna, in lapislazuli, con lievi modifiche e l'aggiunta di particolari⁵¹. La resa grossolana, o meglio cattiva, degli intagli⁵², le spiegazioni di Gronovius, brevi, scarse di informazioni per noi utili, non

⁴⁹ Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 145-149, nn. 279-292. Per le considerazioni sul gruppo dei lapislazuli, *ibidem*, 144.

⁵⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XII-XIII.

⁵¹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XII-XIII, fig. 7; 105, App. 3. L'originale è Gronovius, II, 57, n. 665; l'imitazione, *ibidem*, 38, n. 478.

⁵² Per le forti critiche alle tavole di Gronovius e le accuse che molte delle gemme edite sono moderne, Tassinari 1994, 49-50.

rendono facile riconoscere i pezzi della produzione in esame; comunque, ad un primo elenco fornito dalla Maaskant-Kleibrink⁵³ si possono unire, indicativamente, altri analoghi esemplari che, non modificando il panorama emergente dai confronti, lo arricchiscono⁵⁴.

Con la stessa tecnica e lo stile dei nostri intagli nn. 1-7 – la particolare resa della strana pettinatura, del profilo semplificato o schematico, del torace e delle estremità – ve ne sono altri, per lo più in lapislazuli e corniola che presentano, con lievi varianti, figure maschili nude, identificabili talvolta con un guerriero o Marte, seduti su un pezzo di roccia, un tronco d'albero o una corazza, da cui si dipartono quei tipici segmenti-raggi riempitivi, lance o frecce; una mano è posata o tiene una lancia, l'altra protesa un elmo, un ramo o un oggetto non definibile da cui pendono due lunghi nastri. Li troviamo nella serie moderna del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Madrid⁵⁵, a Kassel (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen; XVII-XVIII secolo)⁵⁶, a Nijmegen (Provinciaal Museum Kam; collezione Guyot, XVI-XVII secolo)⁵⁷, nella raccolta glittica del Museo Archeologico di Bari (la maggior parte dei 225 pezzi è confluita in seguito ad acquisizioni degli anni tra 1889 e 1903), in quel gruppo cospicuo di gemme che l'Autrice ha escluso dalle antiche⁵⁸ e, con stile leggermente diverso, a Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum; XVI-metà del XVII secolo)⁵⁹. Negli stessi Musei sono presenti, più numerosi, gli intagli, dello stesso stile, tipo, materiale e ambito cronologico, con personaggi stanti, maschili e femminili, spesso divinità, guerrieri o i già visti Cupidi, con caratteristiche come l'accentuazione dell'anca, il panneggio con scollatura a V sul davanti e spesso, come rilevato⁶⁰, un ramo d'albero. Dunque, ve ne sono a Kassel⁶¹, a Nijmegen⁶², a Vienna, in quella consistente serie di intagli, per lo più della "collezione Estense", qualcuno dal mercato antiquario⁶³, a Monaco (Münzkabinett), riconosciuto del gruppo in esame⁶⁴, nonché a Bologna, con la serie succitata. Ma sono le gemme moderne del Museo di Madrid, prevalentemente lapislazuli e corniole, ma anche agate zonate, diaspri e ametiste, ad offrire i confronti più abbondanti per i nostri pezzi: sono i sempre ricorrenti Cupidi⁶⁵, tra loro quasi uguali, i personaggi stanti, soli⁶⁶ o inseriti in scene più complesse, come Venere e Marte o Eros; Apollo e Marsia...⁶⁷. E tra gli intagli realizzati con lo stesso stile ve ne sono anche di soggetto cristiano⁶⁸.

Come accennato, sono pochi gli intagli (pubblicati) che mostrano strette affinità tecniche e stilistiche con la gemma n. 8. Un lapislazuli è tra quegli intagli individuati dalla Maaskant-Kleibrink a Monaco (Staatliche Münzsammlung), appartenenti alla collezione glittica, parte di una raccolta di antichità

trovate a Nijmegen, riunita dal famoso antiquario Johannes Smetius (1590-1661), aumentata dal figlio, inclusa anche tra le gemme pubblicate dal Gronovius, venduta nel 1704 all'Elettore Palatino, Johann Wilhelm, e finita a Monaco⁶⁹. Questo lapislazuli, con Marte armato stante accanto ad un'ara, nel catalogo tedesco ascripto al III-IV sec. d.C. e alla collezione Steiglehner, è invece giustamente attribuito al XVI-XVII secolo dalla Maaskant-Kleibrink, secondo cui l'esemplare di Steiglehner può esser analogo⁷⁰. Si collocano in questo gruppo stilistico altri intagli, a Monaco, con figure stanti: un prasio, con una Dea (?), datato al più tardo III

⁵³ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XIII (nn. 178, 543, 560, 562, 600-603). Si tratta delle solite teste di profilo o delle figure stanti, per lo più in lapislazuli.

⁵⁴ Ci si limita alle figure: Gronovius, II, 23, n. 204, n. 206, n. 207; 29-31, nn. 272-273, nn. 291-292; 49-50, nn. 543-546, n. 560, n. 563, nn. 570-571, n. 604, n. 605; 53-54, nn. 608-617, n. 622; 56-57, n. 650, n. 654, nn. 656-663.

⁵⁵ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 206-208; II, 114-115, 118-119, nn. 144-148, n. 164, n. 166, n. 168.

⁵⁶ Zazoff 1983a, 394, nota 40, tav. 130, 7; Gronovius, II, 52-53, n. 602.

⁵⁷ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 89, n. 180 (= *ibidem*, XII, fig. 6; Gronovius, II, 53, n. 606). Cfr. anche *ibidem*, 90, n. 183, 92, n. 188 (confronti meno precisi, con donne sedute, datati al XV-XVII secolo).

⁵⁸ G. Tamma, *Le Gemme del Museo Archeologico di Bari*, Bari 1991, 94, n. 172 (esemplare quasi uguale a Casal Garcia 1990, I, 208; II, 119, n. 168, cit. a nota 55).

⁵⁹ Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 281 tav. 204, n. 2649.

⁶⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XII. E' questo un motivo ricorrente (anche dalla descrizione) in Furtwängler 1896, 320-322, tav. 62, nn. 8733-8821.

⁶¹ Zazoff 1983a, 394, nota 40, tav. 130, 6.

⁶² Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 90-91, n. 181 (proveniente da acquisto; stile più schematico e tagliente), nn. 184-185 (entrambi collezione Guyot), n. 187 (= Gronovius, II, 30, n. 284).

⁶³ Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 247, tav. 177, n. 2540/8, 249, tav. 179, n. 2540/33, 259, tav. 189, n. 2562, 263, tav. 191, n. 2581, 282-283, tav. 205-206, n. 2659, n. 2661, n. 2662 (= Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 391-393, fig. 30), n. 2663, n. 2664, n. 2665 (schema diverso), nn. 2668-2669, 284, tav. 206, n. 2673 (= Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 391-393, fig. 29), n. 2674.

⁶⁴ Furtwängler 1900, 308, tav. LXVII, n. 21.

⁶⁵ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 203-204; II, 107-108, nn. 109-118.

⁶⁶ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 203-205; II, 106, 109, 112-113, nn. 105-106, 119-120, 137-141. Cfr. anche, *ibidem*, I, 204; II, 109, nn. 121-122.

⁶⁷ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 202-203; II, 104-106, nn. 99-104.

⁶⁸ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 74, 210; II, 124, nn. 200-201. Del tutto simile è una corniola di Vienna, con S. Andrea; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 287, tav. 208, n. 2690 (= Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 392-393, fig. 33).

⁶⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, IX-XII. A tal proposito è interessante ricordare che G. Seidmann (Recensione a I.S. Weber, *Kostbare Steine. Die Gemmensammlung des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz*, *The Burlington Magazine* CXXXV (1993), 704) critica la scelta della Weber di aver aggiunto 20 intagli da lei giudicati antichi e invece pertinenti – ricorda la Seidmann – al gruppo dei lapislazuli.

⁷⁰ AGDS 1972, 96, tav. 255, n. 2728; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 116, App. 41.

sec. d.C., e un lapislazuli, con un giovane, in una mano un timone e un ramo nell'altra, al II-IV sec. d.C.⁷¹; un lapislazuli, con la personificazione della vittoria (?), e un'agata zonata (acquistata ad un'asta Sotheby, nel 1924) con Bellona (?), della collezione Wellcome, al Fitzwilliam Museum di Cambridge, inseriti tra i pezzi del XVI-XVIII secolo⁷²; infine un lapislazuli illustrato tra gli intagli non antichi della collezione di Robien ora al Musée des Beaux-Arts di Rennes⁷³, con una figura stante femminile, la cui lettura è ostacolata da placche d'argento – le armi del marchese di Robien – poste sulla superficie.

Le stesse officine responsabili della produzione in massa di lapislazuli e corniole, con figure, lo sono anche di quella serie di intagli, prevalentemente in queste due pietre, di teste, di profilo, spesso con corone radiate, datate dalla Maaskant-Kleibrink per lo più al XVI-XVII secolo⁷⁴, inserite dalla Casal Garcia nel gruppo moderno⁷⁵, incastonate in una piccola anfora di smalto, della metà del XVII secolo a Vienna, e ascritte dalla Zwierlein-Diehl al XVI-prima metà del XVII secolo⁷⁶. La Maaskant-Kleibrink rileva che queste teste ricordano le monete di Tetrico coniate in Gallia nel III sec. d.C., molto popolari in Renania, Britannia, Olanda; la Zwierlein-Diehl⁷⁷ pensa anche possano esser copiate dalle gemme con la testa del Sole. Al contrario, secondo la Vollenweider questa caratteristica tecnica di intaglio, espressiva e molto rozza, e la particolare stilizzazione dei tratti fisionomici risentono dell'influsso della glittica sassanide e barbara e vanno perciò attribuite al III sec. d.C.⁷⁸. Così, sulla scia della Vollenweider, sono date al III-IV sec. d.C. varie teste analoghe, tra cui, ad esempio, quelle di Helios-Sole, al Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna⁷⁹.

Se i lapislazuli pubblicati da Gronovius non furono presi dalle collezioni del XVII secolo ma da quella di Gorlaeus, la loro datazione – osserva la Maaskant-Kleibrink – deve risalire, dal XVII secolo, al XVI o persino al XV secolo⁸⁰. Alla Zwierlein-Diehl sembra esatta quest'ipotesi: piuttosto che nel XVII secolo, l'inizio della produzione si può porre nella prima metà del XVI secolo e lo sviluppo nell'ambito del XVI secolo, come dimostrano le corniole incastonate nella succitata anfora di Vienna⁸¹. Considerazioni, queste, confermate proprio dagli intagli del nostro secondo gruppo; nonostante essi suscitino maggior incertezza, perché si attengono più fedelmente agli antichi modelli, la loro elaborazione è frutto di quella nuova fioritura conosciuta dalla glittica nel XVI secolo. Nel Rinascimento, infatti, le pietre antiche, provenienti dagli scavi, che si riversano sul mercato, il vivo interesse e il favore riscosso dalla glittica conducono sia all'ap-

passionata formazione di ricche raccolte di originali sia alla ricerca di una tecnica che permetta l'esecuzione precisa e accurata di nuovi intagli, emuli degli antichi capolavori. Rispondendo ai grandi collezionisti che fanno restaurare le gemme antiche, e ne ordinano repliche, e alle crescenti richieste di una clientela sempre più numerosa, i pezzi antichi sono imitati, copiati, falsificati; nelle collezioni sono collocati accanto originali, imitazioni e nuove creazioni. Gli incisori arrivano, con successo, a una tale perfezione da rendere talvolta difficile, per gli stessi antiquari esperti, riconoscere i pezzi classici⁸². E questo è tuttora, come più volte ripetuto⁸³, un problema di non agevole risoluzione e non sono ben determinati i criteri per una definitiva distinzione delle gemme antiche dalle post-classiche. Ora, gli intagli di entrambi i gruppi derivano dallo stesso modello – la gemma n. 10 –, opera di Valerio Belli o Giovanni Bernardi, le figure più notevoli del gruppo degli incisori italiani della fine del XV-prima metà del XVI secolo, che

⁷¹ AGDS 1972, 79-80, tav. 242, n. 2614; 81, tav. 243, n. 2627.

⁷² Nicholls 1983, 44-45, nn. 203, 207.

⁷³ Robien 1972, 43-44, n. 23, fig. a destra.

⁷⁴ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, 87-89, 93, nn. 174-179, n. 191. Cfr. *ibidem*, XII, fig. 6, una di queste teste radiate pubblicate da Gronovius.

⁷⁵ Casal Garcia 1990, I, 73, 195-197; II, 87-95, nn. 1-33.

⁷⁶ Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 26, 248-249 (ove numerosi confronti), tav. 175 (l'anfora), tav. 178, n. 2540/17, tav. 179, n. 2540/25; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 389-390, figg. 25, 26. Per altri intagli dell'anfora, cfr. nota 63.

⁷⁷ Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 248. E' significativo ricordare che già Furtwängler riconduceva alla produzione in esame una di queste teste in corniola, ritenuta antica (Furtwängler 1900, 309, tav. LXVII, n. 31).

⁷⁸ M.L. Vollenweider, s.v. Glittica, in *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte*, Firenze 1958, vol. VI, 283-284; Ead., *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève. Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées*, II, Mainz am Rhein 1979, 257-258, tav. 83, fig. 3, n. 269 (III-IV sec. d.C.); Ead., *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève. Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées*, III, Mainz am Rhein 1983, 187-188, n. 238 (seconda metà del III sec. d.C.) (in entrambi gli intagli, però, non sono evidenti le caratteristiche "moderne").

⁷⁹ Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 124, nn. 252-253 (ricollegati invece alla produzione in questione in Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 26), 126, n. 257.

⁸⁰ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XII e *passim*.

⁸¹ Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 26; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 393.

⁸² Sull'argomento, Wentzel 1958, 293-296; Giuliano 1971, 327; Aschengreen Piacenti 1972, 63; Dacos 1972, 140-142; Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 143-144; E. Veljovic, *Les camées et la nostalgie de l'antiquité*, in *Vrai ou faux* 1988, 29-31; L. Tondo, *I Cammei*, in Tondo-Vanni 1990, 7-12, 16.

⁸³ Per una discussione delle questioni relative alle gemme non antiche, nuove creazioni in antico stile e gli "errori" delle copie, Zwierlein-Diehl 1993. Sul problema "antico/non antico" nella glittica, cfr., oltre a nota precedente, Gasparri 1977, 25, 33; P.G. Guzzo, *Tre spunti dall'antico*, *BdA* 20 (1983), 1-4; Levi 1985, 178; Höcker 1987-88, 14-15; Casal Garcia 1990, 71-72.

hanno rivestito somma importanza per la glittica, tanto da venir elogiati come insigni Maestri che con i loro cristalli avevano toccato l'apice della gloria. Infatti quasi uguale alla gemma n. 10 è una placchetta di bronzo (cm. 3,3 x 2,6) ovale, con stretta cornice leggermente profilata e foro in alto, non firmata, attribuita a Giovanni Bernardi, acquistata nel 1896, conservata a Berlino (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie) (Fig. 14)⁸⁴. Le variazioni si riducono a qualche particolare, come il basamento non cilindrico ma quadrangolare su cui è posta l'incudine o il lembo del mantello meno svolazzante. Certo dall'impronta i dettagli risultano più chiari, ad esempio la pettinatura di Vulcano o l'elmo a cui lavora. Una placchetta uguale (cm. 3,6 x 2,8) in piombo, ovale, a Monaco (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum), è segnalata dal Donati⁸⁵.



Fig. 14. Placchetta di bronzo (Inv. 2291). Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie, Berlino. Foto Museo.

La stessa figura di Vulcano è inserita in una composizione più complessa in un intaglio, del quale abbiamo solo l'impronta (Fig. 15). Il dio barbato, i capelli al vento, è seduto su un sedile non ben precisabile, a colpire una freccia tenuta sull'incudine-roccia. Al centro Venere stante, con un mantello allacciato sul davanti che le scende lungo le spalle e le lascia il corpo nudo, il viso girato di $\frac{3}{4}$, un braccio portato sulla testa, l'altro abbassato tiene due frecce; infine Cupido, di profilo, è in atto di allontanarsi dalla fucina con l'arco e il braccio alzato verso la mano di Venere. Linea di terreno. L'impronta di questo intaglio appare nella dattilioteca del Lippert⁸⁶, che nel testo tedesco dà il tipo di pietra – grosso diaspro – e una breve spiegazione



Fig. 15. Impronta, già collezione Dehn. Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche, Milano. Foto Medagliere.

della scena: Vulcano forgia le frecce probabilmente per Cupido; l'autore crede sia un lavoro del famoso Valerio Vicentino. Tale importante notazione non compare nel testo latino, che però fornisce un altro dato, sui possessori "*in Gallis usquam*". Inciso da Valerio Vicentino è ripetuto anche dal Raspe⁸⁷. L'intaglio non compare tra le impronte della raccolta Cades, mentre ve n'è un calco in zolfo rosso nella collezione Dehn, pubblicata dal Dolce; un esemplare è conservato nella collezione presso il Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano⁸⁸. Della spiegazione del Dolce si può ricordare solo la dilettevole osservazione che Venere è in atto di declamare. Secondo il fenomeno frequente di quel periodo, per cui gli studiosi usavano diversi termini per le stesse pietre, la nostra è detta diaspro dal Lippert, diaspro o piuttosto cristallo di rocca dal Raspe e sardonica

⁸⁴ Bange 1922, 118, tav. 72, n. 895; Donati 1989, 260-261, tav. CXL.

⁸⁵ Donati 1989, 260.

⁸⁶ Lippert¹ II, n. 72, I, 231.

⁸⁷ Raspe 1791, n. 6468.

⁸⁸ Cassetta 8 (H), n. 55; *Descrizione istorica del Museo di Cristiano Dehn, dedicata alla Regia Società degli antiquari di Londra per l'abate Francesco Maria Dolce, dottore per l'una e per l'altra Legge, e Pastore Arcade con il nome di Delco Erimantico*, Roma 1772, tomo I, 84, n. 55.



Fig. 16. Placchetta di bronzo (Inv. 1737). Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie, Berlino. Foto Museo.

dal Dolce. In mancanza di originale, non si può stabilire la pietra, ma si accorda meglio con la produzione del Belli il cristallo di rocca che appunto per merito dell'artista divenne il materiale preferito nella glittica sino ad epoca barocca⁸⁹.

Tratta da questo intaglio e spiegata come Venere nella fucina di Vulcano è una placchetta di bronzo ovale, con cornice profilata (cm. 3,7 x 2,9), acquistata nel 1890-91, conservata a Berlino (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie) (Fig. 16)⁹⁰. Lo stato di conservazione della placchetta e il diverso materiale rendono i particolari poco chiari (così, non sono distinguibili i dettagli dei visi); perciò non si può affermare con sicurezza se, come sembra, vi è qualche lieve diversità, ad esempio nel viso di Venere e nella sua pettinatura. Nello stesso Museo di Berlino è presente una variante un po' più grande, una placchetta di piombo ovale con stretta cornice profilata (cm. 4,4 x 3,3), con foro in alto e in basso, acquistata nel 1900 (Fig. 17)⁹¹. Risaltano chiare le differenze di questa composizione dalla precedente: l'incudine è rettangolare; il viso di Venere, di profilo, è assai meglio riuscito così come il suo corpo, senza la posa inarcata; l'amorino sembra toccare la mano della dea; le figure sono più allungate e slanciate. Sebbene queste variazioni siano nel complesso leggere, si ha l'impressione che il livello qualitativo della seconda placchetta (e del relativo intaglio che essa indirettamente testimonia) sia – di poco – superiore alla prima. Un altro esemplare di questa placchetta, sempre ovale e con cornice, ma di bronzo (cm. 4,1



Fig. 17. Placchetta di piombo (Inv. 2561). Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie, Berlino. Foto D. Graf.

x 3,2) si trova al Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna⁹². Il Bange identifica la seconda placchetta di Berlino come tratta dal suesaminato intaglio ma la assegna a Giovanni Bernardi⁹³. A questa placchetta, e connessa attribuzione, fa riferimento il Planiscig, pubblicando l'esemplare di Vienna; lo studioso condivide che essa sia ricavata da quell'intaglio e ammette che stilisticamente può essere un lavoro del Bernardi; però, lo ritiene più vicino allo stile del Belli a cui appunto lo ascrive.

La mancanza di firma (entrambi gli artisti la variavano, scrivendola ora per intero, ora abbreviata) rende impossibile dirimere subito la questione della paternità; inoltre i vari problemi insoluti, nonostante l'ampia bibliografia che vantano sia il Belli sia il Bernardi, inducono ad affrontare un rapido

⁸⁹ Wentzel 1958, 293.

⁹⁰ Bange 1922, 119, tav. 72, n. 901; citata come esemplare identico al seguente in Donati 1989, 260.

⁹¹ Bange 1922, 119, tav. 72, n. 900; Donati 1989, 260-261, tav. CXXXIX.

⁹² L. Planiscig, *Die Bronzeplastiken. Statuetten, Reliefs, Geräte und Plaketten*, Katalog, Wien 1924, 257, n. 434.

⁹³ Anche Dalton (Dalton 1915, 39, nota 7) cita l'intaglio, tra le gemme del Bernardi riprodotte come placchette.

esame dei due Maestri e dell'ambiente artistico in cui operavano. Poiché non è oggetto del presente lavoro tracciare un profilo della loro personalità e della loro opera, bensì solo fornire un contributo minimo a quella attività di incisori, che li rese celebri, determinante per la nostra indagine, i dati qui forniti sono deliberatamente limitati e strettamente pertinenti allo scopo della ricerca.

Valerio Belli detto Valerio Vicentino (Vicenza 1468-1546)⁹⁴, proveniente da una famiglia nobile, fecondissimo incisore in pietre fini e in cristallo di rocca, orefice, abilissimo coniatore di medaglie, godette di onori, di favori e di larga fama presso papi, principi e potenti che se lo contesero, commissionandogli numerosissime opere; intrattenne rapporti di amicizia con personaggi, come Pietro Bembo, Giangiorgio Trissino, Francesco d'Hollanda, l'umanista Lascaris, suo ispiratore, Michelangelo e Raffaello che lo ritrassero. Le prime notizie sicure del Belli risalgono al 1520 a Roma, dove soggiornò a lungo; ritornò a Vicenza nel 1521, successivamente a Roma e infine nel 1530 a Vicenza, ove rimase sino alla morte. Nel 1536 fu eletto "gastaldo" (la carica più alta) della corporazione degli orefici di Vicenza, che si risollevò proprio grazie alla sua prestigiosa personalità. Lavorò per vari papi – Leone X, Clemente VII, Paolo III – paci, candelieri e croci di cristallo; investito dell'ufficio di coniatore della zecca pontificia fece diversi conii col ritratto del papa e con rovesci bellissimi, tratti dall'antico. Il Belli ebbe una lunga carriera e un'intensa e poliedrica attività; delle innumerevoli opere per cui era lodato, segnalate dalle fonti, ne sono rimaste pochissime certe; la maggior parte sono oggi disperse o se ne hanno solo notizie o si conoscono attraverso le numerosissime placchette di bronzo e piombo ricavate dalle sue incisioni. Dai documenti è indicato indifferentemente come "aurifex" e "excellentissimo gemmarum sculptore", ma le testimonianze biografiche e professionali sono per lo più legate alla sua arte di intagliatore. Infatti le prove dell'attività orafa del Belli, non firmate, sono state "restituite" all'artista dalla critica recente, che lo ritiene operoso specialmente come orefice, nei suoi anni giovanili. Grande era il numero di medaglie del Belli; significative per il suo rapporto con l'antico, quelle con effigi di celebri uomini e donne dell'antichità greco-romana, coi rovesci conati su modelli antichi, come le note medaglie dei 12 imperatori, poste da alcuni studiosi tra i "capricci" dovuti all'infatuazione umanistica e da altri tra le "falsificazioni". Comunque, d'Hollanda, in un passo, si dice deliziato dalle medaglie mostrategli dal Belli, fabbricate in modo ammirevole, secondo l'arte greca o romana⁹⁵.

Il Belli meritò dai contemporanei l'appellativo di "principe degli incisori", per maestria perfetta e

incomparabile e per l'influsso esercitato sugli incisori del tempo, accorsi a Roma proprio per colui che consideravano il loro capo. Formatosi nell'ambiente veneto, in cui si collocano i suoi lavori di oreficeria che testimoniano lo stile mantegnesco, Belli subì una profonda trasformazione di stile nel periodo romano, dal secondo decennio del '500, con la conoscenza delle opere di Michelangelo, di Raffaello e della sua bottega, influenze e fascino perduranti nella sua produzione, che dal classicismo arrivò fino al manierismo. Il Vasari ammira le molte qualità artistiche del Belli: la finezza e la perfezione tecnica, la straordinaria pulitezza e l'incredibile facilità, la pazienza, la diligenza e la speditezza nell'esecuzione e la pratica nell'arte da non avere chi sapesse competere con lui nei lavori in cristallo. Ma nel passo assai noto e citato (se la natura lo avesse fatto così buon maestro di disegno come lo fece eccellente nell'intaglio, egli avrebbe superato di gran lunga gli antichi artefici, come li uguagliò), Vasari osserva le carenze nel disegno del Belli e il suo bisogno di servirsi di modelli altrui. Dunque Belli si giovò sempre o dei disegni dei maestri contemporanei (Vasari non dice gli autori, ma l'artista attinse da Michelangelo⁹⁶, da Raffaello

⁹⁴ Si danno qui le notizie principali ed essenziali allo scopo di questa ricerca; per vari altri dati: Vasari, 379-383; Mariette 1750, I, 82, 124-126; Giulianelli 1753, 39-42, 132-133; *Menzione di alcuni intagli in quarzo operati da Valerio Belli detto Valerio Vicentino*, Bologna 1869; B. Morsolin, Valerio Vicentino nelle "Vite" di Giorgio Vasari, *Atti Venezia*, tomo IV (1886); Morsolin 1894, 174, 191, 219-220; Forrer 1902, 67-69; Thieme-Becker 1909, 249-250; Dalton 1915, 39-41; Zorzi 1915; Zorzi 1920; Gebhart 1925, 144-145, fig. 206, 190; Bunt 1926, 142-143, tav. XVI; Kris 1929, I, 48-59 e *passim*; M. Accascina, Oreficeria Italiana nel "Victoria and Albert Museum" di Londra, *Emporium* LXXXVII (1933), 337-340; Righetti, 15-19; Wentzel 1958, 293-294; Bulgari 1959, I, 126, tav. 15; E. Steingraber, Das Kreuzreliquiar des Marc' Antonio Morosini in der Schatzkammer von San Marco, *Arte Veneta* XV (1961), 53-58; F. Barbieri, in *Dizionario*, vol. 7, Roma 1965, 682-684; Steingraber 1966, 20-21, 39, figg. 5, 6; E. Steingraber, Opere occidentali dei secoli XV e XVI, in H.R. Hahnloser, *Il tesoro di San Marco. vol. 2. Il tesoro e il suo Museo*, Firenze 1971, 188-189, Cat. n. 188, tavv. CXCII, CXCI; Ballarin 1973; Hayward 1976, 83-85, 360, tavv. 244, 245; Raggio 1984, 375-378; U. Middeldorf, Eine Kleinbronze von Valerio Belli, *Pantheon* XXXIV (1976), 115-116; Ganzer 1979; Cannata 1982, 18; C. Gardner Von Teuffel, Raphael's Portrait of Valerio Belli: some new evidence, *The Burlington Magazine* CXXIX (1987), 663-666; F. Brunello, Arti e mestieri, in F. Barbieri-P. Preti (a cura di), *Storia di Vicenza III/1. L'età della Repubblica veneta (1404-1797)*, Vicenza 1989, 278-279. Poiché Belli e Bernardi sono tra gli incisori più noti, cenni, ma non trattazioni specifiche, sono frequentissimi nelle pubblicazioni sull'argomento e in pressoché tutti i cataloghi di placchette.

⁹⁵ Kris 1929, I, 55-56. Per alcune medaglie del Belli, Kris 1929, I, 164, II, 196-200/49; Ballarin 1973, 145-147.

⁹⁶ Sono note le lettere del Belli a Michelangelo (in una del 1521 si firma "Valerio di Belli che talia le corniole") in cui lo prega di mandargli, come promesso, un disegno con un sacrificio, ma per averlo al più presto si adatta a qualsiasi soggetto, e farà opera degna di Michelangelo; *cfr.* Kris 1929, I, 48-49.

e dai suoi discepoli, specie Perin del Vaga) o delle monete e gemme antiche o anche dei suoi libri, ad esempio con i disegni della colonna Traiana. Il passo del Vasari, frainteso come accusa, che non voleva essere, e confutato, è spesso riportato come testimonianza sì della perfetta abilità del Belli ma anche per giustificare le scorrettezze del disegno in alcune sue opere. Ma Pope-Hennessy sottolinea che lo stile del Belli è eccezionalmente omogeneo, poiché i suoi modelli sono sottoposti a un processo assimilativo rigoroso e personale; il fattore unificante è che egli li avvicina tutti dal punto di vista di un “instinctive Hellenist”⁹⁷. Così, Kris sottolinea che l’artista si ispira ad un’antica composizione, ma poi sciorina il tema in numerose varianti; anche nelle sue più fedeli imitazioni di scene dipendenti da antiche monete si osserva un cambiamento dell’immagine, nel senso dei nuovi ideali del classicismo impresso da Raffaello⁹⁸. Comunque, le affermazioni del Vasari non valsero a menomare la fama del Belli: la sua produzione di oreficeria esercitò un grande influsso sull’arte orafa, costituendo a lungo un modello da emulare; le sue incisioni furono guardate e esaltate costantemente come opere perfette e raggiunsero alta reputazione.

Il suo capolavoro è la conosciutissima cassetta, conservata nel Museo degli Argenti di Firenze⁹⁹. Firmata dal Belli e datata, 1532, fu eseguita per Papa Clemente VII che la donò al re Francesco I, nel 1533, in occasione delle nozze di sua nipote Caterina de’ Medici con Enrico II, figlio di Francesco I. E’ costituita da 24 formelle di cristallo di rocca intagliate con scene della vita di Cristo, montate in argento dorato, con smalti; nel rapporto finemente bilanciato tra cornice e parte lavorata, viene ammirata quella straordinaria capacità del Belli di racchiudere in breve spazio un numero considerevole di figure, dall’anatomia perfetta. Una simile espressione di classicismo – è stato sottolineato – è comprensibile solo in un artista per cui il modello dell’antichità è divenuto quasi una norma; e proprio in senso classicista vengono trasformati i disegni degli artisti, di cui nessuno è stato identificato, modelli per i cristalli.

Meritatamente famosa è anche la Croce intagliata in cristallo di rocca, argento e rame dorati, firmata, eseguita per Clemente VII (1523-24), oggi alla Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana¹⁰⁰, nel cui piede erano probabilmente inseriti i 3 magnifici medaglioni incisi, in cristallo di rocca e argento dorato, firmati, rappresentanti il bacio di Giuda, la salita al Calvario e la Deposizione. Polidoro da Caravaggio fornì il modello della prima composizione; se non è rintracciabile l’autore dei disegni delle altre, è assai probabile sia sempre uno degli allievi di Raffaello¹⁰¹.

Per il loro classicismo purificato spiccano tra le oreficerie contemporanee dell’Italia Settentrionale e sono stati perciò attribuiti alla fase giovanile del Belli, perché nessun orefice, come lui, aveva superato con tanta coerenza ogni tradizione a favore degli ideali dell’antichità, il reliquario in cristallo di rocca, pietre dure e smalto, di Marc’Antonio Morosini nel Tesoro di S. Marco (1508-09), la coppa di cristallo di rocca, argento dorato e smaltato, con un medaglione di Papa Leone X, ora a Monaco, la croce e due candelieri degli stessi materiali nel Victoria and Albert Museum¹⁰², eseguiti tra 1510 e 1520.

Sino a tutto l’800 continuarono vendite e dispersioni degli intagli del Belli¹⁰³; i molti smarriti sono ora documentati dalle numerosissime placchette – fusioni ottenute da calchi presi dai suoi pezzi in cristallo e pietra dura – non sempre eseguite dallo stesso artista, come prova la loro fattura talvolta non curata¹⁰⁴. Riprodotte in esemplari uguali o con varianti, in bronzo e piombo, allora ricercate e apprezzate da collezionisti e artisti, ora sparse in Musei e collezioni private, e quindi presenti in quasi tutti i relativi cataloghi, le placchette, se firmate, consentono di accertare come suoi alcuni intagli anticheggianti. Si attribuisce al Belli un solo cammeo con Giove sulla quadriga in atto di fulminare i Titani, riproduzione libera del celebre cammeo antico di Atenion, utilizzato sul rovescio della medaglia con l’autoritratto¹⁰⁵. Il resto della sua pro-

⁹⁷ Pope-Hennessy 1964, 217; cfr. anche 214-216. Sul modo personale con cui le placchette del Belli recuperano la classicità, cfr. Banzato-Pellegrini 1989, 10.

⁹⁸ Kris 1929, I, 56. Cfr. *ibidem*, nota 22, una lettera del Bembo, che rimanda a Belli la sua “medaglietta del Neroncino”, richiama perché serviva all’artista.

⁹⁹ Su questa citatissima cassetta, cfr. in particolare Kris 1929, I, 51-53, II, 166/38-176/41; Aschengreen Piacenti 1968, 13, 14, 17, 28, tav. 14; F. Rossi, Il cofanetto di Valerio Belli, *Antichità Viva* XXIV (1985), 193-197.

¹⁰⁰ Kris 1929, I, 50, II, 161-165/36-37; Raggio 1984, 376-378, n. 146, n. 149a, n. 149b, n. 149c.

¹⁰¹ Raggio 1984, 378, n. 149a. Proprio questo disegno di Polidoro da Caravaggio viene assunto da Pope-Hennessy (Pope-Hennessy 1964, 216) per indicare come Belli modificava il modello, nel senso della classicità e della grazia.

¹⁰² Invece Donati (Donati 1989, 268-269) dubita dell’abbinamento dei pezzi e rileva che da tempo è discussa l’attribuzione al Belli della croce che sarebbe del Bernardi.

¹⁰³ A titolo d’esempio, il cristallo di rocca con l’Adorazione dei Pastori giunto con un lascito al Museo Civico di Udine (Ganzer 1979); un altro, firmato, con oracolo di Delfi, lo aveva il Gori (Zorzi 1915, 253); forse perduti sono quei 9 cristalli posseduti dal Poniatosky, parte di una collezione di 30 intagli del Belli, con scene della Passione, venduti nel 1865 e 1898.

¹⁰⁴ Rossi 1974, 65.

¹⁰⁵ Kris 1929, I, 56, II, 217/51 (medaglia), 219/51 (cammeo); P. Rizzini, *Illustrazione dei Civici Musei di Brescia, II, Medaglie*, Brescia 1892, 28, n. 181; altri esemplari senza rovescio, *ibidem*, nn. 182-183.

duzione riguarda solo intagli, di argomento sacro e profano; numerosi i soggetti classici, "all'antica"¹⁰⁶, spesso in cristallo di rocca, ma anche corniola, diaspro, agata, eliotropio. Purtroppo né le impronte né le placchette danno pienamente modo di apprezzare la sua inconfondibile raffinatezza e di giudicare della sua valentia di incisore e della sua sensibilità per la materia trattata, espertissimo com'era nel far risaltare la bellezza un po' fredda ma elegante del cristallo. Caratteristico del Belli è il classicismo morbido e un po' accademico della sua rilettura degli esempi antichi. Hanno divulgato lo stile dell'artista quelle numerosissime scene di sacrificio, assai simili tra loro, riproposte con varianti. Inconfondibili le persone stanti, distribuite nel campo con sicuro equilibrio, di squisita grazia, di moduli allungati, alcune andanti, di profilo, dai movimenti sobri, dai panneggi classicheggianti, a volte fluttuanti ad arco; e l'abilità dell'artista di concludere armonicamente in spazi angusti le figure, fa sì che le composizioni affollate non siano mai confuse; spesso sul fondo architetture arieggianti l'antico delimitano la scena e la simmettizzano¹⁰⁷. Tra le varie raffigurazioni bacchiche, ricordiamo solo – esempio significativo – quell'intaglio con il trionfo di Sileno, a Parigi, nel Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, creduto antico fino alla metà del XIX secolo¹⁰⁸. Frequenti sono le figure femminili, spesso allegoriche, incedenti o danzanti, con mantello svolazzante ad arco¹⁰⁹; su una placchetta, non firmata, si trova il dettaglio dell'amorino uguale alle già esaminate impronte e placchette (cfr. *Figg. 15-17*)¹¹⁰. E' diversa dalla nostra scena della fucina di Vulcano quella di una placchetta di piombo ovale attribuita al Belli, conservata a Berlino (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie) (*Fig. 18*)¹¹¹. A sinistra siede Vulcano che forgia all'incudine un'elsa, sulle sue spalle Cupido, vicino Venere, che nella mano tesa tiene una corona, a destra, stanti, Mercurio e una seconda figura maschile nuda che si appoggia a un albero. Bange cita una pietra incisa, più grande, con la stessa figurazione, in S. Pietroburgo. E' del tutto probabile sia quel diaspro sanguigno del Gabinetto Crozat, pubblicato dal Gravelle, poi da Reinach¹¹², che lo interpreta come Venere che domanda a Vulcano le armi per Enea e lo giudica non antico. Dopo la morte di Pierre Crozat, possessore della famosa collezione di disegni, la sua nota collezione glittica (di cui P.J. Mariette preparò il catalogo, *Description sommaire des pierres gravées du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, Paris 1741: quasi 1400 pezzi, antichi e del XVI-XVII secolo) fu acquistata dal Duca d'Orleans e poi da Caterina di Russia, nel 1787; ora è all'Ermitage. Purtroppo l'assenza di immagine nel



Fig. 18. Placchetta di piombo (Inv. 950). Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturengalerie, Berlino. Foto D. Graf.

catalogo rende impossibile stabilire se si tratta di quella corniola definita molto bella dal Mariette (*ibidem*, p. 34, n. 618) e spiegata come Vulcano mentre fabbrica le armi di Enea ordinate da Venere. Lippert e Raspe (che identificano la seconda figura maschile come Enea, sulla scia del passo virgiliano) pubblicano il calco di una agata (o sardonica) appartenente al Prof. Casanova, che Lippert ritiene probabile sia una buona copia del diaspro Crozat¹¹³. Invece molto vicina alla nostra composizione è una placchetta di bronzo, firmata, a Berlino¹¹⁴; a sinistra Apollo seduto nella posizione di Vulcano, al centro Atena con braccio alzato e a destra una danzatrice, stante di profilo. La stessa somiglianza, per lo stile e lo schema, presenta un'altra placchetta di bronzo, firmata, a Brescia (Musei Civici) (*Fig. 19*)¹¹⁵: qui a sinistra è Marte

¹⁰⁶ *Ad es.* il noto intaglio col giudizio di Paride, nella raccolta Gualdo (placchette a Berlino, con varianti, Bange 1922, 108-109, tav. 71, nn. 794-795, 807); o l'intaglio con Marte e Venere (Bange 1922, 112, tav. 71, n. 841).

¹⁰⁷ *Ad es.* le placchette a Berlino, Bange 1922, 108-111, 113-114, tavv. 68-71, 75, nn. 791, 793, 804, 808, 817-822, 845-851. Cfr. anche Kris 1929, I, 164, II, 207/50, 208/50; Dalton 1915, 121, tav. XXX, n. 832.

¹⁰⁸ Da ultimo, E. Veljovic, in *Vrai ou faux* 1988, 98-99, tav. X, n. 31 (ove bibliografia precedente); D. Jaffé, *Aspects of gem collecting in the early seventeenth century*, Nicolas-Claude Peirese and Lelio Pasqualini, *The Burlington Magazine* CXXXV (1993), 105, figg. 41, 42, 106.

¹⁰⁹ *Ad es.* le placchette in Berlino, Bange 1922, 112-113, tav. 70, nn. 828-829, 831-833, 840.

¹¹⁰ Bange 1922, 110, tav. 70, n. 810.

¹¹¹ Bange 1922, 113, tav. 71, n. 842.

¹¹² Reinach 1895, 79, tav. 78, n. 12.

¹¹³ Lippert² III, 138; Raspe 1791, n. 6477.

¹¹⁴ Bange 1922, 108, tav. 71, n. 796.

¹¹⁵ Rossi 1974, 66, fig. 56, n. 89.



Fig. 19. Placchetta di bronzo. Musei Civici, Brescia (da Rossi 1974, fig. 56, n. 89).

seduto, al centro Minerva, stante, armata, guarda Venere, seminuda, stante; in modo identico alla nostra gemma, la dea porge la mano al piccolo Cupido andante che cerca di prenderla. Secondo Rossi questa placchetta, piuttosto rara, va considerata una variante di quella con “Erocle al bivio”, molto più comune, nota in vari esemplari, uno dei quali di piombo a Brescia (Fig. 20)¹¹⁶, non firmati, ma la cui attribuzione a Belli non sembra discussa. La principale differenza è qui costituita dalla figura del seduto, Erocle, che ripete quella dell’Ignudo a destra di Gioele nella cappella Sistina, secondo la convincente connessione con Michelangelo, notata dal Kris¹¹⁷. Nello stesso modo, ma non uguale, è la figura di Orfeo su una corniola a Vienna¹¹⁸, erroneamente creduta antica e che invece Kris giustamente presume sia del Belli, che ha ripreso anche un altro schiavo della

Sistina¹¹⁹. Tra le varie scene di sacrificio del Belli, presenta la stessa impostazione della nostra (a sinistra una figura seduta col mantello allacciato a V sul corpo nudo; le altre due figure stanti di profilo) il noto cristallo di rocca, firmato, col sacrificio ad Igea, già nella collezione Strozzi poi nella Blacas,

¹¹⁶ Rossi 1974, 67, fig. 56, n. 90. Per l’esemplare di Berlino, Bange 1922, 109, tav. 71, n. 805.

¹¹⁷ Kris 1929, I, 49, II, 154/35; 156/35 (disegno di Michelangelo). Sul significato delle modifiche introdotte da Belli, *ibidem*, I, 49.

¹¹⁸ Kris 1929, I, 49, nota 13, II, 160/35; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 266, tav. 193, n. 2594; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 378-379, 381-382, fig. 8. La Zwierlein-Diehl non esclude che l’idea per la rappresentazione di Orfeo possa esser presa dall’ametista antica, con Achille seduto a suonare la lira, di Pamfilo, a Parigi, nel Cabinet des Médailles.

¹¹⁹ Kris 1929, I, 49, II, 153/35 (placchetta); 155/35 (disegno di Michelangelo).



Fig. 20. Placchetta di piombo. Musei Civici, Brescia (da Rossi 1974, fig. 56, n. 90).

ora al British Museum¹²⁰. Maffei, nel lodare questo intaglio, ritiene che il Belli ne imitasse qualcuno delle antiche medaglie o marmi; è il rimprovero ricorrente: la scarsa inventiva dell'artista, che utilizzava gemme e monete antiche. A tal proposito Vasari riferisce che il Belli era sempre alla ricerca di modelli antichi; perciò se ne procurava, specie a Roma, e copiava monumenti e monete. Belli collezionava sculture, pitture, disegni dei più illustri artisti contemporanei, di cui adornava la sua casa; il suo celebre "studio", ricco di coni, medaglie, bronzi, cammei, gessi di opere antiche e moderne, disegni, libri, documentava la familiarità con gli ideali umanistici del tempo¹²¹. Purtroppo, pochi mesi dopo la morte del Belli una parte di questa copiosa raccolta fu acquistata dal Cardinale Madruzzo di Trento e poi emigrò oltralpe; un'altra finì nella pregiata collezione vicentina dei Gualdo, dispersa alla metà del '700. Tra le varie opere nel museo – in madreperla, cristalli, intagli, cammei,

corniole e lapislazzuli – vi erano alcune tavolette piene di monete greche e romane e, va sottolineato, le stesse composizioni del Bernardi, talvolta in zolfo rosso, tra cui due diversi Fetonti, un

¹²⁰ Maffei, vol. IV, Roma 1709, 152, n. 99; Dalton 1915, 121, tav. XXX, n. 833; Kris 1929, I, 161, II, 157/35. Una pasta vitrea da questo intaglio è a Monaco (Münzkabinett): Furtwängler 1900, 308, tav. LXVII, 23. Il cristallo è citato dalla Zwierlein-Diehl (Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 383, 386) come una delle numerose varianti della scena, diffusa, del "Sacrificio alla Salute e Esculapio", che si fonda su un'errata interpretazione di un serpente attorcigliato a un altare, presente su monete romane.

¹²¹ Per un esame delle vicende dello studio e per una descrizione delle opere, Morsolin 1894, 219-220; Zorzi 1915; Zorzi 1920; Kris 1929, I, 56-58. A proposito di questa collezione è stato osservato che "(...) l'antichità, se ancora serve da modello, ha certamente acquistato la nuova capacità di illustrare la posizione sociale raggiunta dall'artista" (C. Franzoni, "Rimembranze d'infinita cose". Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità, in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana* (a cura di S. Settis), vol. I, Torino 1984, 341).

Ganimede portato in cielo, un Prometeo divorato dall'avvoltoio, due cacce ...

Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese (1494-1553) orafo (proveniva da una famiglia di valenti orefici), incisore di cristalli di rocca e di pietre fini, medaglista¹²², iniziò la sua attività a Ferrara, alla corte del Duca Alfonso I d'Este, incidendo con per le medaglie e cristalli con una maestria e una rapidità non comuni. Si trasferì nel 1530 a Roma, dove con la protezione dei Cardinali Giovanni Salviati e Ippolito Medici, fu raccomandato al papa Clemente VII che, soddisfatto del suo ritratto su medaglia (1530 circa) lo insignì della carica onorifica di mazziere pontificio. La testimonianza del "rivale" Cellini, che descrive l'arrivo a Roma del Bernardi (ingegnoso nel fare medaglie e Cellini non desidera altro che competere con lui) prova la sua fama e la stima della sua abilità. Così ampia e unanime lode ottennero le opere eseguite per Clemente VII, per Paolo III, per Carlo V (che lo invitò, ma invano, alla corte di Spagna), raffigurato nella scena della sua incoronazione su una medaglia (1530). Nel 1534 fu nominato incisore della zecca pontificia, carica che tenne fino al 1538 e poi dal 1541 al 1545. Deceduto nel 1535 il Cardinale Ippolito Medici, Bernardi passò al servizio del Cardinale Alessandro Farnese; per entrambi realizzò numerose opere di cristallo di rocca, con soggetti religiosi e profani. Dal 1539 si ritirò a Faenza; la sua casa, adorna di pregiati dipinti, era meta di forestieri; vi fu ospite lo stesso Cardinale Farnese. Le lettere a lui scritte dal Bernardi attestano la florida situazione economica, gli incarichi e gli onori dell'artista; inoltre testimoniano le varie opere a cui egli attendeva, come la croce di cristallo e la pace d'oro e argento destinate alla Chiesa di Monreale di cui il Farnese teneva l'Arcivescovado, più grandi – sottolinea il Bernardi – di quelle del Belli. Anche Bernardi come disegnatore e ideatore non era molto abile¹²³, ma la sua sicura capacità esecutiva gli permise di lavorare su disegni di alcuni dei più famosi artisti suoi contemporanei, come Michelangelo e soprattutto Perin del Vaga, copiandoli ripetutamente, a volte variandoli. Analogamente al Belli, Bernardi trasse gran vantaggio anche dall'ispirazione, vaga o puntuale, dall'imitazione e dalla copia dell'antico; inoltre si valse delle placchette per divulgare i suoi intagli. Grazie alla sua facilità, pulitezza e velocità di esecuzione, divenne famoso per l'eleganza dei lineamenti, la bellezza e la rifinitura delle sue incisioni, tanto da esser stimato non imitatore ma emulatore della gloria antica e grande tra gli intagliatori quanto Michelangelo tra gli scultori¹²⁴. Eccessivamente critico è invece Pope-Hennessy¹²⁵ secondo cui differisce dal Belli il caso del Bernardi (nonostante in

Roma subisse le stesse influenze artistiche e culturali), perché era un incisore più intraprendente, ma il suo lavoro era viziato dalla mancanza di una forte personale volontà stilistica; così egli degradava persino i grandi disegni, come quelli di Michelangelo della caduta di Fetonte e del ratto di Ganimede, per i quali Pope-Hennessy rileva tutti i cambiamenti negativi del Bernardi, "inartistic and impercipient". Però la critica evidenzia che l'artista è riuscito a trasfondere la stessa selvaggia forza espressiva del disegno di Michelangelo nell'intaglio dell'Anima dannata, ora a Firenze, al Museo degli Argenti¹²⁶.

La sua opera più celebre sono i 6 medaglioni di cristallo di rocca (1543-44) incastonati nella cassetta Farnese, d'argento dorato, conservata a Napoli, alla Galleria di Capodimonte¹²⁷, ordinata dal Cardinale Alessandro Farnese all'orefice Manno di Sebastiano Sbarri e realizzata tra 1548 e 1561. Per alcune scene movimentate – ad esempio la battaglia navale, delle amazzoni, tra Centauri e Lapiti – Bernardi si valse di disegni di Perin del Vaga; la corsa di quadrighe in un circo è invece ricavata da una gemma antica. Il cofanetto è annoverato tra i gioielli dell'oreficeria manieristica italiana, di cui mostra il complicato linguaggio formale, in un sistema stracarico che non lascia spazio privo di ornamenti: un vero *horror vacui*, impreziosito e alleggerito proprio dai cristalli.

E' merito del Kris¹²⁸ aver "scoperto" l'opera del Bernardi nei 13 medaglioni di cristallo di rocca, con scene della vita di Cristo, inseriti nella croce d'altare e nei due candelabri d'argento dorato,

¹²² La maggior parte dei testi citati per Belli serve anche per Bernardi: Vasari, 371-75; Mariette 1750, I, 81-83, 118-120; Giulianelli 1753, 30-34, 131; Forrer 1902, 77-78, Suppl. VII, London 1923, 74-76; Thieme-Becker 1909, 435-36; Dalton 1915, 38-39; Gebhart 1925, 144, 191; Bunt 1926, 87-88; Kris 1929, I, 62-72 e *passim*; Righetti, 19-22; Wentzel 1958, 294; Bulgari 1959, I, 151-152, 509-510, tav. 28; Pope-Hennessy 1964, 217-218; Steingraber 1966, 43, 46, 64-65, fig. 17; Hayward 1976, 366-368, tavv. 305, 307, 321-327; Cannata 1982, 18. Cfr. inoltre i seguenti contributi specifici: Liverani 1870; A. Ronchini, Maestro Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, *AttiMemModena*, vol. IV, Modena 1867; V. Slomann, *Bjaergkrystaler af Giovanni Bernardi da Castelbolognese. En Kunst-Arkaeologisk Undersøgelse*, København 1925; Kris 1928; Dizionario, vol. 9, Roma 1967, 166-169; Donati 1989 (ove altri numerosi riferimenti bibliografici).

¹²³ Riguardo alla scarsa perizia nel disegno dell'artista, Kris (Kris 1929, I, 68 e nota 44) riporta una testimonianza contemporanea, una lettera di Annibal Caro, che si vergogna di mandare uno schizzo del Bernardi, tanto è brutto.

¹²⁴ Liverani 1870, 13, 24.

¹²⁵ Pope-Hennessy 1964, 217-218.

¹²⁶ Donati 1989, 96-97, fig. 10, tav. XXVI.

¹²⁷ Per un esame accurato, Donati 1989, 42-43, 112-123, tavv. XXXV-XLI. Cfr. anche Kris 1929, I, 65-68, II, 241/58-248/63.

¹²⁸ Kris 1928; cfr. anche Donati 1989, 108, 136-139, tavv. XLVII-XLVIII.

commissionati dal Cardinale Farnese e da lui donati nel 1581 a S. Pietro in Vaticano, ove sono tuttora, realizzati da Antonio Gentile da Faenza, uno dei principali orefici attivi a Roma nella seconda metà del 1500. Senza addentrarsi in una complicata questione, interessa ricordare che una serie di intagli fu eseguita dal Bernardi nel 1539, montata in una croce e in due candelabri, dispersi, e un'altra serie nel 1547, allora probabilmente non messa in opera e utilizzata da Gentile (o forse gli stessi originali tolti dai candelieri del 1539 furono incastonati nel 1581 in quelli di Gentile), di cui fanno parte anche i 4 cristalli, firmati, con scene religiose, inseriti in una cassetta d'argento, a Copenaghen, realizzata probabilmente in un'officina della Germania meridionale.¹²⁹

Tra le opere del Bernardi "rintracciate" dalla critica vi è anche una magnifica tazza di cristallo incisa su disegni di Perin del Vaga, con gli animali che entrano nell'Arca di Noè, finita nel 1547, conservata al Museo degli Argenti a Firenze. Ed è la famosa Tazza Farnese il modello antico con cui Bernardi dichiara esplicitamente di voler gareggiare.¹³⁰

Va sottolineato che per il Bernardi disponiamo dell'accurato lavoro del Donati che, ampliando l'elenco delle opere conosciute e conservate, firmate o attribuite, fornisce di ogni pezzo tutti i dati utili; si hanno quindi ben maggiori possibilità di formulare giudizi sul Maestro o sulla sua scuola. Anche nel repertorio del Bernardi prevalgono nettamente gli intagli¹³¹; ancora in questo caso la documentazione dei non pochi pezzi dispersi, spesso attestati in più esemplari e con varianti, è affidata alle numerosissime placchette da essi derivate, di bronzo e di piombo, molte ovali, la maggior parte con foro in alto e/o in basso, talvolta firmate. Vari intagli, spesso in cristallo, di soggetto religioso e profano, utilizzano i disegni di Perin del Vaga; frequentissime le scene tratte dall'iconografia greca e latina, ispirate al mito¹³², alla storia romana¹³³ e alla saga di Venere, con Marte e gli amorini¹³⁴. Particolarmente celebri, perchè derivati da disegni eseguiti da Michelangelo tra 1532 e 1533 riprodotti in pitture, sculture, incisioni e placchette, gli intagli in cristallo di rocca raffiguranti il ratto di Ganimede¹³⁵, la caduta di Fetonte¹³⁶ e i due intagli uno, firmato, già della collezione Strozzi, poi della Blacas ora al British Museum, l'altro perduto, con il Tizio o Prometeo divorato dall'avvoltoio, giudicato di "tale perfezione e finezza di lavoro, che niuna delle antiche greche manifatture gli rimane superiore"¹³⁷. Attraverso le centinaia di placchette ricavate, di calchi e di copie, di tutti i formati e materiali, tali intagli furono più volte imitati, anche su cammeo, in diverse dimensioni o con varianti e in epoca posteriore¹³⁸.

Sugli intagli firmati o attribuiti, numerosi sono i personaggi, per lo più divinità greco-romane, isolate, analoghe nell'atteggiamento alla figura di Vulcano¹³⁹. Ancora più frequenti sono, simili a quelle del Belli, le figure femminili, allungate, di profilo, incedenti, con mantello o vesti fluttuanti, talvolta panneggio svolazzante ad arco, spesso aventi in mano qualcosa, sole¹⁴⁰ o con un amorino incedente, il braccio alzato in atto di afferrare la corona tenuta dalla figura¹⁴¹. Si ritrova anche la stessa composizione a tre, con gli stessi o molto simili atteggiamenti dei personaggi: a sinistra la figura seduta (qui Marte), al centro Venere stante

¹²⁹ Donati 1989, 166-175, tavv. LXIII-LXVII. Cfr. anche Kris 1928, 111.

¹³⁰ Proprio per controbattere coloro che pongono Bernardi in concorrenza col Belli, il Liverani (Liverani 1870, 35-36) trascrive brani delle lettere, relative a questa tazza, dimostrando che l'artista ambiva più in alto e teneva di mira l'antichità. Riguardo alla tazza, Kris 1929, I, 68-69, II, 252/64; Aschengreen Piacenti 1968, 17, 28, 143, n. 292, tav. 15; Donati 1989, 182.

¹³¹ Fu autore anche di bei cammei, come i ritratti di Ippolito Medici, di Giovanni Baglioni e di Margherita d'Austria, figlia di Carlo V (Donati 1989, 96-101, tavv. XXV, XXVII, XXVIII).

¹³² *Ad es.* Apollo e Marsia (Donati 1989, 216-217, tav. XCII); Ercole e l'Idra (Donati 1989, 230-231, tav. CVI); Leda col cigno (Donati 1989, 242-243, tavv. CXX-CXXI).

¹³³ *Ad es.* morte di Tarpea (Donati 1989, 72-73, tav. X); combattimento tra Orazi e Curiazi (Donati 1989, 74-75, tav. XI); Enea, Anchise e Ascanio (Donati 1989, 230-231, tav. CV).

¹³⁴ *Ad es.* Venere sola (Donati 1989, 258-259, tav. CXXXVI) o con Cupido (Donati 1989, 260-261, tav. CXXXVIII) e in mezzo ad altri dei (Donati 1989, 258-259, tav. CXXXVII); o con Marte, sorpresa da Vulcano (Donati 1989, 248-249, tav. CXXVI).

¹³⁵ Donati 1989, 82-83, tav. XVI.

¹³⁶ Donati 1989, 84-87, tavv. XVII-XVIII; cfr. le placchette in Berlino, Bange 1922, 117, tav. 73, nn. 880, 881, 882.

¹³⁷ *Maffei*, vol. IV, Roma 1709, 151-152, n. 98. Per l'intaglio, Dalton 1915, 113-114, tav. XXXI, 787; Donati 1989, 78-81, tavv. XIV-XV.

¹³⁸ Sulle imitazioni di questi intagli, Kris 1929, I, 64, 166, II, 235, 236, 237/57; sui calchi, Wentzel 1958, 294. Si veda *ad es.* una tazza di Erasmus Hornick, attivo nella Germania meridionale, verso il 1570, con la caduta di Fetonte, che Hayward (Hayward 1976, 228, tav. 144) afferma derivata o da Michelangelo o dal Bernardi. Un altro intaglio di Bernardi con Fetonte doveva esser incastonato in una cassetta, smarrita, commissionata dal duca Pier Luigi Farnese (Kris 1929, I, 64-65; Donati 1989, 41-42), mentre versioni da un modello antico sono attestate da placchette in Berlino, Bange 1922, 117, tav. 73, nn. 877-879.

¹³⁹ *Ad es.* Apollo (Donati 1989, 216-217, tav. XCI); un eroe con la Vittoria (Donati 1989, 230-231, tav. CVII); Mercurio (Donati 1989, 248-249, tav. CXXXVII); Nettuno (Donati 1989, 252-253, tav. CXXIX); Giove (Donati 1989, 238-239, tav. CXVI).

¹⁴⁰ *Ad es.* Diana (Donati 1989, 226-227, tav. CI); la Fortuna (Donati 1989, 236-237, tav. CXIV); una Baccante (Donati 1989, 218-219, tav. XCIV); Madonna (Donati 1989, 212-213, tav. LXXXIX). Per il panneggio svolazzante ad arco, cfr. *ad es.* Donati 1989, 92-93, tav. XXII, 204-205, tav. LXXXI.

¹⁴¹ Donati 1989, 232-233, tav. CIX (placchetta non firmata, attribuita).



Fig. 21. Placchetta di bronzo. Musei Civici, Brescia (da Rossi 1974, fig. 57, n. 105).

che gli pone una ghirlanda sul capo e a destra Amore andante di profilo con il braccio alzato¹⁴². Manca invece Vulcano, in una placchetta di bronzo di Brescia (Musei Civici), con le stesse figure di Venere stante, volta a destra, un braccio alla testa, l'altro reggente un oggetto non identificato che Cupido cerca di strapparle (Fig. 21)¹⁴³. Giustamente Rossi rileva sia il preciso riscontro con la seconda placchetta di piombo di Berlino (cfr. nota 91) sia l'esatta ripresa di un esemplare rinascimentale¹⁴⁴. Lo studioso, data la qualità mediocre della placchetta bresciana, ritiene probabile sia un'imitazione di epoca imprecisabile di un cammeo cinquecentesco dell'ambiente del Bernardi.

Va notato che spesso i soggetti del Bernardi sono gli stessi del Belli, come nel caso di una delle più felici composizioni del Belli, un cristallo, firmato, con la caccia al leone, già nella collezione Ricoveri a Firenze, ora disperso, ma testimoniato da varie placchette¹⁴⁵,

¹⁴² Placchetta a Berlino, Bange 1922, 119, tav. 72, n. 899; Donati 1989, 246-247, tav. CXXV.

¹⁴³ Rossi 1974, 75 fig. 57, n. 105.

¹⁴⁴ G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 1922, 122, 184, tav. CXXII, 2 (è pubblicato il calco).

¹⁴⁵ Kris 1929, I, 54, 163, II, 192/33; Bange 1922, 111, tav. 71, n. 823 (Berlino); Raggio 1984, 377, n. 147 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

mentre è conservato quello con la stessa scena firmato dal Bernardi¹⁴⁶. Analogamente, la continenza di Scipione, incisa su una sardonica del Belli nota attraverso molte placchette, alcune firmate¹⁴⁷, compare anche su un intaglio in sardonica al British Museum¹⁴⁸ e su un cammeo a Vienna¹⁴⁹, attribuiti al Bernardi, da cui sono derivate placchette, talvolta firmate e con varianti¹⁵⁰. Si tratta dunque di soggetti diffusi, “popolari”, di cui esistono diverse versioni, con simili composizioni¹⁵¹.

Si è visto che la scena degli intagli in questione bene si inserisce nel contesto della produzione e del Belli e del Bernardi. Neppure il preciso confronto con le opere consente una assegnazione certa all'uno o all'altro. Così, il disegno un po' goffo del viso di Venere dell'impronta e della seconda placchetta di Berlino (cfr. note 86-88, 90) sembra confermare la critica dei contemporanei riguardo alla scarsa perizia nel disegno dei due Maestri. A dirimere la questione non è argomento decisivo il fatto che con il nome di Belli è arrivato l'intaglio al Lippert; ricordiamo infatti che, in linea generale, l'attribuzione al Belli o al Bernardi nobilitava notevolmente un pezzo¹⁵². Concludendo, pare più opportuno non prendere posizione. E del resto, come giustamente sottolinea Kris¹⁵³, non è agevole tracciare il confine tra i due artisti soprattutto in quelle composizioni mitologiche (come la nostra) dove era, ed è, facile uno scambio di paternità; e appunto non di rado sono date ora a uno ora all'altro¹⁵⁴. Entrambi infatti, stimati e onorati, vantavano la protezione di personaggi illustri; entrambi operarono in una simile atmosfera artistica, prima in Italia settentrionale e poi a Roma. Entrambi portarono la glittica ad un livello di perfezione tale da divenire quasi virtuosismo; si servirono delle placchette per documentare e diffondere le loro opere e fornire un considerevole materiale di modello all'artigianato; per entrambi l'antichità, di cui avevano assimilato i principi formali, era la fonte di ispirazione, il paradigma con cui sempre confrontarsi. Così, anche nell'inventario dei beni del Bernardi sono menzionate medaglie d'oro e d'argento antiche e teste in cristallo di imperatori, di Aristotele, di Alessandro... E' lo stesso Bernardi a dichiarare, per alcune sue opere di intaglio, di lavorare a gara con il Belli; perciò si sostiene che lo emulava, quasi con invidia¹⁵⁵. E' ovvio: se il Belli non aveva nessun concorrente altrettanto rinomato, per il Bernardi, più giovane, egli era il solo suo serio rivale. Comunque, che la scena sia dell'uno o dell'altro, è il canone formale classicistico introdotto dal Belli, con la sua impronta di armonia e di misura (che a volte sfuggono al Bernardi per maggior concitazione ed enfasi)¹⁵⁶ a prevalere.

Belli e Bernardi si giovavano delle composizioni altrui, antiche o contemporanee; nel caso dei due intagli l'iconografia (e lo stile) è tratta da antiche gemme o monete. La difficoltà sta nell'individuare il prototipo originale, in base ai dati in nostro possesso, parziali e lacunosi, e al di là dei riferimenti generici, cioè le varie antiche gemme con personaggi seduti in simile atteggiamento. Presentano lo stesso schema dei pezzi in esame (il dio seduto forgia armi, per lo più piccoli scudi che tiene – diversamente dalle gemme – sulle ginocchia), numerosi tipi di monete, molto simili tra loro, provenienti da vari siti dell'Asia Minore, in prevalenza (la moneta più antica è datata all'età di Antonino Pio) collocabili nel III sec. d.C. e, più precisamente, dal 235 al 270 d.C.¹⁵⁷.

¹⁴⁶ Donati 1989, 68-69, tav. VIII, figg. 3, 4, a-b.

¹⁴⁷ *Ad es.* esemplari in Berlino (Bange 1922, 107, tav. 71, n. 784) e a Padova (Banzato-Pellegrini 1989, 49, n. 21).

¹⁴⁸ Dalton 1915, 124-125, tav. XXXI, n. 852 (per altre diverse versioni anonime, *ibidem*, 125); Donati 1989, 194-195, tav. LXXV.

¹⁴⁹ Eichler-Kris 1927, 106, tav. 25, n. 168.

¹⁵⁰ *Ad es.* Donati 1989, 66-67, tav. VI.

¹⁵¹ *Ad es.* la caccia al leone è presente con varianti in intagli attribuiti a Matteo del Nassaro, Kris 1929, I, 54, 164, II, 140, 147-149, 193, 94/33.

¹⁵² Così è valutato ben 4 scudi un intaglio ritenuto del Belli con una testa di Tiberio o di Druso, inviato al Cardinale Leopoldo dei Medici dal Falconieri, suo agente incaricato di acquistargli opere d'arte a Roma; cfr. L. Giovannini (a cura di), *Lettere di Ottavio Falconieri a Leopoldo de' Medici*, Firenze 1984, 236-237, lettera n. 125 (2 febbraio 1669; n. 2 dell'elenco), 238, nota 8. E non sembra esserci giustificazione – l'autore deve rimanere anonimo – per alcune gemme date dal Gori al Bernardi (K.A. Aschengreen Piacenti, Consul Smith's Gems, *The Connoisseur* 784 (1977), 82-83).

¹⁵³ Kris 1929, I, 72.

¹⁵⁴ Frequenti sono i casi in cui l'attribuzione proposta è tuttora discussa. Qualche esempio: la placchetta di Nettuno, Anfitrite e Amore, già data al Belli sembra al Donati del Bernardi (Donati 1989, 252-253, tav. CXXXI); la placchetta con l'uccisione di Cesare, assegnata ora al Belli ora al Bernardi (Bange 1922, 120, tav. 73, n. 914= Donati 1989, 256-257, tav. CXXXV; per la discussione, Varese 1975, 35, n. 19); un intaglio con Nettuno attribuito al Belli (Dalton 1915, 106, tav. XXVII, n. 738) e al Bernardi (Kris 1929, I, 169, II, 286/35).

¹⁵⁵ *Ad es.* Vasari, 374; Mariette 1750, I, 120; Kris 1929, I, 52, 65, 70.

¹⁵⁶ Cospicuo infatti è il gruppo di intagli con battaglie terrestri e navali, desunte dal repertorio storico romano, contemporaneo o mitologico, cacce e lotte, dove il Bernardi si compiace di uno sfoggio virtuosistico di anatomia delle figure, grazie a scene concitate, stipate di gente, con movimenti convulsi, visi indistinti, grovigli di corpi. *Ad es.* la battaglia di Tunisi (Donati 1989, 124-125, tav. XLII) o quella di Pavia (Donati 1989, 192-193, tav. LXXIV); il combattimento delle Amazzoni (Donati 1989, 116-117, tav. XXXVII) o la caccia al cinghiale Calidonio (Donati 1989, 120-122, tav. XXXIX).

¹⁵⁷ Brommer 1978, 40-42, 67-68, Cat. 224, nn. 7, 22, 23, 25, 27-29, 32-33, 37-39, tav. 37, 1, nn. 1, 3-10, 12-14. Tra di esse vi è una moneta, quasi uguale alle nostre gemme, dove l'arma non è specificabile (*ibidem*, Cat. 224, n. 11, tav. 38, 2, 1; Magnesia sul Meandro, Otacilia, 244-249 d.C.); su un'altra (*ibidem*, 42, 68, Cat. 224, n. 13) è incisa l'iscrizione “Achille”.



Fig. 22. Corniola, disegno; carta 1, taccuino A. 48 “Gemme antiche da esso delineate” di Filippo Buonarroti, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Firenze.

Un altro puntuale riferimento (solo leggermente variato, ma rispettato anche nel volgere a sinistra la figura di Vulcano) potrebbe essere una corniola, disegnata nella carta 1 del taccuino A. 48 “Gemme antiche da esso [Senatore Buonarroti] delineate” di Filippo Buonarroti, conservato alla Biblioteca Marucelliana di Firenze, che raccoglie numerosi suoi disegni ad inchiostro di gemme (Fig. 22)¹⁵⁸. La figurazione è la stessa; qui Vulcano barbuto, nudo, seduto su una corazza, dietro cui sono due lance (?) verticali, tiene un elmo poggiato su un’ara cilindrica ornata da un festone. A giudicare dal disegno (che però ricordiamo è spesso un documento troppo generico per permettere l’identificazione della gemma), il pezzo non sembra testimoniato altrove. Comunque, si propende a considerare antico l’intaglio, tenendo presente il posto rilevante occupato negli studi antiquari da un maestro illustre come Filippo Buonarroti (1661-1733), eminente senatore fiorentino, presidente dell’Accademia Etrusca di Cortona, fondata per suo suggerimento, membro dell’Arcadia, accademico della Crusca, autore di importanti pubblicazioni archeologiche di vasta erudizione che gli procurarono larga stima e

fama. Rimandando a quegli studi che bene illustrano l’attività del Buonarroti¹⁵⁹, ricordiamo solo il suo grande merito di avvertire che la riscoperta e la comprensione del mondo antico andavano affidate anche agli oggetti “minori”, come i vetri, gli avori, le iscrizioni, i medaglioni e appunto le gemme, dai quali si traevano indicazioni preziose. Gli anni più fecondi della sua attività di archeologo sono per Buonarroti quelli trascorsi a Roma, in contatto con i maggiori letterati e antiquari, dove era segretario e conservatore della Biblioteca e del singolare Museo Carpegna (vi erano attestate soprattutto monete, pietre, avori...), dove indagava le vestigia di Roma e compiva numerose ricognizioni nell’agro romano. Il taccuino in questione è un codice di 158 fogli, del quale la Quartino, a cui si deve

¹⁵⁸ Quartino 1978, tav. I.

¹⁵⁹ Su Filippo Buonarroti, studi essenziali, ove numerosi riferimenti bibliografici, U. Procacci (a cura di), *La casa Buonarroti a Firenze*, Milano 1967, 21-22, 39 nota 93; L. Moretti, Note sull’archeologo Filippo Buonarroti, in *Studi in onore di Antonio Corsano*, Manduria 1970, 443-450; Giuliano 1971, 328; Quartino 1978, 428-438; N. Parise, in *Dizionario*, vol. 15, Roma 1972, 145-147; Levi 1985, 176, 212, note 11 e 12.

un'accurata analisi, ha sottolineato le varie difficoltà di lettura e di interpretazione, per la disposizione inorganica del materiale. Esso è una chiara testimonianza del grande interesse, peraltro noto, del Buonarroti per la glittica antica. Ma se poco è rimasto del suo Museo, poco si sa della sua collezione privata di gemme, che fornì materiale per la stesura di questo taccuino, come conferma la scritta autografa "*apud me*" in alcune carte. La corniola in esame è, come le altre, corredata nel codice da indicazioni sulle dimensioni, verso e materiale, ma non sul suo soggetto; figura in quelle pagine di cui la Quartino rileva l'assenza di ordine, mentre le pagine dopo la 34 sembrano raggruppare le gemme per soggetto. La scritta del Buonarroti, in questa carta 1, "*apud Fabretti*", potrebbe indicare la provenienza della corniola da una collezione di Raffaele Fabretti, collezionista, Sovrintendente allo Scavo delle Antichità e Custode delle S.S. Reliquie dei Cimiteri a Roma e di conseguenza facilitato a procurarsi gemme; non è azzardato pensare che ne possedesse alcune¹⁶⁰. Ma, secondo la Quartino, smentisce l'ipotesi che queste gemme (e dunque anche la nostra) appartenessero al Fabretti, un'altra scritta del Buonarroti, sempre nella c. 1, "*apud Mazzoleni*". La questione, per ora insoluta, è interessante per sostenere l'antichità della gemma in esame, a favore della quale deporrebbe, oltre la conoscenza dell'antico del Buonarroti, la presenza a Roma, polo di riferimento degli interessi glittici, grazie alla fonte pressoché in esauribile di rinvenimenti dagli scavi, alle grandi collezioni, all'intenso mercato antiquario. L'impressione della Quartino è che Buonarroti abbia riprodotto, dal 1688 al 1731, questi pezzi più per interesse personale che in vista di una pubblicazione: una sorta cioè di promemoria di gemme viste nelle collezioni private romane e fiorentine, annotate per aiutare a chiarire un passo antico o un monumento. Dunque un immenso repertorio figurato, donato al Gori, suo devotissimo discepolo, impegnato nella stesura del *Museum Florentinum*, edito dal 1731, e di cui il taccuino può considerarsi, almeno nell'impostazione del materiale, un precedente.

Non sembra vi sia intenzione di "falso" da parte del Belli (o del Bernardi) nell'incidere i due intagli, bensì testimonianza di quell'orgoglio di esser capaci di imitare gli antichi alla perfezione, di quella gara con l'antico, di quella caratteristica posizione secondo cui il Bembo (ricordiamo: un ammiratore del Belli) affermava che: "(...) l'imitazione non è più una scelta, ma un'assimilazione, anzi un'identificazione con il modello (...) "¹⁶¹. E la capacità di questi artisti di far proprio l'antico è così ammirevole che tuttora i loro intagli riescono ad "ingannare". La scelta del soggetto di

Vulcano non poteva che riuscire apprezzata ed era scontato prevederne la fortuna, poiché rispondeva pienamente sia al gusto per l'antico ampiamente diffuso nella clientela sia a una certa "moda". Infatti i nostri intagli si inseriscono perfettamente nell'ambito del repertorio figurativo del tempo: la scena di Vulcano nella sua fucina che fabbrica armi o frecce per Cupido, spesso presente con Venere, è una delle favorite durante il Rinascimento, ricorrendo ripetutamente sia nella glittica che nelle altre opere¹⁶². Ma in quel mondo rinascimentale di emblemi e personificazioni, dove giocano un ruolo essenziale gli aspetti allegorici e simbolici, anche il "successo" del motivo iconografico di Vulcano si carica di valenze simboliche: e molteplici sono i livelli di lettura. Così, sotto le sembianze di Vulcano nella fucina è rappresentato il proprietario dell'arma in un'elsa di spada, attribuita all'arte veneta della prima metà del '500¹⁶³. Analogamente, la fortuna delle placchette – che testimoniano gemme ma anche composizioni del tutto indipendenti – con Vulcano seduto all'incudine, mentre forgia le frecce di Cupido alla presenza di Venere stante, che tiene in mano una freccia o un altro oggetto e spesso la mano di Cupido, al suo fianco, di rado con altri dei, rappresentano¹⁶⁴ quell'arma

¹⁶⁰ Quartino 1978, 448. Su Raffaele Fabretti (1618-1700), cfr. *ad es.* Quartino 1978, 448, nota 4; Gallo 1986, 11, 22-23, nota 25.

¹⁶¹ M. Ferretti, Falsi e tradizione artistica, in *Storia dell'arte italiana Einaudi*, parte terza, vol. 3, Torino 1981, 126. Si è volutamente tralasciata la complessa questione e relativa discussione sulle copie, imitazioni, contraffazioni rinascimentali e falsificazioni, testimonianze significative della *facies* culturale e delle predilezioni, del gusto e della moda del tempo. Si rimanda perciò solo al citato contributo del Ferretti (115-195), dove si sottolinea che non si può tracciare una demarcazione netta fra copie o imitazioni dell'antico e creazioni indipendenti, poiché né le repliche erano "inerti", né si giudicavano radicalmente diversi un cammeo antico e uno anticheggiante. La Zwierlein-Diehl (Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 377) giustamente avverte che queste gemme antichizzanti non vanno considerate "falsi", perché non si aveva l'intenzione di inganno; spesso erano fatte su ordinazione di chi voleva possedere una replica di famose gemme; solo quando gli originali andarono persi nacque il pericolo degli inganni. Sull'"effetto all'antica", l'assimilazione, la difficoltà di stabilire quale sia esattamente il debito degli artisti del Rinascimento verso l'antichità, sull'*imitatio*, fedele tanto da rasentare la copia, e all'opposto la libera modificazione del modello, cfr., *ad es.*, E.H. Gombrich, *Norma e forma. Studi sull'arte del Rinascimento* (tr. it.), Torino 1973, 178-188. Cfr. anche Aschengreen Piacenti 1972, 63.

¹⁶² Per un elenco iconografico di Venere nella fucina di Vulcano, cfr. *Virgilio nell'arte e nella cultura europea*, Catalogo della Mostra, Roma-Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 24 settembre/24 novembre 1981, 218-222; cfr. anche P. Cannata, L'Eneide nelle placchette, *ibidem*, 234-244.

¹⁶³ P. Castelli, in AA. VV., *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento. Il Potere e lo spazio*, Firenze 1980 (Arti decorative: oggetto e società, 203, scheda 4.16).

¹⁶⁴ Pope-Hennessy 1964, 192-193, ove altre interpretazioni simboliche.

contro cui la rettitudine e il coraggio non sono di nessuna utilità. Si tratta di una raffigurazione più o meno simile alla nostra, ma comunque non la stessa, in diverse versioni e varianti, in placchette attribuite al Moderno o al Riccio (artisti attivi nell'Italia settentrionale dalla ultima parte del XV al primo quarto del XVI secolo) o a scuole norditaliche coeve¹⁶⁵. E numerose sono le placchette, ascritte a scuole norditaliche o fiorentine del XV e inizi del XVI secolo dove Vulcano (con schema simile, ma mai identico al nostro), spesso con Venere e Amore o altri personaggi, forgia all'incudine armi, talvolta per Enea¹⁶⁶. Si distinguono dalla nostra per alcuni particolari anche altre analoghe composizioni, come un intaglio in agata montato in oro, donato a Elisabetta I di Inghilterra, dall'Arcivescovo di Canterbury¹⁶⁷ o un soffietto di legno italiano del XVI secolo¹⁶⁸ o un niello forse bolognese, con Vulcano solo, del tardo XV-primo XVI secolo, conservato al British Museum¹⁶⁹. E a celebrare il trionfo su Venere di Minerva e Vulcano che uniscono le loro forze, in una dichiarazione di fede nelle virtù maschili, militari, in una stanza-armeria, Vulcano forgia le armi di Achille, con Teti, in uno dei piccoli affreschi, eseguito da Rinaldo, assistente di Giulio Romano, nella Sala di Troia del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova¹⁷⁰. Ma spesso non si può interpretare correttamente un'immagine presa di per sé e fuori del contesto in cui era inserita. Così a proposito di un dipinto del Luini (Milano, Brera) con Vulcano all'incudine con due Ciclopi, Gombrich¹⁷¹ ricorda che questo era il soggetto più tradizionale su un camino. Analogamente, senza il relativo passo di Vasari non si sarebbe mai arrivati ad una giusta spiegazione di un affresco, sulla facciata di un palazzo, con i Ciclopi intenti a preparare la folgore di Giove e Vulcano le frecce di Cupido, che voleva alludere al nome del proprietario della casa, Battiferro: il soggetto era stato scelto dunque come un "canting device".

Assai complessa e per certi versi problematica, perché ancora in parte da chiarire, è la circolazione delle gemme dei due Maestri una volta immesse nel mercato. Si è visto come i cristalli del Bernardi continuavano a girare oltre l'epoca di esecuzione e anche quelli per la cassetta Farnese dovettero attendere anni prima di adornarla. Giocano un ruolo determinante, moltiplicando le occasioni per divulgare i temi figurativi, impronte, repliche e copie di queste opere, di ben sperimentato successo, che circolano e si diffondono con rapidità tra eruditi, artisti e anche "falsari". In tal senso è eloquente il passo del Vasari che ai tempi suoi "(...) non si vede altro che pieno le botteghe degli orefici ed il mondo, che delle cose sua [di Belli] formate o di gesso o di zolfo o d'altre misture da e cavi, dove e'

fece storie, o figure, o teste"¹⁷²; così il Gori, ad esempio, si vanta di possedere due zolfi, l'uno tratto dall'intaglio del Fetonte, l'altro del Tizio di Bernardi¹⁷³. E come ricorda Molinier¹⁷⁴ tutti gli incisori di pietre fini hanno "tirato" delle prove dei loro lavori, in zolfo (allora molto numerose, ne sono conservate pochissime) in bronzo o piombo; però i due soli le cui prove ci sono pervenute abbondanti sono proprio Belli e Bernardi. Ma va riconosciuto che strumento essenziale di riproduzione e divulgazione delle opere dei due autori furono le placchette, derivate dai loro intagli. Infatti questi piccoli bassorilievi, la cui funzione primaria era fornire un calco delle gemme antiche, costituirono un mezzo economico per possedere, studiare e divulgare le gemme sia antiche che moderne, rendendole accessibili e familiari ad una clientela ampia e composita. La costante connessione delle placchette con la glittica e lo stretto legame tra i materiali rinascimentali, fa sì che le placchette partecipino della circolarità delle idee del tempo diventandone veicolo, grazie anche alle loro dimensioni modeste e ai costi ridotti. Proprio il processo di popolarizzazione e di volgarizzazione, che determina la produzione di un numero elevato di repliche in piombo, risponde ad una richiesta delle classi più umili, modesti raccoglitori e artigiani che, affiancandosi ai colti collezionisti,

¹⁶⁵ Delle numerose placchette con questo soggetto, ci si limita a segnalarne alcune. Planiscig 1919, 179, tav. 10, n. 362; Bange 1922, 68, tav. 46, nn. 495-497; Pope-Hennessy 1965, 38, n. 119, fig. 222, 63, nn. 210-211, figg. 109-110, 99, n. 355, fig. 288. Numerosi sono gli esemplari, con varianti, della placchetta che figura come rovescio dell'anonima medaglia del Boiardo, con il motto trionfale: AMOR VINCIT OMNIA; cfr. ad es. Bange 1922, 75, tav. 51, n. 544; Pope-Hennessy 1965, 93, n. 330, fig. 240.

¹⁶⁶ Ad es. Molinier 1886, 44-45, nn. 402-403, 74, n. 106, 89, n. 128; Planiscig 1919, 184, tav. 15, n. 382; Bange 1922, 43, tav. 35, nn. 315, 317-318, 92, tav. 58, n. 666; Pope-Hennessy 1965, 58, n. 193, fig. 212, 93, n. 329, fig. 241.

¹⁶⁷ H. Clifford-Smith, *Jewellery*, London 1908, XXII, tav. XXXV, n. 6 (che lo cita come cammeo in onice); Dalton 1915, 75, 91.

¹⁶⁸ E. Bonaffé, in *La Collection Spitzer. Antiquité-Moyen Age-Renaissance* (redatta da E. Molinier), vol. II, Paris-London 1891, 115, tav. VII, n. 130.

¹⁶⁹ A.M. Hind, Nielli. *Chiefly Italian of the XV Century. Plates Sulphur Casts and Prints preserved in the British Museum*, London 1936, 47, tav. XXXI, n. 190.

¹⁷⁰ F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven 1958, 179-182, fig. 395.

¹⁷¹ E. Gombrich, *Immagini simboliche. Studi sull'arte nel Rinascimento*, Torino 1978 (tr. it.), 14, 18, 28, fig. 10.

¹⁷² Vasari, 381. Così, Wentzel 1958, 294, sottolinea che per molti intagli analoghi a quelli del Belli ma non firmati, con scene tratte dall'antichità, non si può spesso accertare se siano lavori della sua officina o imitazioni contemporanee.

¹⁷³ Liverani 1870, 18, 24. Sulla circolazione dei calchi nel Rinascimento, cfr. Kris 1929, 31-32; Dacos 1972, 142.

¹⁷⁴ Molinier 1886, XVI.

spesso a queste placchette si ispiravano senza aver visto gli originali, bensì solo riproduzioni soddisfacenti. Come ha ben sottolineato Pope-Hennessy¹⁷⁵, nella fase finale della storia della placchetta è riaffermato l'iniziale legame con le gemme incise, proprio grazie al Belli e al Bernardi. Ma c'è la tentazione – continua lo studioso – da cui non fu immune neanche Molinier, a stimare le placchette del Belli come copie inferiori di originali unici e costosi (sopravvissuti o persi) e quindi a liquidare il suo atteggiamento verso le placchette come mere riproduzioni. Invece Pope-Hennessy dubita fossero allora così considerate; giustamente sottolinea che proprio attraverso di esse Belli manteneva i contatti con un vasto pubblico e esercitava un'influenza sul gusto; infine sembra che la sua maestria fosse lodata come meritava, a giudicare dalla qualità delle migliori placchette e dalla ricchezza di alcune montature. Le placchette – oggetto d'arte autonomo – sono poi adattate, come dimostra la serie di fori (caso frequentissimo in quelle di Belli e Bernardi) per appendimento o per fissaggio ad un supporto, all'oggetto da decorare, d'uso quotidiano, come libri, suppellettili, mobilio, o utilizzate come ornamento di vesti o nei cappelli¹⁷⁶. E gli artisti nelle botteghe conservavano le placchette come saggio della loro valentia, ricordi delle loro opere e modelli per i discepoli oppure per cercarvi un'idea o un motivo. Nel nostro caso lo prova la serie delle placchette del Belli e del Bernardi, in molteplici esemplari tratti dallo stesso modello, ripetizioni che possono presentarsi modificate dai due artisti o da più tarde derivazioni: aggiunte o soppressioni di particolari, semplificazioni o riduzioni nella qualità, adattamenti per l'inserimento; non di rado le stesse scene ricorrono anche sul rovescio delle medaglie. Così, ad esempio, si è diffusa attraverso le relative placchette, firmate dal Bernardi, la scena di Marte abbracciato da Venere, con Amore, che si ritrova su un cammeo, non firmato e probabilmente realizzato da altra mano, conservato a Vienna, e su un'altra gemma di Monaco, leggermente variata e forse più tarda¹⁷⁷. Dunque le placchette, produzione di bottega, promemoria figurativi, vengono realizzate anche in tempi successivi e in aree culturali diverse dalla creazione del prototipo¹⁷⁸. Per questi motivi e poiché il materiale sopravvissuto è frammentario, è pericoloso isolare un filo dall'intreccio complicato delle interrelazioni nella trasmissione dei motivi iconografici e azzardare facili conclusioni sulla paternità delle idee, sull'esecuzione o sulla datazione delle placchette¹⁷⁹.

Va infine evidenziato il valore delle raccolte di calchi (nel nostro caso documenti preziosi di originali forse non più conservati) e il ruolo da esse svolto

nel divulgare la composizione. Innanzi tutto va tenuto presente che l'incisore, lavorando un materiale trasparente come il cristallo di rocca, poteva vedere senza difficoltà come il suo lavoro progrediva; ma quando la pietra non era trasparente il suo compito era più impegnativo, poiché richiedeva continue verifiche; per rendersi conto della riuscita, egli provava l'effetto dell'intaglio per mezzo di impressioni di cera¹⁸⁰. Se nel Rinascimento vi è grande interesse nel collezionare calchi, è la fabbricazione in massa, nel XVIII e nella prima metà del XIX secolo, delle paste vitree, degli zolfi colorati e dei calchi in gesso bianco (o scagliola) ad esser stata veicolo essenziale per la diffusione di iconografie, antiche e non, e di collezioni, nonché per la produzione di copie su vasta scala e a poco prezzo. Le richieste degli studiosi, dei collezionisti e dei viaggiatori del *Grand Tour*, determinate anche dalla difficoltà di possedere originali, rari e costosi, erano soddisfatte dai laboratori glittici, dediti alla manifattura di calchi, fiorenti specialmente in Roma. Tale commercio incontrò gran favore e ampia diffusione, con le collezioni di impronte disposte ordinatamente in file di cassetti o sistematiche in contenitori a forma di libro con dorso in pelle, facilmente trasportabili, accompagnate da descrizioni e spiegazioni erudite. Destinate prevalentemente al mercato straniero, queste dattiloteche raggiungevano oltralpe posti di insegnamento, accademie d'arte, case di colti amatori¹⁸¹. Non è

¹⁷⁵ Pope-Hennessy 1964, 214.

¹⁷⁶ A tale proposito ricordiamo che Bernardi eseguì un cammeo con la Pentecoste che il poeta e cortigiano Girolamo da Casio portava puntato sul cappello, secondo l'uso del tempo (Liverani 1870, 14). E con una placchetta sopra il cappello è ritratto lo stesso Bernardi, nel noto dipinto conservato alla Pinacoteca di Napoli (Bulgari 1959, I, tav. 16) e in quello a Castel Bolognese (Donati 1989, 54, fig. 1).

¹⁷⁷ Per le placchette, Donati 1989, 94-95, tav. XXIV; cfr. anche a Padova, Banzato-Pellegrini 1989, 122, n. 114. Per il cammeo, Eichler-Kris 1927, 107, tav. 25, n. 169; per la gemma di Monaco, solo citata, Kris 1929, I, 72, 169, 174, II, 287/71 (placchetta), 372/90 (cammeo), che ricollega la raffigurazione, più volte ripetuta e variata, all'ampia sfera d'azione su cui si fonda la feconda officina del Bernardi.

¹⁷⁸ Sul problema delle repliche che si susseguono per non breve lasso di tempo, cfr. ad es. Molinier 1886, 61; G. Panazza, Premessa a Rossi 1974, XV; Banzato-Pellegrini 1989, 28. Sul ruolo delle placchette, fecondo di indicazioni culturali, Varese 1975, 7-14.

¹⁷⁹ Si veda ad es., U. Middeldorf, Su alcuni bronzetti all'antica del Quattrocento, in *Il mondo antico nel Rinascimento. Atti del V Convegno Internazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento*, Firenze-Palazzo Strozzi, 2-6 settembre 1956, Firenze 1958, 167-177; Id., Una miscellanea di placchette, in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci*, tomo 2, Venezia, s. d., 330.

¹⁸⁰ Hayward 1976, 66.

¹⁸¹ Sull'argomento, oltre al fondamentale Zazoff 1983, 137-195 e *passim*, cfr., ad es., Dalton 1915, XX-XXIV; G. Heres, *Daktyliotheken der Goethe-Zeit*, *FuB* 13 (1971), 59-74; Giuliano 1971, 327-328; Aschengreen Piacenti 1972, 67;

possibile, per i nostri intagli del Belli (o del Bernardi), risalire alle precedenti collezioni, né specificare se sono conservati; si possono però rapidamente richiamare i tre diversi ambienti e ambiti culturali dove i loro calchi circolavano.

Appurati gli inconvenienti delle impronte di zolfo, a Dresda Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702-1785)¹⁸² trovò una composizione bianca, con la quale riuscì ad avere riproduzioni di intagli e cammei migliori, ben chiare e resistenti. Autodidatta, Lippert, pur non viaggiando, raccolse molte migliaia di impronte, anche aiutato da coloro che gliene procuravano in Germania e all'estero, specie dall'Italia. Se la pubblicazione della sua grossa e sistematica collezione di calchi venne lodata per la qualità e l'ordine, Lippert era consapevole delle mancanze e non era contento del testo. E giustamente: si è avuto modo per le nostre gemme di rilevare che i dati necessari sono carenti; le descrizioni sono o insufficienti o dettagliate, ma infarcite da osservazioni un po' dilettalesche. Soprattutto manca una divisione tra pezzi moderni (ce ne sono molti creduti antichi) e antichi, perché Lippert non aveva esperienza di originali, non avendo visto quelli delle gemme le cui impronte collezionava e riproduceva. Ciononostante queste serie commentate ebbero enorme successo e largo commercio; specie in Germania, istituti e musei, case reali o privati compravano la dattilioteca di Lippert, attraverso cui conoscevano l'antichità.

A Roma, capitale del *Grand Tour*, Christian Dehn (1696-1770)¹⁸³ svolgeva un'intensa e lucrosa attività: gestiva una bottega notissima per la produzione di calchi di cammei e intagli in gesso e ceralacca e vendeva gli zolfi del suo "museo", ricco di 5000 soggetti (intagli e cammei originali e impronte dei migliori pezzi dalla celebre collezione Stosch e dai principali gabinetti europei) ai viaggiatori stranieri, soprattutto inglesi, e agli eruditi (anche Goethe durante il suo soggiorno romano ne acquistò). Ereditarono il "museo" e la manifattura la figlia Faustina e il marito, Francesco Maria Dolce, che pubblicò la già citata "Descrizione storica del Museo di Cristiano Dehn" (1772), una scelta di 2000, le più belle, impronte in zolfo, divisa in 3 tomi, ognuno composto di 10 scatole a mo' di libri, dove erano sistemate le impronte, contrassegnate con lettere, in corrispondenza alla descrizione. Anche il trattato di Federico, uno dei figli incisori dei Dolce, continuatore dell'attività paterna ("Descrizione di 200 gemme..." Roma 1790; 1792) era illustrato da 4 contenitori con le impronte delle gemme descritte. Dunque, l'azienda Dehn-Dolce rimase punto di riferimento per chi a Roma volesse procurarsi calchi, poiché vantava un ambito patrimonio di matrici prese direttamente dagli originali, garanzia

di calchi migliori, e una serie che riscosse a lungo favore¹⁸⁴. E infatti calchi in zolfo rosso e in gesso bianco di cammei e intagli provenienti dalla bottega Dehn-Dolce, circondati da sottili cornici di carta dorata, numerati e disposti entro cassette di legno, talvolta accompagnati dalla pubblicazione, continuarono ad esser offerti in vendita dai Dolce; essi sono conservati ad esempio nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna, a Firenze, nel Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano¹⁸⁵. Per quanto riguarda quest'ultima raccolta, non si possono documentare le acquisizioni, per mancanza di testimonianze¹⁸⁶. Si ricorda solo che gli zolfi rossi, originariamente 2100 ora 2023, ricalcano la descrizione e sistemazione del Dolce, e sono perciò suddivisi in classi secondo il soggetto, disposti in 3 contenitori di 10 ripiani l'uno.

Sul mercato inglese i più famosi furono gli scozzesi James Tassie (1735-1799) e suo nipote William (1777-1860)¹⁸⁷ che producevano accurate repliche di cammei e intagli antichi e moderni con un sistema – una pasta vetrosa – che ottenne grande successo presso un largo pubblico grazie alla bellezza, alla fedeltà agli originali, persino nel colore, e al costo moderato. Per le loro riproduzioni, i

Gasparri 1977, 26-33; G. Femmel-G. Heres, *Die Gemmen aus Goethes Sammlung*, Leipzig 1977, 36-40 e *passim*; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, Pietro Paoletti e la sua collezione di impronte. Nota preliminare alla pubblicazione del catalogo, *BollMC* XXV-XXVII (1978-1980), 1-15; G. Seidmann, Gems, in F. Haskell-N. Penny, *The most beautiful statues. The taste for antique sculpture 1500-1900*, Ashmolean Museum, 26 march-10 may 1981, Oxford 1981, 57-59; Levi 1985, 178, 180, 186, 189, nn. 188, 190-192; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 7-31.

¹⁸² Su Lippert *cfr.* nota precedente; in particolare, Furtwängler 1900, III, 414-415 e *passim*; Zazoff 1983, 142, 149, 153-164 e *passim*; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 13-17.

¹⁸³ Su Dehn e la sua attività la fonte principale è la "Descrizione storica del Museo di Cristiano Dehn..." del Dolce, cit. a nota 88. *Cfr.* anche, Furtwängler 1900, III, 418 (che giudica il testo del Dolce un lavoro privo di critica); Zazoff 1983, 55-56, 170-171 e *passim*. Quanto ai Dolce, è fondamentale Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991. *Cfr.* anche nota 181.

¹⁸⁴ Gasparri 1977, 27, 34, nota 30; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991.

¹⁸⁵ Mandrioli Bizzarri 1987, 22-23; M.A. Mc Crory, in *Curiosità di una reggia. Vicende della guardaroba di Palazzo Pitti*, Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, gennaio-settembre 1979, 91, n. 13; Gualdoni 1986, 87-93. Ricordiamo che 2000 calchi furono acquistati nel 1778 per l'Accademia di Madrid (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991). Vengono stimati importanti per lo studio dell'antico due doni di Federico II a Kassel, la collezione di zolfi rossi Dehn, comprata a Roma, e la dattilioteca di Lippert (L.J. Völkel, *Geschichte der Gemmen-Sammlung im Museo*, in Höcker 1987-88, 34). Purtroppo entrambe le dattiloteche sono bruciate durante la seconda guerra mondiale (*ibidem*, 36 nota 58).

¹⁸⁶ Gualdoni 1986, 88, nota 6.

¹⁸⁷ Sui Tassie, *cfr.* nota 181 e, in particolare, Furtwängler 1900, III, 421, 423 (giudizio negativo) e *passim*; Zazoff 1983, 132 nota 216, 171-174 e note 158-159 e *passim*; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 17-19.

Tassie si servirono anche della collezione di Stosch di 28000 zolfi, da loro in gran parte acquistata nel 1791. Divenuti celebri, fornirono a Caterina di Russia parecchie migliaia delle loro paste colorate, così come a Wedgwood e a Bentley.

La qualità, la reputazione, l'influenza e la fortuna di cui godevano le opere glittiche del Belli e del Bernardi, le rendevano punto di riferimento; va quindi riconosciuto alla loro "invenzione" un apporto significativo al repertorio figurativo glittico. Ma proprio in base a quanto specificato, gli intagli dei due Maestri, modelli amati, replicati più volte e resi popolari, venivano "imitati" a lungo. Dunque le gemme di entrambi i nostri gruppi possono esser redatte in ambiente diverso dalla creazione del prototipo, e non in base alla sua conoscenza, in momenti differenti e anche molto distanziati: ciò non consente di risalire a una collocazione cronologica circoscritta. Forse però non è scorretto generalizzare stabilendo l'antiorità delle gemme del secondo gruppo, a cui appartiene l'esemplare del Belli (o Bernardi) che, con la loro qualità formale alta, si attengono fedeli al modello tanto da esser facilmente confondibili con le antiche, gli siano cronologicamente più vicine. Invece dovrebbe esser relativamente più tardo il primo gruppo, dove lo stile, non più antichizzante, è impreciso e meno curato, talvolta scadente e quindi più agevolmente riconoscibile; analogamente, il motivo iconografico, estrapolato dalla primitiva composizione, può esser adattato ad una nuova (è invece pressoché sempre rispettato l'originale nella figura di Vulcano volta verso sinistra). Così, un elemento tipico di vari intagli del Rinascimento come il mantello che si allaccia sotto il collo con una scollatura a V, svolazzante al vento, è stato alterato e reso con quella già sottolineata schematizzazione a doppia o tripla V sul davanti e con quella grossolana *velificatio* del pannello sul retro.

Quanto alla localizzazione delle officine produttrici di questi intagli, Zazoff¹⁸⁸ la porrebbe forse a Parigi, a causa dei molti esempi al Cabinet des Médailles. Ma la Maaskant-Kleibrink rileva che ve ne sono in gran numero anche nella collezione di Palazzo Pitti a Firenze e in altre italiane; è dunque possibile che essi fossero prodotti a sud delle Alpi, in Italia¹⁸⁹. Tale ipotesi è sostenuta anche dalla Zwierlein-Diehl: le officine, probabilmente poche e vicine, sarebbero da ricercare in Italia settentrionale (Venezia? Padova?); lo fa presupporre il fatto che quasi tutti i numerosi lapislazzuli e corniole di Vienna vengono dalla "collezione Estense", del XVII secolo, prima conservata nel Castello "Il Catajo" a Este. E dall'Italia, dove fu acquistata la maggioranza delle gemme, antiche e pseudoantiche, esse si diffusero in tutta Europa¹⁹⁰. Sebbene si

sia visto che rimangono insolite le questioni relative alla provenienza, sconosciuta, di molte delle gemme di questa produzione di massa, a mio avviso l'ipotesi delle officine italiane va accettata, senza alcuna riserva. E' infatti innegabile la supremazia dell'Italia, attiva dalla "rinascita" della glittica fino al suo declino. E di massa è nel '600 la produzione anonima italiana, poiché cammei e intagli divengono di moda con il generalizzarsi dell'uso come ornamenti indossati in gioielli, abiti, cappelli... o applicati su recipienti da tavola e oggetti preziosi¹⁹¹. Appunto la Zwierlein-Diehl ricorda che le corniole e i lapislazzuli esaminati, fabbricati in modo rapido e in grossa quantità, erano impiegati non tanto singolarmente, quanto in maniera decorativa, come dimostrano la già citata anfora della metà del XVII secolo e una cassetta d'avorio del XVII secolo, a Vienna¹⁹², dove essi sono accostati ai pezzi antichi. Tra i più importanti centri glittici, oltre a Roma e Firenze, vi sono proprio Venezia (emporio nel '500 per il commercio delle pietre dure; qui ad esempio fu tornito il cristallo della tazza del Bernardi con l'Arca di Noè¹⁹³) e Milano (famosa per la produzione di vasi di cristallo intagliato). Più specificamente all'ambito settentrionale (che ricordiamo è quello di formazione del Belli e del Bernardi) riconducono altri fattori. Così, la Zwierlein-Diehl, nonostante la forte differenza di qualità, rileva un'affinità stilistica delle pieghe del pannello tra uno di questi intagli di lapislazzuli e un'agata che Kris ascrive intorno al 1500 e per cui evidenzia l'influenza milanese / veneziana-padovana; in particolare Kris crede all'origine da Venezia e Padova¹⁹⁴. Ancora: Kris¹⁹⁵ nel valutare l'influsso che ha avuto l'attività del Bernardi sull'evoluzione della glittica insiste sull'importanza della sua opera nella cerchia milanese, non tanto per la

¹⁸⁸ Zazoff 1983a, 343 nota 295.

¹⁸⁹ Maaskant-Kleibrink 1986, XII, 88, 91.

¹⁹⁰ Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 25-26; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 393. Sulla "collezione Estense" cfr. A. Bernhard-Walcher, *Zur Geschichte der Gemmensammlung*, in Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 37.

¹⁹¹ Sull'argomento, Wentzel 1958, 294-296.

¹⁹² Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 24, 25, 246, n. 2540 (anfora), 250-252, tav. 181, n. 2540 bis (cassetta). Va ricordato che tra i 23 intagli della cassetta ricondotti alla produzione in esame e solo citati, vi è un plasma con Vulcano seduto davanti all'incudine (*ibidem*, 251).

¹⁹³ Secondo Kris (Kris 1928) è lecito supporre che anche altri cristalli incisi dal Bernardi fossero tagliati e torniti a Venezia; cfr. Kris 1929, I, 68, 70. Per le lettere del Bernardi, Liverani 1870, 35-36.

¹⁹⁴ Kris 1929, I, 42, 159, II, 126/29; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, 26, 282, tav. 205, n. 2657; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 392-393, fig. 31.

¹⁹⁵ Kris 1929, I, 72-73 e *passim*. Quanto all'influsso del Belli sull'officina milanese dei Sarachi, Kris 1929, I, 111-112 e *passim*.



Fig. 23. Intaglio. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (da Kris 1929, II, 420/99).

concordanza dei motivi, ma per la somiglianza del linguaggio formale e del modo di lavorare. Un esempio significativo da un'officina milanese è un intaglio in cristallo di rocca firmato da G. Taverna, con il giudizio di Giove su Venere e Marte¹⁹⁶, il cui gruppo dipende da quello della già citata placchetta del Bernardi con la scena di Venere che abbraccia Marte, ripetuta su intagli e cammei (cfr. nota 177). Analogamente, in base alla comune parentela stilistica con i lavori degli incisori di cristallo milanesi del più tardo '500 e specialmente quelli della cerchia dei Sarachi, Kris ricollega all'Italia settentrionale e al XVI-XVII secolo due intagli conservati a

Vienna, uno con il trionfo d'amore (Fig. 23), l'altro con amore inginocchiato sacrificante (Fig. 24), nel quale è molta stretta la somiglianza stilistica con le nostre gemme nn. 1-6¹⁹⁷. Si tratta di un'attività artigianale di scarsa qualità, che Kris data alla seconda metà del '1500¹⁹⁸: per lo più grosse agate o eliotropi

¹⁹⁶ Kris 1929, I, 73, 170, II, 291/72.

¹⁹⁷ Kris 1929, I, 91, 177, II, 420-421/99 (cfr. il secondo pezzo con Casal Garcia 1990, I, 202, 204; II, 105, 109, nn. 102, 121-122). Va ricordato che per il secondo intaglio, Kris segnala che una replica si trova a Firenze, assieme ad altre numerose pietre della stessa feconda officina.

¹⁹⁸ Kris 1929, I, 91.



Fig. 24. Agata. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (da Kris 1929, II, 421/99).

incisi con numerose, misere scene mitologiche e religiose, immagini monotone e popolari, condotte in modo spesso rozzo e *flüchtig* (aggettivo che si è visto ricorrente a connotare queste composizioni). Alla stessa produzione italiana (XVI-fine del XVII secolo) appartengono altri intagli ora a Vienna, stilisticamente vicini al nostro pezzo n. 8, per le figure allungate, slanciate e snelle, il panneggio svolazzante con linee sottili e superflue, con raffigurazioni come la crocefissione o le stigmate di S. Francesco (Fig. 25)¹⁹⁹. E – va sottolineato – per uno

di questi intagli, un'agata con una scena allegorica di difficile interpretazione, dove più forte è l'affinità con il n. 8 (Fig. 26), Kris osserva che l'arte dell'intaglio fa pensare a un modello tardoantico²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁹ Kris 1929, I, 91, 177, II, 422, 423, 424, 426/99. Cfr. anche (non per lo stile), *ibidem*, 425/99, una sacra conversazione (circa 1560) nell'arte del Belli. Kris rileva che numerosi altri esemplari, specie religiosi, sono in tutte le più grandi collezioni.

²⁰⁰ Kris 1929, I, 91, 177, II, 427/99.

ntaglio. *Kunsthistorisches Museum,*
Kris 1929, II, 424/99).



Fig. 26. Agata. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vie.
Kris 1929, II, 4

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Reviews

ANNAMARIA COMELLA, *Le terrecotte architettoniche del Santuario dello Scasato a Falerii (scavi 1886-1887)*. Collana: Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1993. 256 pp., 64 pls.; 24 cm. – ISBN 88-7104-667-6

This book is published as the first volume in the Aucus series, 'collana di studi di antichistica dell'istituto di studi comparati sulle società antiche'. Nowadays attention is at last being paid to the architectural terracottas of Central Italy and publications on the subject have been appearing in rapid order. While most have dealt with terracottas from the Archaic period, one of the most interesting focuses on the 3rd century Etruscan 'renaissance' in coroplastic art – *La coroplastica templare etrusca fra il IV e il II secolo a.C.* (Atti del XVI convegno di studi etruschi e italici, Orbetello 25-29 aprile 1988), Firenze 1992.

Dr Comella's book is an important addition to these *Atti*, and deals exclusively with the architectural terracottas found in the Lo Scasato area, in the city of Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana), where there was a sanctuary dedicated, in all likelihood, to Apollo Soranus. These terracottas were excavated in the years 1887-1887 by Conte A. Cozza, but have never been presented as a roof-system (or systems). As in the case with many of the sites excavated around the turn of the century in Central Italy, 90% of the Falerii material is still unpublished; it remains one of the *colossali inediti*, despite the interest shown in Falerii during the last few years (*La civiltà dei Falisci* [Atti del XV convegno di studi etruschi e italici, Civita Castellana 28-31 maggio 1987], Florence 1990). The terracotta roofs of Falerii Veteres were one of the richest complexes in Central Italy, dating back to the Archaic period but reaching their peak in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The roofs belonged to a group of urban and extra-urban sanctuaries excavated in areas known as Vignale, Celle, Sassi Caduti, Fondi Belloni and Lo Scasato. Of these sites Lo Scasato is the best known, since some excavation data and a large part of the terracotta material were actually published, though not very thoroughly (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1888, pp. 414-433; A. Andr n, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, Lund & Leipzig 1940, pp. 80-145).

Comella's annotated catalogue of the Lo Scasato terracottas is divided into two parts, preceded by an introductory section (pp. 21-40) which deals, in the manner of most modern publications, with the history of the excavations and the state of research up to 1990. As is the case with almost all the excavations conducted in the last century, the data in the reports and publications produced in the years following the discovery of the sanctuary provides only a bare minimum of information on the character of the sanctuary and the number of the buildings. They are even less helpful for any attempt to reconstruct the various roof-systems, of which two different types were initially deduced. The fragments of the large pedimental group have always attracted the most attention. The first tentative reconstructions of the roof-systems,

and of the pediment in particular, produced two options. One was to attribute the terracottas to two building phases, the first of which was reckoned to date from the turn of the 4th and the 3rd centuries. This was represented by a small temple furnished with the famous pedimental group (against a closed background) and some antefixes, and by a second, larger temple dating from the 3rd or 2nd century, which was extensively decorated with revetment plaques. The other was to see the entire *corpus* as belonging to one system, dating from the 3rd century or later. The enormous problems presented by the Lo Scasato roofs (the lack of excavation data, the attribution of the scattered terracottas to roof systems) are complicated by the fact that the reconstruction of the pedimental group has been subject, ever since its discovery, to inconclusive scholarly discussions.

The first part of the book (pp. 41-198), and by far the bulkiest, presents and analyses the architectural terracottas from the sanctuary's main period. It is divided into two sections: the first deals with the decorative system of the temple, the second presents the decorative elements of an adjacent building, probably a *portico*. The decorative system of the temple consists of revetments, antefixes representing winged figures, acroterial elements, tiles, eaves-tiles, and imbrices, a lateral acroterion of a couple on a chariot, and the famous pedimental group (34 entries). Although Comella presents and classifies every type or element of this roof-system in great detail, the descriptions are somewhat incomplete and provide insufficient data on measurements. Fortunately, each type of roof-decoration is illustrated. Parallels and dates are given after the presentation of every group and the positioning and the chronology of the architectural terracottas are discussed in a separate section. By far the most impressive category of material belonging to the Lo Scasato roof-system is a pedimental group consisting of at least five male and two female figures. All the figures appear to have been modelled onto a plaque, albeit in very high relief. A thorough examination of their style accentuates their unicity and dates them to the end of the 4th or, more probably, to the beginning of the 3rd century, the same period to which all the other elements of this roof can be dated.

The author then discusses the positioning of the pedimental figures. The temple was 17 metres wide and the roof inclined at 16°. We are thus able to calculate the maximum height of the typanum: *i.e.* 2.50 m. The total height of the figures was originally c. 1.20 m, giving a compositional scale of 1:2. If the pediment had been closed, the figures would have somehow been lost in the space (Comella shows us that there are indeed compositions of this kind known from other temple pediments). If, on the other hand, the pediment had been open, as some scholars have suggested, there would have been room for three large plaques with high reliefs. The technique of the statues and the few remaining parts of their plaques and plinths argue, however, against a reconstruction as *columen* or *mutuli* plaques and suggests rather a closed pedimental highrelief, even though the

figures stand up rigidly and are not engaged in some scene, which is quite rare in pedimental sculpture. The author imagines a reconstruction of the statues similar to that of the group from the *Capitolium* of Cosa: figured reliefs attached to the base of the fronton triangle, leaving an open space at the top where the ends of the *columen* and *mutuli* remain visible and are covered by terracotta masks (in the shape of a *gorgoneion*, for example).

The subject of the temple decoration and its relation to the cult is dealt with in a section following the descriptions and discussions and its relation to the cult is dealt with in a section following the descriptions and discussions of the material itself. After considering the opinions of other scholars, Comella identifies the two main figures in the pedimental group as Apollo and Hermes. Myths from the Aeneid, the Iliad, and some local heroic myths are reviewed. She then refutes most of the previous theories and turns to the scarce compositorial elements in the material itself for a reconstruction of the iconographical data. Using contemporary Attic vases, Etruscan mirrors and *cistae*, she manages to identify the figures of Apollo, Hermes, Artemis, Leto, and that of a local hero, Halesus, founder of Falerii, engaged in consulting the oracle. Literary references to Falerii, epigraphical sources and votive material from the site itself all argue in favour of Comella's reconstruction and link the episode represented in the temple pediment to the cult of the sanctuary.

There is then a review of style and chronology, which involves much repetition of what has been said in the catalogue. We are shown that the Lo Scasato pediment was inspired by 4th century Greek models; the style of the statues is so close to the models that we must dismiss the idea of a long passage of time between them, and Comella sticks to a date at the beginning of the 3rd century. We find in them clear remnants of an artistic tradition originating in Magna Graecia, and it is suggested here that the craftsmen were actually invited from the south, and worked closely with a local Faliscan workshop, thus marking the beginning of a long Faliscan tradition in coroplastic art.

A group of 27 entries of antefixes is dealt with separately, since it is clear from the find circumstances that they once adorned a *portico* building close to the Lo Scasato temple. The antefixes are, surprisingly enough, modelled free handedly, and were produced in the same period and by the same workshop as the terracotta decorations on the temple. The style reflects tarentine work. Their positioning is discussed at length, since many scholars have believed that the antefixes were related to the pediment and perhaps placed on the same building. Comella rejects all these arguments by making it clear that the antefixes were found in quite another area. Besides, she reconstructs no less than 24 antefixes, which makes it altogether impossible to place them on the temple pediment. However, the antefixes are executed in the same superb style as the pedimental sculpture. They probably represented satyrs and maenads, all different in position, with several figures possessing either a Dionysiac or an Apollonian atmosphere. The older Silen, Marsyas, appears to be present as well. The musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas springs to mind, or perhaps a simple scene of *hierogamos*.

The second part of the book (pp. 199-220) deals with those architectural terracottas which date from the other phases of the sanctuary. The first group consist of three types of revetment plaque, seven types of antefixes and a terminal part in the shape of a ram's head. All of these are from the middle of the 4th century, and therefore predate the monumental roof-system dealt with above. Next, a handful of badly executed architectural terracottas attest the use of the sanctuary well into the 2nd and 1st centuries. Finally, a small section is reserved for the fragments of reliefs whose attribution is uncertain. Some of these fragments exhibit the same technical characteristics present in the monumental roof-system. Others seem of later date. The closing chapter, the *riepilogo* (pp. 221-232) is a summary of the discussions contained in the book, quite conveniently arranged. It repeats the conclusion about the chronology and the diversity of the roof-systems and about the three building phases of the sanctuary. This final part of the book helps us to understand what the study of the Lo Scasato terracottas has all been about.

Annamaria Comella has chosen to use the 'old-fashioned' method of studying the material itself in order to analyse it typologically and stylistically. Although her conclusions may be far from daring and, in some ways, over-cautious, the book is both thorough and useful. However, I do have some serious reservations. In my view it is disappointing that the manufacturing technique of the Lo Scasato material is totally ignored. Differences in fabric remain unexplained even though such characteristics can be very useful in differentiating between roof-systems. There are no references to painting, modelling and firing. The reverse sides of important architectural elements are not described, let alone illustrated (D 1). I must also say that in my opinion the organization of the book lacks that clarity which is so essential for specialist catalogues of terracotta material. Matters relating to reconstruction, style and chronology are endlessly repeated in the different sections and suddenly crop up in places where they are least expected. The author's lengthy descriptions of counterparts and parallels do not make the book more readable.

Finally, something should be said about the disappointing appearance of the book (although I am aware that this may lie quite beyond the author's influence). The illustrations are of an inconsistent quality. On the one hand, M. Olla's reconstruction drawings of the revetment plaques, eaves-tiles, and other mould-made pieces are professionally made and very informative. On the other hand, there are no technical or reconstruction drawings of the pedimental statues and the antefixes. A wealth of information is therefore lost. The rather dull photographs are of a poor quality, probably due to bad printing. Details highlighting modelling, slip and other technical properties are just not visible. Last but not least, a general index, or a concordance between inventory numbers and catalogue numbers, would have been helpful. Its absence forces the reader to go through the entire book in search of his or her required topic.

It is not surprising that Annamaria Comella, well-known for her work on votive material from Gravisca, Falerii, and Veii (1978, *Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia* – CSVI

I, and V) has chosen to occupy herself with architectural terracottas. The categories are closely linked, both in their fabric and in their ability to inform us about cults and sanctuaries of which not a trace has been preserved. She has made a genuine effort to present the Falerii material as completely as possible, and therefore deserves our gratitude and respect. The book is of value to all those who are wrestling with the complex problems posed by terracotta roof fragments, complex roof-systems, and unreliable or incomplete excavation data.

Patricia S. Lulof

VASSILIKI GAGGADIS-ROBIN, *Jason et Médée. Sur les sarcophages d'époque impériale*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1994. 199 pp., 76 figs.; 24 cm (Collection de l'école française de Rome, 191). – ISBN 2-7283-0303-7.

In this publication of the French School at Rome, Mrs Gaggadis-Robin discusses all Roman sarcophagi of the imperial period which contain representations of Iason and Medea. After having listed a catalogue of the sarcophagi, Mrs Gaggadis discusses the chronology of the sarcophagi by comparing them stylistically, not thematically, to other sarcophagi of the same period. She usually gives more precise dates than those which are already known, e.g. on sarcophagus nr. 17 (whereabouts unknown); M. Schmidt says this sarcophagus dates from the Antonine period, whereas the author dates it from 180 A.D.

The book also contains an abstract of the literary sources, in which she compiles up all available stories about Iason and Medea's genealogy, without respect to the authors of the sources. She also ignores the authors as she discusses the Greek and Roman literary sources separately, for instance when she writes about the Orphic *Argonautics* (p. 63). She does not take into consideration the fact that Orpheus' important role is not a traditional element in the story, but was invented, I think, in Orphic circles.

The main part of the book consists of an iconographic discussion of the scenes on the sarcophagi, their similarities and differences. To that purpose she has divided the story of Iason and Medea into different scenes, beginning with the story of Iason appearing before Pelias in Iolkos wearing only one sandal. According to Mrs Gaggadis this scene is depicted on sarcophagus nr. 12 (Rome, catacombe of Prétextat). The discussion of the scenes follows the order of the pictures as they appear on the sarcophagi. So, she ends the survey with Medea's flight on the chariot of the sun, drawn by two snakes. This approach excludes stories of Medea (and Iason) which take place after her flight from Corinth, e.g. the story of Iason's death and Medea's encounter in Athens with Theseus, which are not depicted on the sarcophagi, but are told by e.g. Pseudo-Appollodore, *Bibliotheca* epitoma. But between the two scenes of Iason with one sandal before Pelias and Medea's flight, the author includes scenes which are not depicted on the sarcophagi, but do appear on other objects and are mentioned in literary sources, e.g. the encounter of the Argonauts and Medea with the bronze giant Talos on the isle of Crete.

Each scene is discussed by first describing the picture and then identifying the persons, giving parallel depictions and relevant literary sources. Sometimes it is not totally clear for me why certain persons are identified as such. Apsyrtos in the scene where Iason tames the bulls in Colchis seems a random identification to me (p. 72). Likewise I have my doubts about the identification of Iason in the scenes of Medea's vengeance on the royal family of Corinth (p. 131). Many comparable representations can be found on Greek vases and on contemporary provincial statues.

It is remarkable that Mrs Gaggadis places the vases on which Medea's head is portrayed between two snakes in the context of the conquest of the golden fleece. I do not see the connection between the vases and the conquest scenes. The only element which they have in common is the snakes. I think these representations of Medea are just not connected to a particular scene. Mrs Gaggadis believes these scenes to be representations of the divine and chthonic character of Medea (p. 92). When looking at recent publications on this subject, the term chthonic seems very ambiguous.

In some cases Mrs Gaggadis would like to see a direct influence of literary sources, which is not that easy to prove, because a lot of written material was lost and about the rich oral tradition little is known. This influence of literary sources is particularly puzzling in Euripides' influence on the scenes in Corinth (the murder of Medea on the royal family, on her own children and her flight.)

Although Mrs Gaggadis gives a good account of the separate scenes, yet she fails to give reasons why these scenes were combined on the sarcophagi. Neither does she notice whether there are scenes missing or indicates which scenes were important for the sculptors and their clients. It would have been interesting to read if there was a development in representation of Iason and Medea in the different scenes. Mrs Gaggadis does indeed speak of characteristic elements and sees a development in the portrayal of Medea over a longer period. Medea can be identified from the end of the fifth century B.C. onwards, as she wears a rich oriental costume and a Phrygian cap. Her main attributes are either a box or a rod or a casket, the attributes of a 'magicienne meurtrière' (p. 193), but the costumes on the sarcophagi are not oriental, but Greek and the Phrygian cap has also disappeared. The characteristics of Iason are less fixed.

On the whole Mrs Gaggadis gives a thorough survey and chronology of the sarcophagi of the imperial period, which contain representations of Iason and Medea. Her use of footnotes and bibliography indicate that she has researched her topic extremely well. This book should invite other scholars to perhaps address some of the questions which I have named in this review.

Marina Sloomans

ANNA SADURSKA, ADNAN BOUNNI, *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1994. 195 pp., 255 ill., 14 plans; 30 cm (Rivista di Archeologia, supplementi 13). – ISBN 88-7689-103-X.

C'est à juste titre que le livre clair et bien structuré se voit doté du Prix européen d'archéologie pour l'année 1994, choix vraiment incontestable, car c'est en effet la première fois qu'un recueil raisonné si vaste traitant l'iconographie funéraire de Palmyre ait été compilé, dont le texte se lit en tant qu'"arbre généalogique" d'entières familles, ainsi permettant la reconstruction d'un monde disparu.

La recherche a pu profiter du contexte épigraphique et archéologique provenu des fouilles systématiques des hypogées de Palmyre par des plusieurs missions archéologiques, entamées en grand part après la seconde guerre mondiale. Cette arrière-fond déjà présent, il a été relativement facile de "suivre la topographie des hypogées et la disposition des sculptures de chaque chambre funéraire", méthode consciemment choisie par les auteurs qui ont adopté le principe de traiter les tombeaux du point de vu de "l'image des Anciens, en tant qu'une maison éternelle d'une ou bien de quelques familles" (p. 7).

Groupé en autour des hypogées qui étaient les tombeaux familiales, le texte du livre retient constamment son caractère de description minutieuse, scrupule, de chaque portrait traité, n'importe que celui-ci soit buste masculin ou féminin, stèle ou relief de banquet. Les connotations stylistiques restent dans tous les cas fortement implantées dans l'ambiance de l'art et de l'iconographie de Palmyre, pour ne la presque jamais quitter. Un monde complet et vraiment impressionnant de vie civile s'ouvre dans ces pages, témoins d'images de nombreux membres de famille depuis long oubliés. A la fin du livre, Anna Sadurska présente sa datation relative bien structurée qui, peut-être, actuellement aurait dû précéder le complexe du catalogue. Des concordances claires soutiennent la lucidité de l'ouvrage presque irréprochable.

Cependant, c'est par la qualité exceptionnelle du livre qu'on regrette de constater qu'il y en a un problème que les auteurs ne répondent pas, c'est la question de l'origine de ces arrangements remarquables de portraits, groupés dans le sens du collectif, où chaque chambre funéraire témoigne d'une famille particulière. Pour cela, on fait de vains effort de chercher de savoir de plus quant à la genèse de ces dispositions d'une imagerie assez complète dans ces tombeaux, rappelant la description des masques de cire exhibés en cortège funèbre, de Polybe, *Hist.* 6.53-4. Des nombreuses parallèles dans l'antiquité, à commencer avec les urnes cinéraires étrusques, se trouvent à son origine. Puis, c'est le tombeau des Hatérii, ce sont les galeries complètes de Rome, d'Ostie, qui ont stimulé ces modes collectionnistes. Certes, l'idée d'exhiber des collectivités d'entières familles, ne remont-il pas à la pratique prévalente en l'antiquité romaine, de préserver l'ensemble des *documenta generis*, qu'on voit reflétée aussi, plus tard, dans les portraits du Fayoum? De l'autre côté, on est porté également de penser à des traditions du Proche-Orient même, comparer les structures palmyréennes aux tombeaux lyciens qui ont conservé l'héritage des *res gestae* des plus grands noms de l'époque, question à laquelle le livre ne s'adresse non plus. Ainsi, il n'aurait été besoin que de quelques mots bien placés pour aider d'expliquer en matière, de donner une sorte d'encadrement.

On se heurte, également et à quelques égards, à la manière dans laquelle les planches d'illustration, composées pour la plupart par des bonnes photographies DAI,

ont été arrangées, façon qui a été propagée par les auteurs à des raisons bien fondées (p. 7). Les figures sont groupées selon le principe stylistique – d'ailleurs, établi par l'encadrement de la chronologie relative – qui, une fois que les avis stylistiques vont subir des modifications, sera désavantagé. En outre, et même mises à part ces considérations, il en aurait été beaucoup plus lucide si l'ordre des photographies avait suivi l'ordre donné par les dispositions originales des sculptures. Quand même, les chercheurs se sont efforcés de discuter les différences remarquables d'exécution et de style qui existent entre les exemples de qualité supérieure tel que le portrait superbe de l'homme barbu de l'hypogée de Bôlhâ (fig. 106, cat. 108) et d'autres paradigmes pourtant contemporains, d'un style plus rigide et orientale qu'on voit diffusé à maintes reprises (cat. 75, fig. 103, bustes de Malê et Malaftâ de l'hypogée des Sassans; cat. 166, fig. 108, buste d'Atetan de l'hypogée de Zabd'ateh), comme d'apprécier les connotations socio-économiques qui semblent d'en résulter (voir p.e. p. 73); ces différences s'attachent à la position fortunée de quelques familles, qui les a permis, dans une certaine époque, de payer des rémunérations bien élevées afin de se procurer les services d'artistes de haut niveau.

Un léger défaut s'encontre en ce qui concerne le problème des liaisons stylistiques avec l'art romain contemporain, dont l'incommodation est particulièrement apparente en regardant le portrait (cat. 108), image évoquant l'archétype du portrait de Septime-Sévère créé au début de sa règne. La, aussi, on s'aurait attendu de trouver quelques mots concernant le style général de l'image de Bôlhâ et ses rapports avec le monde artistique à l'extérieur de Palmyre. En lisant le livre dans l'attente de retrouver des efforts de rapprochement, des portraits de Palmyre au contexte du monde antique, comme des essais de récupération d'une influence artistique ou iconographique nettement captivée, du style contemporain de l'art impérial sur celui de Palmyre, on est saisi par quelques petites déceptions.

Il ne me reste que de conclure en reconnaissant, avec de l'admiration la plus équitable, que les recherches ont établi la base solide qui va permettre le décollage d'études des autres objets provenants de Palmyre, dont l'encadrement stylistique n'a pas encore été si bien défini.

Aristides Stamatou

GUNTRAM KOCH (ed.), *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993. 267 pp., 96 figs., 100 pls.; 31 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-1484-1.

Das zu Ehren B. Andreaes abgehaltene Marburger Symposium von Juli 1990 enthält Beiträge von namhaften Sarkophagforschern und gliedert sich hauptsächlich in drei derzeit besonders interessanten Themenbereiche: die Frage nach dem Beginn der Girlandenmotive (auf Sarkophagen) der griechisch-hellenistischen Kunst des Ostmittellmeeres einerseits, und der kaiserzeitlichen (stadt)römischen Kunst andererseits; ikonographische und chronologische Probleme der Sarkophage attischer Werkstätten; sowie Untersuchungen zu stadtrömischen Sarkophagen mit Themen aus dem "Menschenleben" (ASR I).

Im 1. und 2. Teil geht es also vorwiegend um die Beziehung Ost und West. Die Hauptfrage dabei ist, klarzustellen, ob und wie gegenseitige Einflüsse bemerkbar werden.

Die traditionelle und weitverbreitete Ansicht, die hellenistischen Girlandensarkophage hätten Anregungen gegeben zu den dekorativen Formen der Kaiserzeit, womit eine ungebrochene Kontinuität sichtbar wäre, wird in ihren Öffnungssätzen jeweils von F. İşik (gegen V.M. Strocka und Rodenwaldt) und D. Berges (gegen Rodenwaldt) angegriffen. Letztlich kommen beide Autoren aufgrund ihrer Beobachtungen aber zu verschiedenen Ansichten. İşik wendet sich gegen die Meinung H. Brandenburgs, „der Sarkophag“ in Rom sei „aus dem östlichen Bereich herzuleiten“ und stellt fest, dass die Formen der Girlanden mit Tierköpfen von frühkaiserzeitlichen Altären (s. zu diesem Thema den hervorragenden Beitrag von D. Boschung, 37-42) wie der Ara Pacis auf Sarkophagkasten übertragen wurden, wobei dieses Motiv in trajanischer Zeit umgewandelt wird und mit figürlichen Trägern bereichert, sieht hingegen die hellenistischen Girlandenthemen als ureigene anatolische Schaffung an, die unabhängig von Rom weitergeführt werden bis zum Beginn der – ebenfalls in trajanischer Zeit einsetzenden – ephesischen Werkstätten, d.h. Parallelität ohne Beeinflussung. D. Berges hingegen, der zum Teil die Ansichten Rodenwaldts hinsichtlich der Priorität griechischer Sarkophagproduktion ausbaut (23), räumt ein, dass auf Altären und Sarkophagen augustäischer Zeit verwendete Girlanden – obwohl ihre „feingliedrige und naturnahe Wiedergabe“ mit den östlichen Beispielen stark kontrastiert – auf ein hellenistisches, wohl aus Pergamon stammendes Motiv zurückverweist. Bei ihm wird also mehr das Prinzip „der damaligen Koiné“ (30) hervorgehoben. Dies könnte dann letztlich so verstanden werden, in diesem Hinsicht hätte die hellenistische Kunst die frühkaiserzeitliche beeinflusst.

Mit der Vision des Buches überein stimmt der Versuch Helga Herdejürgens, ein Sarkophag aus Nola mit Girlandenschmuck, Greifen mit Lorbeerblattkranz und sakralen Motiven westlicher Provenienz zuzuordnen. Sie bezieht sich vor allem auf die Herkunft des Motivs der antithetischen Greifen aus frühkaiserzeitlich-römischen Zusammenhang, und gibt dafür stichhaltige Argumente. Allerdings bleibt die Tatsache, dass die Form des Kastens alten kleinasiatischen Kastenformen entstammt, unbesprochen und m.E. sind ihre stilistische Argumente hinsichtlich der auf der Vorderseite aufgehängten typisch römischer Girlandenformen wenig überzeugend für eine Deutung der Herkunft der Motive: so betrachtet, könnte man doch auch das von F. İşik als „stadtrömisch“ erwähnte Bukranien-Girlandenfries aus dem Grabkammer des Epheses-Oktogons (Taf. 8.1) mit Beispielen hellenistischen Stils wie der Tralleis-Sarkophag (Taf. 9.1) verbinden. Dass dicke und flache Formen im Orient vorherrschen, während feinmaserige und üppigere Girlanden noch immer die Stilmerkmale augustäischer Kunst aufweisen, ist wohl doch eher in Zusammenhang mit der zeitlich und künstlerisch bedingte Parallelität beider Gebiete – Ostmittelmeer und Italien – zu betrachten und könnte daher als Argument für eine Deutung der Herkunft, nicht in Betracht kommen.

Die Beiträge von H. Sichtermann und M. Bonanno Aravantinos beziehen sich auf der attischen Sarkophag-

produktion des 2. Jhs. n.Chr. und stellen somit eine Übergang zum zweiten Teil des Symposiums dar. H. Sichtermann konzentriert sich auf Sarkophagen mit Bellerophondarstellung, drei mit Bändigungsgruppe (worum der bekannte Sarkophag aus der Platon-Akademie, der dieses Reiterthema einer Löwenjagd durch Kinder und einer Eberjagd eines einzelnen Reiters gegenüberstellt), vier mit einer Szene, in der der Held den bereits gezähmten Pegasos an der Quelle Peirene trinkt, dessen bekannteste Vertreter das Relief Spada (P. Zanker, in: Helbig⁴ II (1966) 765f Nr. 2007) und die um 150 n.Chr. entstandene Osthothek von Megiste (Taf. 22.4) sind. Dass die Bändigung und Chimäradarstellung immer zusammen erscheinen, wurde von J. Papadimitriou und S. Hiller als Virtus-Thematik gewürdigt. Die Kompositionen erscheinen klassisch diagonal gestaltet, können jedoch nur ganz allgemein mit Vorbildern aus der griechischen Kunst verglichen werden. Dies gilt auch für die Kompositionen der zweiten Gruppe, vor allem der Kasten in Algier (Taf. 21.2) und ein grösseres Fragment aus Catania (Taf. 21.1), wo Bellerophon in polykletisch anmutender Idealgestalt erscheint. Es mag überflüssig sein, erneut den Allgemeincharakter der Kompositionsweise zu unterstreichen, es scheint mir jedoch in sofern wichtig, als dass damit jede eindeutige stilistische Beziehung der klassischen griechischen Kunst einerseits und der attischen Werkstätten andererseits entgegengesetzt, und somit die Eigenständigkeit der Gattung akzentuiert wird.

Im Beitrag von M. Bonanno Aravantinos werden Sarkophagfragmente aus Thespias mit der Schilderung der Reise des Orest nach Tauris und dessen Begegnung mit Iphigeneia, zusammenhängend rekonstruiert. Nur die letzte Szene, die die Einschiffung Iphigeneias darstellt, kommt für einen Vergleich mit mehreren römischen Denkmälern in Betracht, die Gesamtheit der Szenen jedoch kann eingehend mit dem in spätantoinisch-frühseverischer Zeit angesetzten Grabdenkmal der Priscianer aus der Sempeter-Nekropole bei Celeia (Noricum) verglichen werden. Eine Reihe von Übereinstimmungen lassen auf eine andere literarische Quelle als die Tragödie des Euripides schließen. Das Wesentliche ist aber, dass hiermit eine klare Verbindungslinie Griechenland – Noricum/Pannonien am Ende des 2. und Anfang des 3. Jhs. n.Chr. aufgezeigt werden kann, welche wohl mit dem Export attischer Sarkophage nach dem adriatisch-dalmatischen Küstenbereich in dieser Zeit zusammenhängt. Dazu kommen jetzt glücklicherweise einige Ergänzungen in Form von neuen Grabungs- und Forschungsergebnisse, die von N. Cambi veröffentlicht werden.

P. Kranz schließt sich dem Parallelitätsgedanken des Marburger Symposiums an, indem er verdeutlicht, dass: „die Ikonographie stadtrömischer Erosen-Komos-Sarkophage von Anfang an überraschend eigenständig mit einem Typenrepertoire umgegangen ist, das zwar in der Regel auch den entsprechenden attischen und kleinasiatischen Erosensarkophagen zugänglich war, keinesfalls aber – wie dies die Forschung vielfach noch annimmt – durch diese Sarkophage in den stadtrömischen Bereich vermittelt worden ist.“ (101). Der verstärkte attische Einfluss hingegen, die er ab etwa 250 wahrnimmt (103), kann hingegen in Zusammenhang mit dem von M. Bonanno vertretenen Exportgedanken betrachtet werden.

Mit dem sorgfältigen Beitrag von Th. Stefanidou-Tiberiou über das Ende der attischen Werkstätten, das ziemlich genau mit der Herulerzerstörung Athens von 267 n.Chr. zusammenfällt, endet der attische Teil.

R. Amedick erlaubt schon ein Vorausblick auf ASR I 4 (1991), und zwar spezifisch auf Kinderlebensarkophage. Vollständig restaurierte Fragmente eines Sarkophags aus der römischen Nekropole von Agrigento werden von F. Valbruzzi dem Vatikanfragment Chiaramonti 1632 angeglichen, wobei die stringente Art, in der die Vorbilder jeweils benutzt wurden, deutlich hervortritt: dass die beiden Kurzdarstellungen mit Kinderbad und Wagenfahrt eines Knaben in einem von einem Widder gezogenen Wagen in Agrigento auf den Nebenseiten dargestellt wurden, im Vatikanfragment hingegen nebeneinander aufgereiht erscheinen, deutet grundsätzlich auf Übernahme eines festgelegten Vorbildes durch verschiedene Handwerker hin. Zwei weitere Nebenseiten, von Feldherrn-Hochzeitssarkophagen, auf denen die Szene des Kinderbades noch einmal dargestellt worden ist, in Poggio a Caiano (Taf. 62.1) und Los Angeles (Taf. 62.2), scheinen diese These zu bestätigen. Auf der Vorderseite des von Valbruzzi herangezogenen Sarkophags des M. Cornelius Statius im Louvre (Taf. 63.1) aus antoninischer Zeit, ist ausserdem der thematische Tektonik der Vorderseite von Agrigento sichtbar.

Mehrere unveröffentlichte und verschollene Jagdsarkophage werden von G. Koch im bestehenden Repertorium eingefügt. [Dazu hat er m.E. übersehen, dass es noch zwei unveröffentlichte Fragmente in Ostia gibt, (1) Museo Nazionale, Magazzino VI, B inv. 1592, wo der Löwe unterhalb eines Bäumchens nach links flieht und dabei den Kopf umwendet; das Fragment kann stilistisch und ikonographisch gut mit dem um 300 datierten Kasten von Grottaferrata (ASR I 2 (1980) Kat. 33) sowie mit dem Fragment der Sebastianskatakomba (ASR I 2 (1980) Kat. 149) verglichen werden, (2) Museo Nazionale, Magazzino IV, A inv. 535, welches m.E. am Ende des 3. Jhs. datiert werden muss. Weiter gibt es noch (3) die von G.B. de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana descritta ed illustrata* I (1864) Taf. 31.5 veröffentlichte Deckelfragmente einer Kinderlöwenjagdszene und schliesslich (4) der Deckel des Riefelsarkophags J.B. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monuments* IV (1823) Taf. 4.3]. Sehr wichtig ist, dass Koch den kleinen Kasten mit Jagddarstellungen im Museo Nazionale Romano (Taf. 71.3) früh datiert, um 150 n.Chr. und somit Stellung nimmt gegen den Vergleich mit dem Ajaccio-Sarkophag (ASR I 2 (1980) Taf. 75.6) und die von B. Andreae vorsichtig angesetzte Datierung ins letzte Viertel des 3. Jhs. n.Chr. Die Nebenseiten, auf denen stehende Greifen ihre Vordertatzen auf Widderköpfen gelegt haben, bieten somit Anlass zu der Vermutung, in späthadrianischer Zeit wäre die Ikonographie der Jagddarstellungen auf den Sarkophagen noch nicht festgelegt und man fing erst jetzt zu suchen an (163).

In einer längeren Auseinandersetzung mit norditalischen Sarkophagen des 3. Jhs. versucht F. Rebecchi darzulegen, dass Darstellungen auf realen Jagdtieren wie Rehe oder Eber durchaus mit der Hervorhebung der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Latifundienbesitzer verknüpft werden kann. Der "*secessus rurale*" sorge ohnehin dafür, dass die Virtus-Thematik mittels einer Darstellung

mit realen Jagdtieren, also nicht mit Löwen, veranschaulicht wird.

Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich der Typologie der Produktion stadtrömischer Sarkophagwerkstätten werden demnächst von M. Sapelli in einer Computeranalyse präsentiert. Ergebnisse der Restaurierung der Sammlungen des Museo Nazionale Romano werden indes erstmals vorgelegt, wobei es einzigartig wirkt, zu sehen, wie viele Bemalungsspuren auf den Sarkophagen vorhanden sind, z.B. auf der grossen Riefelwanne von der Via Prenestina mit Löwenköpfen (Taf. 100), und dass Spuren von Vergoldung und roter Bemalung noch deutlich auf den Gewandfalten am Aciliasarkophag vorhanden sind (Taf. 99.2), wo sie in gestreiften Linien aufgemalt wurden und somit zur Vertiefung des Reliefs beigetragen haben werden. So haben die Begriffe Eigenständigkeit und Parallelität (Abweisung von Beeinflussung), sowie Vertiefung des Verständnisses für den ikonographischen Reichtum der Sarkophage, in dieser Begegnung in Marburg die wichtigste Rolle gespielt.

Aristides Stamatiou

ASHER OVADIAH et YEHUDIT TURNHEIM, "*Peopled*" *Scrolls in Roman Architectural Decoration in Israel. The Roman Theatre at Beth Shean/Scythopolis*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1994. 185 pp., 283 illustr., IV Pl. en couleur, 17 figs.; 30 cm (RdA Supplementi 12). – ISBN 88-7689-104-8.

Cette volumineuse étude a été éditée avec grand soin par Giorgio Bretschneider en tant que "Supplementi 12 alle RdA". L'exécution matérielle est de première qualité. La présentation du texte est très aérée. Les quelque 300 illustrations sont excellentes. Malheureusement, les reproductions ne s'accompagnent pas d'un renvoi au numéro du bloc de frise en question. L'ouvrage présente encore un autre inconvénient. Il tient difficilement dans la main, en raison justement du poids du papier couché ainsi que des grandes dimensions et de l'épaisseur du livre. Il est dommage qu'un tel format paraisse dans une version brochée et non reliée.

Les auteurs n'ont pas épargné leur peine pour accomplir une tâche que je puis qualifier d'ingrate: l'étude des "peopled scrolls" de Beth Shean. Dès l'introduction, ils signalent tous les problèmes liés à l'établissement de critères. La première fouille du théâtre a eu lieu en 1960-63. Les recherches ont été poursuivies en 1986. Le théâtre n'a jamais été achevé, mais il a été agrandi pendant son utilisation. D'après la dernière datation, il a dû être en service depuis l'an 180 (*Common Era*) environ jusqu'au début de l'époque byzantine.

La grande difficulté réside dans le fait que les frises n'ont pas été découvertes *in situ*, mais qu'elles gisaient souvent brisées sur le sol, dans bien des cas inachevées ou défigurées.

Bien qu'accordant une grande importance à la fonction architectonique des blocs, les auteurs concentrent surtout leur attention sur les frises ornées de "peopled scrolls". A cette fin, ils ont établi quelques caractéristiques en fonction desquelles les blocs respectifs sont classés. Pour chacun de ces quelque cinquante blocs, on trouve en haut la liste de ces caractéristiques assortie d'un bref

commentaire, puis l'indication des dimensions. Suit enfin une description détaillée.

Deux chapitres sont ensuite consacrés aux corniches et aux soffites, puis un autre à divers éléments architectoniques décorés. Ce travail a été accompli avec beaucoup de sérieux, dans une tentative d'établir chaque fois un rapport avec l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie/Phénicie. C'est sur ces bases solides que s'appuient les commentaires des chapitres suivants, qui abordent la composition et l'iconographie, la technique, le style et les ouvriers, puis une analyse comparative suivie de conclusions. Enfin, les "peopled scrolls" d'autres lieux en Eretz Israël sont traités dans un appendice, et ce depuis l'époque romaine jusqu'au début de la période byzantine.

L'état fragmentaire et dégradé des blocs rend leur étude problématique. En fait, rien n'est certain. Pour expliquer les différences d'exécution, on suppose que différents livres de modèles ont été utilisés. On relève une tendance à des formes tantôt moins, tantôt plus classiques, ce qui se manifeste surtout dans la représentation des animaux. Je voudrais ajouter que, dans une composition à trois animaux, la posture de l'animal central relevée par les auteurs – l'animal tourne la tête dans la direction opposée au mouvement – est une figure de style typiquement romaine.

La grande question est de savoir si les "peopled scrolls" ont une signification ou s'ils sont purement décoratifs, surtout en ce qui concerne les putti. Ceux-ci, lorsqu'ils pointent leur arme sur un animal, illustreraient de manière humoristique la chasse que le guerrier mène contre le mal. Les auteurs citent également une peinture d'Alexandre et Roxane de la fin du IV^e siècle, dans laquelle des putti jouent avec les armes d'Alexandre. Mais c'est un fait bien connu. Quand Héraclès est sur le chemin de l'amour, un satyre porte sa massue ou des putti jouent avec elle. Le héros est désarmé, surtout lorsqu'il est ivre (sous l'emprise de Dionysos). Ce n'est pas de l'humour, mais une référence à Dionysos.

Il est clair que les auteurs eux-mêmes sont hésitants, et qu'ils ne veulent ou ne peuvent pas trancher la question du sens soit purement décoratif soit symbolique des reliefs. A ce propos, je voudrais signaler que, comme ils le mentionnent, certains "peopled scrolls" ne représentent pas des putti ou des animaux mais bien une fleur comme la rosette, et ce sur un linteau (voir e.a. p. 118/9). Or on sait que l'on plaçait justement souvent une protection verticalement ou horizontalement sur les montants des portes pour éviter que le mal ne puisse passer. Dans les mosaïques de pavement, on trouve aussi régulièrement des rosettes en guise de protection près d'un seuil par exemple. Il serait donc très étonnant que la décoration du linteau soit ici purement décorative.

Je pense que les "peopled scrolls" ont bel et bien une signification apotropaïque. On peut évidemment se demander si ce sens premier ne s'est pas estompé et si les "peopled scrolls" ne sont pas devenus des éléments purement décoratifs. Mais le thème est employé avec trop d'à-propos pour qu'il en soit ainsi. Il apparaît de surcroît dans d'autres contextes apotropaïques, comme par exemple dans les mosaïques de pavement du cloître de Ma'ale Adummin. C'est plutôt notre tournure d'esprit qui nous fait hésiter, parce que nous ne sommes plus habitués à considérer la symbolique des choses.

Beth Shean est consacrée à Nysa, la nourrice de Dionysos. Or les nourrices ont un rôle très spécial à remplir auprès des nouveau-nés, qui se trouvent dans une position vulnérable. La mère de Dionysos, la mortelle Sémélé, décède prématurément. Zeus, le père de Dionysos, garde provisoirement l'enfant immature dans sa cuisse, d'où il naît une seconde fois. La nourrice Nysa a pour tâche de protéger l'enfant et de le rendre immortel. Est-il dès lors vraiment concevable que, dans une ville placée sous la garde de Nysa, le théâtre dont Dionysos est le patron soit seulement magnifiquement décoré sans être protégé?

L'art illustratif avait une fonction. Ce n'est qu'avec "l'art pour l'art" que les choses ont changé. Il serait intéressant d'établir à quelle époque on a cessé de représenter des "peopled scrolls".

Au début, j'ai souligné le côté ingrat de la tâche des auteurs. Ils se sont donné tant de peine pour arriver à la conclusion que, sur tous les plans, il existe des différences tant en ce qui concerne le stade d'élaboration des œuvres que la main des sculpteurs. Le marbre vient probablement d'Asie Mineure et a dû transiter par un marché en Syrie/Phénicie, accompagné d'ouvriers qui ont travaillé aux côtés des artistes locaux en s'inspirant de différents livres de modèles.

D'autre part, les auteurs, en travaillant avec tout le sérieux qui a été le leur, ont apporté la preuve qu'ils sont allés au bout des recherches qu'il y avait moyen de mener. Ils ont également suscité beaucoup d'intérêt pour ce théâtre. C'est en m'attachant à cet aspect que j'ai fait mes observations. Ils ont écrit un ouvrage de référence dont toutes les personnes qui s'intéressent à ce sujet devront désormais tenir compte. Cela vaut bien de sincères félicitations.

Oct. 1995

Eliz P. de Loos-Dietz

(traduction de Madame C. Warnant)

KERSTIN HÖGHAMMAR, *Sculpture and Society: A study of the connection between the free-standing sculpture and society on Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods*, Uppsala: Acta Universalis Upsaliensis, 1993. 227 pp., 6 tab., 28 pls., (Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 23). – ISBN 91-554-3136-4. – SEK 206.-.

Hellenistic sculpture has hovered close to the final frontier of chronological precision due to the traditional dependency of students of ancient art on the literary sources and the untimely disdain of ancient scribes for post-Lysippian sculpture. Where the literary sources are reticent, however, inscriptions, among others, have proven a valuable source of information, shedding considerable light on the commissioning and dedication of monuments during this period. It is in this vein that Kerstin Höghammar presents her analysis of statuary inscriptions from Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods.

Höghammar began this research in the hope of identifying a local school of Koan sculptors, but after discovering that there were no Koan signatures on any of the bases (Appendix 4), she turned instead towards the information which was available from 97 inscriptions

(presented in the catalog in the second part of the book), 12 of which are published here for the first time. She has subsequently tried to pin down more accurately the periods within the Hellenistic and Augustan ages in which the 104 statues belonging to these inscriptions were erected. In this effort she has gleaned much information, regarding especially the commissioners and the honorands, which forms the crux of her research. Her primary achievement is in fitting these commissions in with Koan political history, and with the broader political history of the eastern Aegean in this period.

Her interest in political history is reflected in the structure of the book. She begins with a review, based largely but not solely on S. Sherwin-White (*Ancient Cos*, Hypomnemata 51, Göttingen 1978), of the history of Kos and the eastern Aegean from the time of Alexander's death through to the death of Augustus. She divides this span of nearly 350 years into 7 sub-periods based on political events, which she then uses as the periodical divisions for the inscriptions as well. One strongly gets the impression that her chronology of the material from this complicated period is primarily determined by the historical sources, although she refutes this in footnote 232 (p. 58) where she states that she first controlled the dates of the inscriptions before turning towards the historical sources. Her review of these dates (chapter 2) generally follows the time-frames supplied by earlier publishers, and she refines or defends these only in cases of dispute or when they were too broad to be functional. In notes 230 and 231, she indicates that she is not responsible for the general dates of most of the inscriptions; this is unfortunate as the historical slant of her analyses depends upon a trustworthy chronology. The research revolves around a quantitative analysis (charts would have been helpful) of the base inscriptions in the various periods regarding their place of origin, their commissioners, whether they were dedicatory or honorary, and the nationalities of both commissioner and honorand, as well as possible reasons for the commission. The relationships between the variables are, however, only superficially explored; e.g. patterns of patronage and types (honorary, dedicatory, or both) of images are described, but only sporadically are they related to the human (spatial, functional) environments in which they were placed. One exception is her observation that most (13/16) of the monuments for foreigners in the Asklepieion were commissioned by the *demos* of Kos town, which apparently considered the Asklepieion more of a proper setting for these images than Kos town itself, where only 4 of 13 foreigners were honored by the *demos*. She relates this data to the international status of the sanctuary, but does not further pursue the relationship between sanctuary and *demos*, an aspect which would serve to more clearly illumine the connection between sculpture, commissioners, and the public.

Her discussion of the reasons behind the honorary commissions is more in depth, exemplified by those for the four Koan women who were honored in the Augustan age for their own *arete*, rather than as a metaphor for their more powerful male relatives. Kottia Melissa (p. 78) was exceptionally honored for her 'everlasting *arete*', as well as for her (unnamed) husband's and children's *eunoia* towards the *polis*.

Höghammar's conclusions in general concern the fluctuation in the frequency of honorary portrait statues, as these make up 75% of her "statistical units". She observes two peaks in these, the first appearing at the turn of the 3rd to 2nd century BC, and the second beginning with the incorporation of Kos into the Roman province of Asia, when nearly half of the total number of images were commissioned. She explains the first peak, in which foreign honorands make their appearance, as a reflection of the international disturbances in the eastern Aegean at that time. The ensuing dip in inscriptions during the 2nd century would indicate a "negative" influence of prosperity on the commissioning of images. During the second peak, in the period of the principate, both foreigners and Koans were honored; Höghammar explains this phenomenon as due to the island's loss of self-rule coupled with the earthquakes which plagued Kos in the waning years of the first century BC, both resulting in the dependency on and hence recognition of private and public benefactors. This plausible reasoning, however, does not fully account for the widespread practice of monumentalizing individuals, a trend which extends well beyond the boundaries of Kos.

The results of this study, informative as they are, do not do justice to the broader objectives suggested, for example, by the title, and stated more explicitly in the introduction, in which she hopes "to show the interplay between art, here in the form of sculpture, and society on Kos during the Hellenistic and Augustan periods" (p. 16). One could criticize her use here and in the title of the words "sculpture", since no actual sculpture appears in this volume, and "society", as primarily the historical and political relevance of the patrons and honorands are explored; the *demos* as patron is simply "considered to express the wishes of the citizen population attending the assemblies" (p. 72), whoever that may have been. Also the word "interplay" implies more than a projectional influence of powerful persons on communal imagery. Although this study underlines the importance of politics in the commissioning of sculpture, it does not elucidate the position of "art" in "society".

The relationship between art and society today would be misleadingly simplified if only the captions next to the works, rather than the works themselves, were taken into account (and, as Höghammar admits, not all sculpture was accompanied by an inscription); similarly, an examination of the role of sculpture in ancient society could only benefit if the sculpture itself were also carefully considered. The remains of the sculpture from Kos have in fact recently been analyzed by Renate Kabus-Preisshofen (*Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos*, AM. 14. Beiheft, Berlin 1989), who also remarks that most of the statues were honorary monuments to individual human beings. Höghammar includes this observation in her conclusion yet apparently feels that any further formal discussion of the images is irrelevant to her cause, even though she states (p. 18) that "the existence of these [Kabus-Preisshofen's and others'] works makes possible an integrated study of the interplay between sculpture and society on Kos"; it may be possible, but, until the images themselves are included, it has yet to be done. When one allows oneself to forget the wider aims presented in the introduction, then one can better appreciate

her more specified intent, expressed in the conclusion, “to connect an archaeological material – here mainly inscribed bases – with the historical ... development of the society that produced it” (p. 86). These inscriptions, especially when related to their spatial environments, contain a wealth of data, and Höghammar, by emphasizing their value for the reconstruction of political history (penetratingly discussed in more detail in Appendixes 1, 2, and 3), has given us only one example of how such inscriptions can be put to use. Perhaps in her next monograph, in which she plans to present a “synthetical analysis of the information and conclusions offered both in this volume and in the forthcoming one” (p. 16), she will more thoroughly exploit the information which they offer.

C.G. Williamson

LORENZO QUILICI, STEFANIA QUILICI GIGLI (edd.), *Tecnica stradale romana*. Roma: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1992. 206 pp., 150 figs. (Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica; 1). – ISBN 88-7062-800-0.

La voirie romaine a toujours constitué un sujet favori des topographes de l’Antiquité, en particulier en Italie, où plus qu’ailleurs les routes romaines ont laissé de nombreuses traces dans le paysage actuel. Il y a peu de temps p.e., en 1991, les *Viae Publicae Romanae* furent choisis comme thème de la X^e “Mostra Europea del Turismo” au Château S. Ange à Rome. Le repérage de tracés anciens, qui peut actuellement bénéficier de l’apport de la photographie aérienne et d’autres techniques nouvelles, constitue toujours la première démarche indispensable, et beaucoup d’études s’arrêtent là, sans aborder les épineux problèmes chronologiques posés par les tracés découverts. À l’occasion sont invoquées des sources externes – surtout littéraires et épigraphiques – mais celles-ci permettent rarement des conclusions définitives. Un examen direct des structures conservées – non seulement des “œuvres d’art” mais de tous les aspects techniques de la construction routière – s’avère donc indispensable, non seulement pour discerner les routes romaines parmi l’ensemble des routes “anciennes”, mais aussi pour comprendre l’évolution technique de la construction routière romaine. C’est précisément cet aspect “constructif” de la voirie qui fit l’objet d’une rencontre d’étude organisé par L. Quilici à l’Institut d’Archéologie de l’Université de Bologne et dont les actes sont publiés dans le présent volume, le premier d’une nouvelle série intitulée “Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica”.

Les 19 contributions présentées à cette rencontre sont groupées en deux volets. Le premier comprend une douzaine d’études concernant les différents aspects constructifs et environnementaux de la voirie – depuis les travaux préparatifs jusqu’aux indications et accommodations pour les voyageurs – abordés au moyen d’exemples concrets de l’Italie. Dans la première étude, par G. Andreassi et A. Cocchiari, tous ces différents aspects sont examinés à l’aide d’exemples fournis par la documentation archéologique dans les Pouilles, tandis que dans les études suivantes les auteurs se limitent à un aspect particulier de la construction routière. Ainsi St.

Quilici Gigli traite des travaux d’assèchement entrepris dans la région marécageuse de la plaine pontine pour permettre le passage de la *Via Appia*. Les nombreux restes de la voirie antique aux abords de Rome et dans le Latium, pour la plupart bien datés, permirent à L. Quilici de retracer l’évolution des techniques romaines de construction routière à partir de l’époque archaïque. Quelques éléments du réseau routier entre la plaine du Pô et les Alpes sont traités par G. Rosada et G. Bonora Mazzoli, qui s’occupent respectivement de la *regio X* et de la *regio XI*. Les procédés mis en œuvre dans la construction des routes de montagne sont exposés par R. Mollo Mezzena à l’aide des merveilleuses réalisations techniques dans la Vallée d’Aoste qu’elle a soigneusement étudiées et relevées. Les ponts et les viaducs constituent sans aucun doute les “œuvres d’art” les plus caractéristiques rencontrées sur le tracé des routes romaines. S’il sont aussi les éléments routiers les plus étudiés – surtout dans les manuels d’architecture et hors de leur contexte topographique – ils ne sont pas encore abordés dans ce premier volume d’“Atlante Tematico”. Moins nombreux, et moins connus, sont les tunnels routiers. Parmi les 18 exemples recensés en Italie, dont A. Corralini nous présente un aperçu, quelques-uns seulement concernent une voie importante. Deux d’entre eux, sur le trajet de la *Via Flaminia* à travers les gorges de Furlo, sont repris ensuite plus en détail par M. Luni, qui distingue pour la première fois clairement les différentes phases de la “monumentalisation” du passage le plus difficile de la route principale de Rome vers le nord. Parmi les éléments accessoires du réseau routier – mais indispensables pour ses usagers – A. Mezzolani présente quelques exemples concrets de relais routiers (*mansiones*), mis au jour plus ou moins récemment. Par rapport au grand nombre d’établissements de ce genre qui a dû exister, la documentation archéologique reste toujours assez réduite, aussi bien en Italie qu’ailleurs (en Belgique p.e. le relais romain de Chameleux près de Florenville). Signalons finalement encore quelques brèves contributions sur le *clivus tiburtinus* (C.F. Giuliani) et sur la documentation épigraphique relative à la voirie romaine (A. Donati, G.C. Susini).

Dans la seconde partie du volume sont rassemblés des “cas” particuliers de l’“Emilia-Romagna” (*regio VIII: Aemilia*). Deux études regardent l’époque antérieure à l’occupation romaine de cette région: la voirie “Étrusque” de la plaine du Pô, par G. Sassatelli et E. Govi, et les routes dans le territoire de Monte Bibele par V. Orfanelli. J. Ortalli nous présente un aperçu très documenté des données techniques concernant la construction du tronçon oriental de la *Via Aemilia*, l’artère principale de la région, et de quelques routes voisines. Cet aperçu est ensuite complété par des études, plus limitées dans l’espace, sur la “Bassa Padania” (M. Calzolari), la région de Reggio Emilia (P.L. Dall’Aglia) et l’Émilie occidentale (M. Calvani Marini), qui montrent la typologie variée des revêtements routiers romains dans la plaine du Pô. Certaines de ces techniques se retrouvent dans les chemins publics divisant les parcelles des territoires centuriés comme G. Bottazzi a pu le constater dans le territoire entre Modène et Plaisance.

Malgré l’existence d’une littérature déjà très abondante sur les routes romaines, le sujet n’est certainement pas

épuisé. Mais, comme le montrent les différentes contributions de l'ouvrage en question, le progrès de la recherche nécessite surtout des analyses ponctuelles stratigraphiques et techniques. Ainsi ce volume initial de l'"Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica" s'avère très prometteur.

Frank Van Wouterghem

H.T. WALLINGA, *Ships & Sea-Power before the Great Persian War, The Ancestry of the Ancient Trireme*. Leiden/New York/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1993, 217 pp, 25 ill. – ISBN 90 04 09650 7.

Wallinga's book contains a great amount of new, provocative and sometimes brilliant ideas and hypotheses and is extremely well written.

The book describes the development of Greek naval forces from the 8th till the 5th century BC, especially the conditions which led to the development of the trireme and is based on the ancient sources and the iconographical material.

It would be too much to react on every daring hypothesis but especially about the period of the 8th and 7th century BC, as treated in this book, I would like to make some remarks.

It is strange that the author still uses the picture of the two ships on the Aristhonothis vase (page 5, 33 and 45) to prove the existence of a "broad-bellied" transitional form between a galley and a sailing ship, the so called "eikosoros" which should have been developed in the west. Hagy has shown in 1986 (J.M. Hagy, 800 years of Etruscan ships, *IJNA* 15.3, 1986, page 235) that the picture on the Aristhonothis vase was already known in the 8th century BC on mainland Greece and that it shows a fight between two war-galleys (probably pentekonters). The "plumpness" of one of the ships on the Aristhonothis vase probably was an liberty of the artist. The idea about the selling of older warships by the 8th century BC "polis" to the "naukraroi" (private shipowners) to be used as merchant-galleys is not very convincing (page 27).

The same applies to his thesis about the early merchantmen being rowed galleys instead of sailing-ships (page 33).

In both cases, the economical factor is ignored. Permanently employing a great number of rowers would make trade hardly profitable for a private shipowner. Most known privately-owned merchant-vessels from antiquity (like the Kyrenia ship) had a small crew.

In the case of the controversy in the seize between Greek and Phoenician galleys, the authors idea about the sameness of both groups is solely based on technical interpretations of pictures of Phoenician vessels on an Assyrian relief (page 60). He omits the fact that in the 8th century BC, Phoenician trade was , through a longer tradition, more developed than in the Greek world and bulk (a.o wood for Egypt) and troop carriers were probably already used. So the development of heavier war-galleys in the Phoenician world is certainly a possibility.

The author's plea for the invention of the "diekplous" manouvre by the Phokaeans (page 72) is very convincing but his idea about Phokaeans going to the west (Tartessos) as mercenaries lacks evidence and is too much based on assumptions.

This is also the case when the author makes a connection between the Egyptian transport ships of the Saïte kings and the development of the trireme (page 108).

The 6th chapter of the book about Themistokles' navy bill and the introduction of the trireme on a large scale in the Greek world, and the Appendix about the crews of Greek and Phoenician triremes are very impressive. In the Appendix (which is in my opinion the most important part of the book), the author proves that triremes were undermanned most of the time. This is a fine example of the difference between historical, political and military myths and the reality.

Not only because of all the interesting controversies, but also because of the large amount of literature which was used, Wallinga's book is indispensable for everybody involved in studying the development of the ancient trireme or trade and shipping in antiquity as a whole.

J. G. de Boer

L.H. SACKETT (ed.), *Knossos, from Greek city to Roman colony: excavations at the Unexplored Mansion II*. Oxford: Alden Press, 1992. 2 vols.; 498 pp., 353 pls.; 25 cm (The British School of Archaeology at Athens). – ISBN 0-0904887-081. – £ 95,-.

"Knossos. From Greek City to Roman Colony" is the eagerly awaited publication of the Iron Age material from the excavation of the so-called 'Unexplored Mansion' (UM) in Knossos, Crete. Knossos remains one of the most thoroughly investigated and published sites of Crete. Since the discovery of the first and largest Minoan palace by Arthur Evans in 1900, British research has continued to the present day. In the course of these investigations several details of Knossos' later history have become known. But, like the majority of Cretan sites, Knossos is still most appreciated for its Bronze Age past. For a long time it was the presence or absence of Minoan remains which directed the scope and methods of archaeological research on the island.

In the same way, the site of the UM was not chosen for its Iron Age material, as is clearly stated in the preface of the book. The aim of the excavation, which took place in the years 1967-73, was primarily to reveal the full extent of the Minoan 'Unexplored Mansion'. (The east facade of this building had already been exposed by Evans.) In order to do so, all later remains were to be removed. Unlike many earlier excavations, however, the careful recording of the overlying Post-Minoan levels formed an integral part of the project. The end result is a well-organized and accessible book, accompanied by a separate volume with plans, drawings and photographs of generally high quality.

The editor of the book (LHS), who supervised the excavation of the Iron Age levels, was faced with the difficult task of unravelling an extremely complicated stratigraphical sequence. The four metre deep deposit (over an area of c. 16 × 33.5 m) represented no less than 13 centuries of occupation: from the Sub-Minoan period (11th century B.C.) to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. Earlier phases were much obliterated by subsequent activities, such as the extracting of building material, the digging of wells and pits and the laying-out of terraces and foundation trenches for new

structures. The earlier periods (Sub-Minoan to Classical) are therefore represented more scantily than the later ones. The description of the excavation methods and techniques in the *Introduction* is rather succinct. It requires a certain familiarity with the British system of excavation to understand the references to levels, sherd lots, etc. The section drawings through all the main features, however, are revealing and easy to read. In general, precedence is given to the presentation of the material and to interpretation of the complex stratigraphy in historical terms. This is done with great expertise in Section 1. Excavation and Architecture (LHS with J.E. Jones). By outlining the different human and morphological factors affecting the area, LHS manages to reconstruct a vivid picture of the site through all periods.

The main pottery deposits are presented in chronological order from Sub-Minoan to Roman by different specialists (Sections 2-6). These are followed by chapters on other find categories: lamps, coins, plaster sculptures, terracottas, metal objects, bone objects, other finds in stone, clay and faience, and glass (Sections 7-14). Short but accurate summaries of the relevant stratigraphical contexts open each section. The pottery catalogues are accompanied by commentaries which describe developments in shape and decoration and which place the deposits in their wider Knossian context.

Most of the Sub-Minoan pottery (discussed in Section 2 by M. Popham) came from wash levels or was brought in from elsewhere to level the area, which accounts for its fragmentary character. Still, a catalogue entry for each illustrated item, as included in the other sections, would have been useful. (Unfortunately the plate numbers and captions belonging to this section have been switched round, further hindering cross-reference between plates and text.) The Early Hellenic pottery (Section 3 by J.N. Coldstream) was found mainly in pits and wells, with little associated architecture. Both the Sub-Minoan and the Early Hellenic deposits, being of domestic character, form a welcome supplement to the rich and often exotic ceramic series from the Knossian tombs.

The material from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods is treated by P.J. Callaghan in Section 4. Much of it derived from Archaic and Classical wells. It is only with the Hellenistic period that evidence for building activities increases. Callaghan has been able to establish the first full sequence of stratified local Hellenistic deposits; his chapter forms an important contribution to Cretan Hellenistic studies in general.

A shorter section is dedicated to the Hellenistic and Roman stamped amphora handles, sigillata stamps and graffiti. Unfortunately the method of reproduction has rendered the drawings illegible (Section 5 by LHS with V. Grace a.o.). The Roman pottery (discussed in Section 6 by LHS) constitutes a large proportion of the total amount of material found at the UM. Much of the pottery from this period is stratigraphically linked to one of the five substantial Roman houses. Perhaps because of the bulkiness of the material, this is one of the few sections in which an attempt at a quantitative analysis is made. The fragmentary character of the earlier deposits may not have justified a similar approach, but a description of the selection procedures, as given here, would not have been out of place in any of the earlier chapters.

In general, the relevance of the pottery sections exceeds that for Knossos alone. The descriptive catalogues and ample illustrations form a valuable source of reference for future studies of Cretan Iron Age material. The same applies to many of the sections on other find categories. The lamps and glass objects, for instance, constitute the largest stratified groups of their kind in Crete (Section 7 by H.W. & E.A. Catling and Section 14 by J. Price). Other finds provide interesting evidence for the diverse activities which took place on the site in Hellenistic and Roman times, such as the production of terracottas, metal-working, spinning and weaving, and perhaps working in bone and glass (Sections 10-12 by R.A. Higgins, K. Branigan and LHS). The study of the coins sheds new light on a crucial phase in Knossos' history: that of the foundation of the Colonia Iulia after the Roman conquest of the island in 67 B.C. (Section 8 by M.J. Price).

In the concluding chapter (Section 15) the editor acknowledges that at the time of excavation Hellenistic Knossos was considered as a simple, provincial town. One of the main merits of the UM-project is the adding of new evidence for the existence of an industrial and cultural centre of some importance. The book on the UM clearly enhances our knowledge of the gradual development of one of the most important Iron Age cities in Crete. Hopefully, it will also set a standard for future publications of Cretan Iron Age excavations.

Mieke Prent

TULLIA LINDERS and BRITA ALROTH (eds.), *Economics of cult in the ancient Greek world. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990*. Uppsala: 1992. 99 pp., 7 figs., 14 charts; 26 cm (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations; 21). – ISBN 91-554-3031-7. -SEK 142,-.

Like most collections of papers the contents of this volume on 'economics of cult in the ancient Greek world' are of a mixed nature. Personally I like this kind of publication: I think it highly fruitful to propose a limited theme and then ask specialists of different orientations to contribute to the topic from their own particular viewpoints.

The papers collected in this volume were read in Uppsala in 1990 on the occasion of the retirement of Tullia Linders, head of the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History of Uppsala University. Her own paper opens the volume: it gives a general picture of the finances of sanctuaries in Classical and Hellenistic times, drawing its information mostly from epigraphical sources. It is interesting to read how the large and smaller sanctuaries came by the necessary funds to run themselves and how they served as employers of many kind of workers. The second paper by Signe Isager is about sacred animals: who owned them, who administered them and who took care of them. The third paper is by Jacques Théreux; it is a more technical essay on the units of weight and counting used in Delos. It argues that, to understand the economy of a sanctuary, one must know which standards were used. Next follows a paper by Carmine Ampolo on the economics of the

sanctuaries in Southern Italy and Sicily. He opens with the interesting question of whether the available sources give us the rule or the exception. He then treats the available evidence, showing that there were many possible economic systems for sanctuaries. Robin Hägg contributes an article on the close association between religious cult and the production of goods in workshops in the Bronze Age Aegean, in which period the evidence comes from excavations rather than from written sources. Christina Risberg follows with a paper on metal-working in Greek sanctuaries; she argues that metal-working was habitual in Greek sanctuaries as early as the late Geometric period and explores the organisation of this production. Ingrid Strom has studied the obeloi or iron spits, their primary function and the prerequisites for their use in a monetary-value system. Michael Vickers opens his article with an interesting exposition on the value of precious metal in ancient Greece and its ratio with other materials and with the normal commodities of life. He continues with an extensive study of the units of weight used in metal objects, using literary sources as well as excavated objects as evidence.

Cecilia Beer explores the economics of cult places in Cyprus, mostly by the study of votive objects, as literary, epigraphical and architectural sources are very scarce. Her paper is entitled: 'Ethnic diversity and financial differentiation in Cypriot sanctuaries', which shows that she chose another viewpoint to the theme of the 'economics of cult'.

The last paper is by Sara B. Aleshire, entitled 'The economics of dedication at the Athenian Asklepieion'. The Asklepieion is a rich object for our studies because fortunately a large body of evidence has survived here, especially nine more or less intact inventories taken by the Athenian Boule and Demos of the contents of the Asklepieion and a large number of dedications on stone. The author confines herself in this paper to the exploration of two questions: who were the dedicants and what can be said about the dedicatory process. With the aid of many statistical charts she explores the evidence, with interesting results. As Tullia Linders says in the discussion following the reading of this paper: It shows what can be done with numbers.

In conclusion, then, this is an attractive and useful publication, and one which is, unlike many comparable collections of congress papers in unnecessarily luxurious and expensive bindings, economically priced and adequately produced.

B. Heldring

JAMES DYER (ed.), *Discovering Prehistoric England*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 1993. 281 pp., 80 figs., 5 maps; 18 cm (Discovering Books: 283). – ISBN 0-7478-0197-5. – £ 6.99.

DAVID E. JOHNSTON (ed.), *Discovering Roman Britain*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 1993. 182 pp., 64 figs., 6 maps; 18 cm (Discovering Books: 272). – ISBN 0-7478-0212-2. – £ 5.99.

Two handy paperback volumes meant as guides for people who want to explore England's rich archaeological

heritage. Many of the descriptions of sites were originally published in the series 'Discovering Regional Archaeology', but they have been revised, updated and supplemented by new descriptions.

Each book opens with an introduction on the historical period it covers. The sites are presented then by county. The description of the sites are rather short; some additional information can be gained from the introduction, to help the reader place the site in its historical context. The plans, maps and black-and-white photographs are clear and useful.

Both books are attractive-looking and suitable to put in your inside pocket when you travel Britain's countryside and do not want to miss any archaeological site, especially those which are less conspicuous or spectacular and hard to find without a guide.

B. Heldring

MALCOLM L. REID. *Prehistoric Houses in Britain*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 1993. 63 pp., 40 figs.; 21 cm (Shire archaeology; 70). – ISBN 0-7478-0218-1. – £ 3.95.

Another of those attractive, small semi-scientific books the British are so good at. This one is printed on high quality paper with a coloured photograph on the cover and many black-and-white photographs and drawings in the text.

The book covers the late mesolithic up to Roman times and presents the range of house types and styles that existed in these periods in Britain. The traditional view that prehistoric houses were crude and primitive structures can be abandoned. It appears that the majority of prehistoric buildings were skilfully constructed.

The subject is treated methodically. First the question of the choice of materials and the surviving evidence is treated; then the principles of construction in wood and in stone. Each material offers its particular possibilities and problems, which are important to realise in order to appreciate the technical achievement the prehistoric houses represent. Technical drawings and reconstructions illustrate this clearly. One chapter is dedicated to the development of excavation techniques and to the change in perceptions among archaeologists. Then the dwellings themselves are considered: chapter 5 presents prehistoric houses in the highland areas of Scotland and northern England, where the neolithic houses of Skara Brae and the curious brochs are the best-known, but by no means the only remnants of domestic buildings. Chapter 6 deals with the houses of Wales and the south-west of England, where less spectacular remains are to be seen, but where excavations have yielded enough evidence to allow reconstructions of structures such as timber round-houses and stone courtyard houses.

South-east and central England, being lowland regions, did not have stone buildings. In this area there are dry and water-logged places, which makes all the difference to the preservation of the building materials. In dry places the wood rots away and information must be gained from the discolorations the wood has left in the soil. In wet places the wood can be preserved. An example of this is a bronze age site in Cambridgeshire (Flag Fen,

Peterborough), where structural timbers came to light as they had fallen 2000 years ago.

The last chapter refers shortly to the questions asked and methods used by modern archaeology, which tries to discern the organisation of family life from the excavated evidence. Analytical and theoretical approaches to these problems are derived from other disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology and architecture.

Useful additions include a 'select gazetteer' of places to visit; a short bibliography, where books and articles written for non-specialist readers are marked with an asterisk; and an index.

B. Heldring

HELENE ERISTOV. *Les éléments architecturaux dans la peinture campanienne du quatrième style*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1994. 256 pp., 170 figs., 8 pls.; 24 cm (Collection de l'École française de Rome: 187). – ISBN 2-7283-0295-2.

L'autrice ha dimostrato in vari lavori una sua affinità con le decorazioni parietali del cosiddetto IV stile, un periodo che va dall'imperatore Claudio fino alla fine del I secolo d.C. Si tratta di uno 'stile' – per usare il termine ormai tradizionale suggerito da August Mau nel 1882 – non tanto facilmente definibile quanto per quelli precedenti. Così la cronologia rimane uno dei problemi più spinosi e lo sviluppo organico, che si pensa di aver trovato per il II stile grazie ai lavori fondamentali di H.G. Beyen e forse anche per il III stile (studi di F.L. Bastet e W. Ehrhardt), non è stato possibile definire finora per quanto riguarda il IV stile. La massa di materiale, considerevolmente più grande di quella per gli stili precedenti, e ciò non solo poiché si tratta della fase più recente, ma anche perché i committenti dell'epoca imperiale e le ingiurie delle eruzioni e terremoti vesuviani hanno causato cambiamenti in qualche modo radicali, si presenta a noi senza chiare distinzioni fra schemi principali e derivazioni. Anche le particolarità stilistiche, tanto importanti nella lettura e datazione della scultura antica, sembrano meno cospicue. Uno schizzo dello sviluppo del IV stile non è stato ancora realizzato.

Nell'introduzione (pp. 1-27) la Eristov presenta le ricerche e le teorie concernenti la cronologia (fino al 1984: saggi più recenti mancano; vedi infra). Non accetta la suddivisione in una fase neroniana ed una flaviana da parte di K. Scheffold: "Que l'on puisse insérer les multiples tendances du Quatrième Style dans une séquence chronologique, qu'elles constituent autant de phases d'une évolution, rien n'est moins sûr" (p. 4). L'inizio del IV stile non è nettamente definito. Visto che l'autrice parla di un periodo di 35 anni, dobbiamo assumere che per Eristov la tendenza in questione sarebbe iniziata più o meno sotto Nerone (ma vedi Ehrhardt; R. Thomas, *KölnJbVFrühGesch* 24, 1991, 153-158; R. Ling, *Roman Painting*, Cambridge 1991, 71-100; W.J.Th. Peters, *La casa di M. Lucretius Fronto e le sue pitture*, Amsterdam 1993, 367-372; V.M. Strocka, in id. (Hrsg.), *Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Claudius (41-54 n.Chr.), Umbruch oder Episode?*, Mainz 1994, 191-220).

A p. 5 si osserva che l'ampia scala di schemi decorativi è meno dovuta a diversità stilistiche che non ad un

numero grande di botteghe o di gruppi di lavoratori (su questo problema ora vari contributi in *MededRom* 54, 1995). Perciò, sostiene l'autrice, è più rilevante un'analisi di elementi ricorrenti, i.e. brani architettonici. Da un'analisi di essi si passa alle tre zone orizzontali della parete che in generale si sviluppano indipendentemente, soprattutto quella superiore.

Gli elementi architettonici sono stati attribuiti all'architettura di facciata, in primo luogo quella teatrale. Questo rapporto, a parere dell'Eristov, non è affatto palese, dato che le architetture sono sempre prospettive: lo spettatore guarda verso uno sfondo, mentre le facciate teatrali hanno un muro di fondo chiuso. Inoltre le vere facciate teatrali sono state costruite nel II e nel III secolo anziché nel I. Si conclude che gli elementi architettonici, di per sé derivati dalla vera arte edilizia, formano nella composizione una nuova architettura, evidentemente solo dipinta. Stretti confronti per il tessuto costruttivo quindi sono irreperibili.

Il cambio fra prospettive architettoniche e campiture chiuse riflette la volontà di viste prospettiche come le ritroviamo nelle ville, ma anche nelle case (per es. asse fauci-atrio-tablino-giardino).

L'illusione delle forme costruttive ci dà l'effetto di qualcosa di vero, ma quando si contempla con attenzione i dettagli (vedi esempio a p. 20) e l'insieme si vede che tutto è irreale (senza comunque essere un'invenzione artistica con effetti specifici come ha sostenuto R.A. Tybout per il II stile: *Aedificiorum figurae*, Amsterdam 1989). Le simmetrie sono nascoste da elementi inseriti o posti di fronte ed i singoli elementi vengono adoperati con grande 'familiarité', il che testimonia la lunga usanza di essi. Insomma, il IV stile si caratterizza da 'bricolage' (pp. 23-24): una composizione di pezzi a se stanti.

La presente ricerca cerca di definire i vari elementi (p. 25): "remontre de la complexité 'indescriptible' des décors architecturaux à leurs éléments de base." La banca dati è composta da materiale in 114 ambienti nelle tre città campane Ercolano, Pompei e Castellammare di Stabia; la scelta è determinata da uno stato di conservazione ottimo o buono.

La parte I, Morphologie, (pp. 31-153) comprende descrizioni con disegni dei vari elementi architettonici, da iniziare con colonne, basi e capitelli, per finire con edicole nelle varie zone delle pareti. In ogni breve paragrafo si tenta di precisare la possibile fonte di tali elementi (cfr. anche il lavoro citato del Tybout, non menzionato qui).

La parte II, Syntaxe décoratif (pp. 155-195), divisa per zona orizzontale, parte dalla posizione dell'elemento architettonico. I legami con gli stili precedenti sono più evidenti, dal momento che si tratta di corrispondenze sintattiche valide per la composizione di intere pareti. La parte III (pp. 197-231) contiene elenchi con i numeri degli elementi corrispondenti alle 114 decorazioni.

La conclusione (pp. 233-238) riprende in breve i dati raggiunti. La maggior parte dei confronti architettonici è da collocare nel mondo ellenistico, ma – l'autrice non lo dice – pare inverosimile che tali rapporti fossero diretti. Sono ovviamente 'poncifs', motivi banali del disegno artistico ed architettonico. Rimane importante la conclusione e cioè che il rapporto morfologico con gli stili anteriori è stretto. L'autrice auspica dei progressi per la

ricerca nell'analisi di botteghe, dove, accanto al riconoscimento di mani di pittori, l'abbinamento di gruppi specifici di elementi architettonici potrebbe dare una nuova direzione.

Il punto di partenza mi sembra stimolante per la ricerca. Le varie analisi stilistiche non sono per tutti i versi convincenti (cfr. Strocka cit.; R. Thomas in *BABesch* Suppl. 3, 1993, 154-159) e lasciano fuori la composizione delle pareti. Lavori del genere qui presentati mancano interamente. Non sono assenti studi che introducono al metodo ed al problema qui schizzato e perciò è sorprendente che l'autrice, nella bibliografia (pp. 239-248) e con la sua maestranza della letteratura in merito, non abbia preso in considerazione due studi di W.J.Th. Peters: La composizione delle pareti dipinte nella Casa dei Vetti a Pompei, *MededRom* 39, 1977, 95-128; La composizione delle pitture parietali di IV stile a Roma e in Campania, in: *La regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio, Studi e prospettive*, Napoli 1982, 635-659. Questo studioso sottolinea il carattere di 'patch work' delle pareti dipinte di IV stile e cerca di stabilire gli elementi costanti. A ragione dello sviluppo avanzato già nell'epoca claudia, ritiene che il IV stile si sia sviluppato in varie regioni in base al materiale diversissimo del III stile con, come schema di base, la facciata da parata (cfr. E.M. Moormann, Rappresentazioni teatrali su *scaenae frontes* di quarto stile a Pompei, *PompHercStab* 1, 1983, 73-117).

Un altro punto è la validità dell'immenso materiale statisticamente per tutte le pareti pompeiane (e non). E non è senza problemi l'allineamento dei paradigmi di tre città, pur vicine, che mostrano un loro carattere così particolare (vedi per es. A. Allroggen-Bedel, *KölnJbVFrühGesch* 24, 1991, 35-42; ead. in *BABesch* Suppl. 3, 1993, 145-153). Il 'bricolage' non ci ha dato un'immagine consistente, ma stimoli per ulteriori ricerche nelle quali le strade (in sembianza) devianti dell'analisi stilistica e di quella formalistica porteranno ad una comprensione migliore di questo periodo. Le minuziose determinazioni e classificazioni della Eristov saranno di grande aiuto.

Eric M. Moormann

ALIX BARBET, CLAUDE VIBERT-GUIGUE, *Les peintures des nécropoles romaines d'Abila et du Nord de la Jordanie*. Vol. I: Beyrouth-Damas-Amman: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche Orient, 1994. XIV, 375 pp., 117 figs.; 28.5 cm. – ISBN 2-7053-680-3. Vol. II: Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1988. 123 pls. bl./wh., VIII pls. colour; 28.5 cm. – no ISBN.

Vibert-Guigue iniziò nel 1981 delle ricerche nelle necropoli romane qui pubblicate in una monografia molto preziosa. Si tratta di tombe allora sconosciute e quasi mai esplorate; alcune erano visibili solo parzialmente (per es. Q9). Gli autori le presentano con modestia, scusandosi per la pubblicazione parziale delle sepolture, ma in effetti danno molto di più, poiché descrivono per la maggior parte dei 25 complessi l'architettura, l'arredamento e le epigrafi. La forma delle tombe in genere è quella di una camera scavata nella roccia, con loculi ed arcosoli attorno. Il numero di sepolture può variare e raggiungere quote di oltre 30 persone. Quasi tutte le tombe sono state fatte nel II secolo d.C., il periodo di fioritura di

questa parte della Siria antica. Sono in generale di modesta fattura e in pochi casi sappiamo qualcosa sui defunti (per es. pp. 245-254, Som: veterano della *leg. X Fretensis*). Le pitture coprono soffitti e pareti della camera e gli arcosoli. Si è potuto ricostruire il processo lavorativo: si cominciò con il soffitto per poi passare all'arcosolio principale (spesso la tomba del committente) ed estendere i murali sulle pareti laterali fino all'ingresso. Quest'ultima parete spesso è rimasta senza pittura al lato dove si gira la porta di pietra. La tecnica è rozza e la fattura locale, l'uso dei pigmenti si limita a tipi facilmente disponibili e non costosi (manca, per esempio, quasi interamente il blu egiziano).

Gli studi si sono divisi in modo tale che Vibert-Gigue presenta la necropoli nel suo insieme e la Barbet studia i murali. Contributi sulla storia della zona e sulle epigrafi funerarie di P.-L. Gatier e sulle porte a rilievo di J. Dentzer-Feydy arricchiscono l'insieme e rendono la monografia importante per chi studia altri elementi della cultura locale. Un aspetto interessante sono i piccoli cippi ed i ritratti estremamente rozzi (le 'columelles', fig. 21-27) studiati dalla Barbet, che costituiscono, con lucerne, vasi di vetro e qualche pezzo di ceramica, l'inventario delle tombe. Non viene evidenziato se vi sono stati trovati degli scheletri e non è nemmeno chiaro da dove derivano i nomi delle tombe.

La maggior parte dello studio è dedicata a Qweilbeh, la necropoli dell'antica Alliba (pp. 71-226): le tombe si trovano in un paesaggio roccioso, quasi lunare, e sono appena visibili da fuori (pl. 2-3). I nn. Q1-Q19 più H2-3 rappresentano la parte non quantificata dell'intera necropoli. Le pitture contengono elementi architettonici quali pilastri e colonne e imitazioni di incrostazioni marmoree attorno ai loculi. Così l'insieme sembra ottenere una coerenza e, in un certo modo, pare che lo schema decorativo definisca l'ordine ad uno o a due piani delle nicchie tombali. Ne possiamo dedurre che i loculi (scavati o non) sono stati disposti prima dell'applicazione dei murali. Elementi figurativi sono meno numerosi ed inoltre di scarsa variazione. Sullo sfondo dominano piccioni e pavoni, grifi, lepre o conigli, ghirlande o fiori sparsi. Alcuni ritratti (di defunti probabilmente: per es. uomo con rolo e donna con dittico: Q1, p. 81) sono espressioni di autorappresentanza da parte dei proprietari della tomba.

Alcune critiche su dettagli. In Q1 i volatili non sono piccioni, ma uccelli acquatici. Il rimando alla 'Domina' della villa dei Misteri a Pompei ed ai riti dionisiaci per il ritratto di donna non ha senso. La 'bizarrerie' degli elementi vegetali sotto il busto di un defunto in H3 (p. 225) può essere spiegata come il fogliame in un ritratto noto, da H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (1961), cioè il calice vegetale, un elemento frequente nella ritrattistica antica.

Spicca la discussione approfondita delle volte: punto di interesse speciale dell'autrice che ci fornisce ricche conoscenze a proposito. Senza perdere ritmo spiega la formazione di schemi e del rapporto fra soffitti e pavimenti.

La tomba di Beit-Ras, l'antica Capitoliass (pp. 227-243), viene presentata come unicum. Per quanto riguarda le pitture questo è veramente il caso. Vi sono scene figurative non presenti altrove. Su un campo dell'arcosolio

Prometeo con il 'plasma' è combinato con Mercurio che porta un'anima, Psiche, verso l'Inferno: i due poli della vita. In altri due campi abbiamo il duello fra Achille ed Ettore e Achille che traina il corpo dell'eroe troiano sotto le mura della città. Sono scene raramente combinate (ma non 'mai' come dice l'autrice a p. 238; *cfr. LIMC I* no. 573, 614 s.v. Achilleus; *LIMC IV* no. 101, 103 s.v. Hektor, per limitarmi a pitture). L'immagine di un tiaso marino qui accanto viene cautamente messa in relazione con il ciclo di Achille (p. 241-242).

Come questa camera tombale anche la tomba di Som, già menzionata a motivo del veterano, rimane isolata. Non vi sono elementi iconografici che sottolineano la carriera del morto (*pace* l'autrice a p. 283). Alcune tombe perse e/o non accessibili (pp. 255-269) completano il catalogo.

La Barbet conclude con un sommario su tecnica, stile, cronologia ed iconografia (pp. 217-285) che mette in evidenza che le tombe giordanesi stanno in un filone artistico ellenistico e riprendono elementi da monumenti da Alessandria e da Palestina dall'epoca di Alessandro in poi. I legami con Palmira sembrano pochi. I motivi decorativi sono uguali a quelli dell'architettura e del mosaico. La conclusione (pp. 289-291) riprende tutti i dati e dà una chiara e compatta sintesi.

I tre indici sono dettagliati e permettono una rapida consultazione (luoghi, persone, soggetti). Si conclude con una bibliografia e con le figure.

Possiamo essere felici del corredo illustrativo che contiene numerosi confronti non facilmente ritrovabili. D'altro canto non è chiara la divisione della documentazione stessa delle tombe fra atlante e figure nel volume di testo. L'album è stato edito sei anni prima del testo; questo forse spiega l'incongruenza. I disegni, evidentemente fatti in circostanze difficilissime, sono di buona qualità ed indispensabili per una buona lettura; le foto per forza di cose non possono dare tutto allo stesso modo.

Eric M. Moormann

LUCIANA JACOBELLI, *Le pitture erotiche delle Terme Suburbane di Pompei*. Roma: "L'ERMA" di Bretschneider, 1995. 133 pp., 73 figs., 9 pls.; 26 cm (Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, Monografie: 10). – ISBN 88-7062-880-9. – LIT 170.000.

Non è facile scrivere di immagini a soggetto erotico con una mentalità neutra. A prescindere dall'epoca di riferimento e dal carattere di esse un autore apporta sempre la propria sensibilità ed il coinvolgimento culturale. Anche nella scienza dell'antichità non mancano contributi che partono da opinioni influenzate dalla cultura borghese e cristiana che ha formato quasi tutti gli studiosi della materia. Le visioni sulla sessualità nel mondo antico, nel senso più ampio della parola, non sono prive di valutazioni negative, con una terminologia illustrativa (osceno, volgare, immorale, senza pudore ecc.). E' quindi un grande piacere leggere l'elegante volumetto apparso nella collana della Soprintendenza di Pompei nel quale Luciana Jacobelli affronta un ciclo di scene erotiche che decorano la parte superiore delle pareti dell'apoditerio nelle terme situate fuori di Porta Marina. Il tono è franco

e l'autrice si rende conto dei limiti di pregiudizio superandolo elegantemente. Per questo motivo la Jacobelli inizia con osservazioni sul problema dell'analisi di scene erotiche e dà esempi, spesso divertenti, di osservazioni anteriori.

Gli scavi, effettuati negli anni 1985-1988, hanno portato alla luce un impianto termale costruito all'inizio del I secolo d.C. L'allestimento lussuoso con marmi per i pavimenti e gli zoccoli e con mosaici e pitture parietali di IV stile potrebbe essere rilevante per attrarre l'attenzione e la curiosità della possibile clientela. Questa pagava al gestore privato del complesso. Una rapida descrizione (Cap. I, pp. 13-24) palesa una forma architettonica nuova; mancano le sezioni separate per uomini e donne; l'economia dell'acqua calda è sofisticata. Le pitture parietali appartengono alla seconda fase edilizia. La presenza di un tale impianto lussuoso fuori Porta Marina sarebbe spiegabile dalla mancanza di tombe (p. 22). Va osservato tuttavia che la strada fuori Porta Ercolano, una vera 'Gräberstraße', viene anche fiancheggiata da ville, magazzini e negozi (V. Kockel/B.F. Weber, *RM* 90, 1983, 51-89).

Le pitture dell'apoditerio si sono conservate solo in parte (Cap. II, pp. 25-82). L'ambiente si divide, anche per mezzo degli schemi decorativi, in un'anticamera ed una sala (*cfr.* la tav. 1). Sono visibili due strati. Quello più recente (pp. 75-82) si è sbriciolato quasi dappertutto, ma era forse dovuto ad un cambio di gusto o di gestori. La prima fase contiene le scene erotiche.

L'analisi delle otto scene conservate è articolata in una descrizione precisa ed un breve *excursus* sulla 'posizione' praticata con illustrazioni letterarie ed iconografiche. Le scene corrispondono con numeri da I a VIII (ve ne erano altre otto sulla parete sud, purtroppo già perse nel 79) e con raffigurazioni di scatole (*cfr.* le varie interpretazioni precedenti rifiutate di diritto). Queste scatole si trovano sopra le mensole, ora perse (*cfr.* l'appendice di Stephan Mols pp. 103-106) e così la chiave di lettura. Abbiamo: I, la *Venus pendula* (donna sopra un uomo in coito vaginale o anale); II, un coito *a tergo*; III, una *fellatio*; IV, un *cunnilingus*; V, un coito; VI, due uomini ed una donna facenti coito *a tergo*; VII due uomini in coito anale e due donne in *cunnilingus*; VIII, un uomo con idrocele. Le VI e VII non hanno confronti nella pittura romana. L'VIII è anche unico e in effetti sta fuori del genere delle scene erotiche. La V a mio parere è un accoppiamento di due donne, forse con un dildo: entrambe le figure hanno la carnagione bianca ed i capelli del personaggio eretto sono raccolti sulla nuca in uno chignon per cui non può essere un uomo (il disegno a fig. 37 è sicuramente sbagliato; si veda la fig. 38).

A proposito dei numeri (pp. 65-74) si è pensato a posizioni erotiche a scelta, presentate a forma di catalogo. Sappiamo con certezza che manuali erotici erano composti a forma di cataloghi. Dato che il nostro ambiente non è un lupanare dobbiamo pensare ad un segno di memoria corrispondente alle scatole. Le posizioni stesse non significherebbero altro che un gioco di memoria. Scene sessuali fanno appello al volere edonistico di chi visita le terme, e non suscitano immediatamente un senso di erotismo. Un profondo studio delle cosiddette *spintriae* (pp. 70-74) dà una base a questa idea: tali oggetti, con un numero ad un lato ed una scena erotica o

un altro soggetto all'altro, sarebbero un tipo di gettoni in un gioco a noi ignoto.

La combinazione di scene tanto diverse per quanto riguarda il tipo di sesso, illustra, secondo l'autrice, l'atteggiamento a questo riguardo presso i romani dell'epoca. Le definizioni moderne di 'gender', come bisessualità ed etero- e omosessualità (p. 76) non valgono. La mia lettura della scena V in effetti apporterebbe una prova in più all'ipotesi che i limiti dei piaceri non fossero tanto netti quanto forse oggi.

IL III capitolo (pp. 83-97) riprende la questione della collocazione di scene erotiche in case ed altri edifici. Le scene si dividono in temi mitologici, temi realistici e racconti con pigmei. Questi ultimi si limitano a triclini e fanno parte di scene simposiastiche. I primi hanno un 'intento colto oppure lascivo o anche satirico' (p. 89), una gamma ampia che vale anche per la seconda categoria. Per certi versi configura uno stimolo o un voyeurismo. E' chiaro che la Jacobelli si oppone all'idea di bordelli in ogni stanza con scene del genere. Le conclusioni (pp. 98-102) riprendono questi risultati.

A parte l'appendice di Mols vi sono contributi di Gianluca Soriatti sul primo piano e di Paolo Sambroia sulla malattia dell'idrocele. Un'ampia bibliografia ed un indice concludono l'insieme. L'arredo illustrativo è ricchissimo e di ottima qualità. Possiamo essere grati per le numerose immagini, spesso difficilmente trovabili.

Anche se auspichiamo una prossima pubblicazione dell'intero complesso termale, la presentazione delle scene erotiche è giustificata per il loro carattere specifico. Possiamo congratularci con l'autrice per l'eccellente risultato.

Eric M. Moormann

J.H. CROUWEL, *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Series, 1993. 180 pp., 39 pls.; 31 cm (Allard Pierson Series; vol. 9). – ISBN 90-71211-21-5. – Hfl. 220,-.

In the course of the last twenty years professor Crouwel has acquired the reputation of an authority on the subject of transport over land in Antiquity. Often in collaboration with Mrs M.A. Littauer, a specialist on the technical aspects of the use of draught animals and Dr J. Morel who furnished drawings for their most important publications, he has published a series of authoritative books and specialised papers which are written in a well-formulated, precise language, illustrated by equally precise diagrams, which, at least as far as this reviewer is concerned, are a joy to read and to see.

One is not deceived by the present book; although Mrs Littauer has not taken part in the work directly, indirectly she is very much present in it, as it is largely based on the researches these two authors published jointly; the direct collaboration of Dr Morel is very much in evidence in many of the 39 plates with which the work has been illustrated. On the other hand, this is very much Crouwel's book as it may be regarded as a sequel to his dissertation of 1981 on *Chariots and other means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece*.

The focus of his work is somewhat different from that of Stuart Piggott, whose work on land transport, as e.g.

summarised in his *The Earliest Wheeled Transport* (1983) is based mainly on data from archaeology. The paucity of direct archaeological data on wheeled vehicles from Greece is largely compensated in Crouwel's book by depictions of wheeled transport on vases and by bronze and terracotta models of vehicles. Comparing Piggott and Crouwel, it may perhaps be said that Crouwel's prose does not know the lightness of touch which one often meets in Piggott's work, but that it is more than compensated by the reliability of his guidance through the not overly simple matter in hand.

The level-headed erudition of Crouwel enables him clearly to chart and avoid the many pitfalls of interpretation. It is in this light most refreshing to read the opening sentence of his last chapter, entitled 'Concluding Remarks': 'Since the focus of this study has been chariots and other wheeled vehicles, it would be easy to fall into the trap of underestimating the role of other forms of land transport in Iron Age Greece'.

The Greek Iron Age spanned the period of ca 1050 to 330 BC, when 'Greece' was composed of the cities and lands around the Aegean Sea, and the islands in it, the wheeled vehicles are chariots, carts and wagons. Through that Greek world, and through the Aegean, ran a divide; the typology of chariots, the harnessing of horses were different on the Greek mainland as compared to the east coast of the Aegean, which was, not surprisingly, strongly influenced by its Near Eastern hinterland. The chariots of those two areas are discussed in two chapters, III and IV, which form the backbone of the book and take up nearly half of the text.

The transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age in Greece occurred in a period which is called the Greek 'Dark Age', when much of the Aegean 'suffered from depopulation, decline in material wealth and disruption of communications'; it lasted from ca 1100-900 BC. Because of his earlier study on the wheeled vehicles of Bronze Age Greece, Crouwel is particularly well placed to establish the patterns of continuity and discontinuity across that period.

Thus, we observe that the type of chariot called 'Rail chariot' is clearly descended from the very similar last type of chariot of the Bronze Age in mainland Greece, implying its continued use during the Dark Age. As the designation implies, it is entirely open-walled and it is in this respect similar to the much earlier Egyptian New Kingdom chariot which is now in Florence. But from the 7th century BC onwards the rather different 'High-front' chariot became the standard type on the mainland. The two types of chariots of East Greece are distinguished by their floor plan, which was either rectangular or D-shaped. If these chariots had a military function, they served as vehicles which conveyed important warriors to the field of battle, where they fought on foot with spears and swords. A usage which is very different from that of the mobile fighting platforms which prevailed in Egypt and the Near East. The stony ground of Greece which would have been hard on the unshod and relatively soft hooves of the horses would explain why active military use of the chariot never really flourished in Greece, as it did in the Near East, where grassy plains were more common. In all of Greece the use of chariots for military purposes apparently ceased altogether with the advent of the for-

midable hoplite phalanx in the 7th century BC. The chariot became a vehicle used in religious ceremonies and in particular in races; quadrigae racing at the Olympic games is recorded for the first time in 680 BC. This reviewer was surprised and amused to learn that mule-cart races, which surely were considered 'neither ancient nor dignified' at the time, were included for a while in the Olympic games too, from 550 to 444 BC.

The technical explanations are part and parcel of the historical exposé; the latter would be almost incomprehensible without the former, and they are handled expertly by Crouwel, although he is not a technologist by training. The technical points which are of prime importance concern harnessing, traction and control, wheels and axles and the bodies of the various carriages. The harness types of our age were unknown in Antiquity, but the ancient harness systems were by no means as inefficient as the theory of 'the self-strangled horse of Antiquity' would make it; that theory of Lefebvre des Noëttes lacked underpinning by systematic experimentation. When in recent times such experimentation was undertaken by Spruytte, the theory collapsed.

The traction of the draught animals was transmitted to the vehicle by either a dorsal yoke or by a neck yoke; the latter was the preferred mode of traction for carts and wagons. The carts carried either agricultural products, often in amphorae, or passengers. The latter were seated *dos-à-dos*, most frequently two in a row. Cart wheels generally differed from those of chariots in that they were of the crossbar type, often mounted on a rotating axle. The crossbar formed the two main spokes which supported four subsidiary ones; on the other hand, the four spokes of the chariot wheels were all alike.

The surviving remains of the crossbar wheel make its construction evident, but for the four-spoked chariot wheels there is only the charred remains of the wheels of Lidar in Turkey which furnish such information. These were structurally similar to those of Egypt's New Kingdom, the spokes being composed of thin laths glued back-to-back and strongly bent near the nave, the whole forming a 'crown' of spokes, as, for instance, in the chariot wheels from Tut'ankhamun's tomb. Crouwel formulates the elegant hypothesis that chariot wheels in Greece, Assyria and Egypt were all constructed in the same manner. A word of caution does not seem out of place here: the remains of the wheels of Lidar did not include the high felloes which were typical of Assyrian chariot wheels which one would expect in that region and they may have been an anomaly, *e.g.* an Egyptian import. Besides, the wheels of chariots from these three areas show many differences which do not appear to be limited to mere decorations. It must immediately be added that alternative hypotheses run into difficulties too. The objection is symptomatic of a basic handicap, namely the paucity of good literary, archaeological and pictorial evidence for land transport in Iron Age Greece. Given that difficulty, Crouwel has presented us here with an altogether admirable and coherent synthesis of all the available evidence, with the technical aspects of the uses and limitations of the various forms of land transport intelligently exploited as a touchstone for the interpretations.

André Wegener Sleeswyk

NIELS HANNESTAD, *Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture. Conservation – Modernization – Production*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994. 176 pp., 105 pls.; 24 cm – ISBN 87 7288 442 8. – ISSN 0065 1354 (Acta Jutlandica, 69:2) – ISSN 0901 0556 (Humanities Series, 69). – 198 DKK.

The general tenor of this publication is that the tradition of sculpture did not die out in the Late Antique period. On the contrary; according to the author, "(...) sculpture in Roman society was maintained, restored, and reworked, until the very end of Antiquity" (p. 150).

In the first part Hannestad discusses several monuments on which traces of Antique reworking are visible. His main monument is the Ara Pacis. Several details, in particular the portraits such as those of August and Agrippa, have been retouched, as is demonstrated by unsmoothed traces of rasps and chisels (p. 20-67). Rework has evidently been executed at places where the reliefs had suffered from the weather during centuries. Other Imperial monuments that show traces of restoration are the Actium relief (in Budapest; p. 67-68) and the presumed Parthian Arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum (p. 68-75). Some heads of Vestals from the Palatine, as well as the Trajanic friezes on the Arch of Constantine (p. 86-96), also show similar traces of rework. Freestanding sculpture did not escape from the hands of the restorers either, *e.g.* the portrait of Venus in the Toledo Museum of Art and a statue of Diana in Ostia (p. 96-104).

Stylistic features of the restored parts, such as the shape of the eyes, the eye-brows and hairlocks, bring Hannestad to the conclusion that a centrally organized modernization campaign of official monuments must have taken place during the first decades of the fourth century. Maxentius might have initiated this policy of the revaluation of older Imperial monuments, but it was possibly continued by his successor Constantine (p. 66). The second part is dedicated to the production of "new" sculpture in Late Antiquity. Hannestad states that during the fourth century more statues and portrait busts have been made than is generally thought. *E.g.*, the so-called Esquiline group in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen can be dated in the second half of the fourth century, and must have been made by Aphrodisian artists (p. 110-116). New reliefs or statues were produced as an addition to incomplete collections, *e.g.* a tondo bust from the Baths of Mithras in Ostia (Fig. 70) which was added as a twin-piece to a Hadrianic tondo bust (Fig. 67-69).

The continuity of sculpture during the fourth century is a rather blank spot on the map. Well-known are the reliefs on the Arch of Constantine and hundreds of sarcophagus reliefs from Rome, but apart from these, few statues and portrait busts are known from this period. It is regrettable that Hannestad does not pay attention to the large-scale sarcophagus production in Rome during the fourth century until the first decade of the fifth. It seems that he was unaware of the important thesis of Klaus Eichner on this subject, a study that would have offered a more solid framework for his theories (*Die Werkstatt des sogen. Dogmatischen Sarkophags. Untersuchungen zur Technik der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik in Rom*, Heidelberg 1977; see also *Die Produktionsmethoden der*

stadtrömischen Sarkophagplastik in ihrer Blütezeit unter Konstantin, *JbAC* 24 (1981), p. 85-113). Eichner has discussed the organization of the production of sarcophagi and official reliefs, such as those on the Arch of Constantine, during the first decades of the fourth century, for which one large workshop in Rome was responsible. Although this workshop is not mentioned by Hannestad, it can be concluded that his remarks on modernization and conservation in the concerned period are a valuable addition to Eichner's point of view: the workshop was very likely also charged with the renovation of official monuments.

The most important aspect of Eichner's study was that he succeeded in reconstructing the production method of the Roman workshop. The aim of this standardized method was mass-production; it consisted of a phased sequence of sculptural actions, including the possibility to reduce the manufacturing process by the omission of one or more phases. In Hannestad's book, however, the clearly defined technological dimension that characterizes the study of Eichner is absent. *E.g.*, Hannestad gives the following comment on the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine: "As already noted, absence of a uniform standard is a significant trend of the time (...). And skilled craftsmen were definitely in short supply in this period, as evidenced by several edicts of Constantine. The Arch of Constantine is proof of this, the sculptural work ranging from superb, in particular in the recut portraits, to a sketchy half-finished mess, as in some of the pedestal reliefs and the spandrel deities" (p. 92). But there was a uniform standard: the phased manufacturing process that has been described by Eichner! In theory, it is possible to analyse for each statue and relief how it was made, even the at first sight rather anarchistic reliefs on the Arch. Certainly, some parts of the friezes were left unfinished, but this was the result of the phased production method, combined with a lack of time to finish the job (Eichner 1977, 134-138).

It can be concluded that a clear definition of technological standards of the period in which reliefs were made compared to those of the period in which they were reworked, would have offered a more solid basis to the analysis of Hannestad. However, in spite of these marginal notes this well-illustrated book deals without any doubt with an original subject. Hannestad has added important information to our knowledge on well-known monuments. His explanations are clear and are pleasant to read. This advantage is very important, as the subject of sculpture technology is unfamiliar to many scholars. Hannestad helps them to discover unexpected elements of Antique sculpture, and his publication might stimulate others to observe monuments through the eyes of sculptors.

Mat Immerzeel

T.P. HUTCHINSON: *Version 2 (History and Archaeology) of Essentials of Statistical Methods*. Adelaide, Rumsby Scientific Publishing, 1993. 138 pp.; 20 cm. – ISBN 0-646-15653-5. – \$ 12,-.

This little book has two main attractions: its price, and its contents; it has also two minor distractions: its text format being old-fashioned stencil-like (which is pre-

sumably the price to be paid for its price), and an array of humoristic quotes on statistics from world literature on its back cover. Also, the numbering of the paragraphs of a previous edition ("Version 1") has been retained and new paragraphs marked especially for no obvious reasons; why should any reader be interested in the history of a book's text?

I have been using the book for a year now as a companion to my statistics in archaeology lectures, and I have found it quite useful, which is probably the best recommendation possible from a teacher. In the introductory remarks "To the reader" the goal of the book's text is set to be a 'memory-jogger'; but if with that phrase is meant that only theorems and techniques are to be expected, there is much more between its covers. For apart from discussing the theories, their derivations and proofs are also presented, and for most statistical descriptive and inferential techniques several different examples – many, but not all from archaeology – are worked out. The main topics covered are Data Description, Probability, and Inference. In other words, the text presents a concise statistical text in a small number of pages.

Of course I do have some reservations, apart from the text-format and the quotes (the latter being on the cover, they are less intrusive than those in D.H. Thomas' *Refiguring Anthropology* where the citations go with every section). Thus, the index is based on paragraph numbers rather than pages, which is every time a little nuisance. Then, the name Bayes does not occur anywhere in the text, although the Bayesian theorem is amply (and adequately) covered. Also there is no discussion of Exploratory Data Analytical techniques but for the box-and-whiskers; more generally, much of rank order statistics is left out. In places, 'common sense' prevails over logic or rigour: for instance, bar widths of histograms are left to 'educated common sense', which means a surrender to the very first output of every computer package. As against this I found the discussion of independence and exclusivity, and of the various probability density functions very clear; also, the caveats regarding the presentation of data summaries are very well considered.

When in the introduction it is modestly stated that the present book is not intended as a text book for freshmen but rather as a summary afterward ("light enough to be carried around, cheap enough for every student"), this is probably a fair estimate of the book's utility.

Pieter van de Velde

GIORGIO BUCHNER and DAVID RIDGWAY. *Pithekoussai. Le necropoli: tombe 1-723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1993. 3 vols. 811 pp., figs., 215 pls., maps; 33 cm (Monumenti antichi, serie monografica: vol. 4).

This is a remarkable publication, in every respect: because of the subject, the necropolis of Pithekoussai – the earliest Greek settlement in the West; because of its extraordinary long period of gestation (over eleven years, with a resulting weight of 6½ kg); and because of its contents which, apart from various Prefaces, the

Avvertenza and the Chapter on Geology, are strictly documentary. With very few exceptions, no discussions of single objects occur. We are given the facts and are left, for the moment, to draw our own conclusions.

This decision, on the part of the author, the reasons for which are clearly stated at the very beginning, was a wise one and shows great self-restraint (a relevant quotation from Popham heads the first Preface). In fact, since only the results of the excavation campaigns 1952-1961 are being dealt with in these volumes, and not those of the following years, the conclusions would have been incomplete and might have had to be modified.

Of the present three volumes, one contains the text, the second one the illustrations (with breathtakingly beautiful drawings by Fritz Gehrke of most of the pottery and metal objects – and photographs of the same, in their present sad and drab condition, and of the tombs) while the third, slender volume has a number of maps, showing the highly intricate positions of the tombs.

The necropolis is situated in a valley that at one end runs into a bay. As the water level seems to have risen by ca. 5-6 m since antiquity, the valley originally must have extended seawards. The graves, the earliest of whom date back to the LG I Period, consist of three main types. In the VIII-VI centuries: shallow cremation graves, inhumation graves, and enchytrismos burials (infants buried in amphorae or similar containers); in almost all of them lumps of rock have been used – for covering, walling, lining, for tumuli, stelai; sometimes stone circles are linked to one another, providing an indication both for relative dating and for the existence of family-plots. The first impression, though, is that of boundless disorder. The cremation graves are large, vaguely circular patches, blackish in colour, whereas the inhumation tombs, in most cases, have been dug right through the brown soil, deep into the whitish layer of volcanic ashes, which greatly helps to identify their outlines.

In the later period – V century to within Roman times – one often finds graves covered with, earlier, roof-tiles that occasionally still show remains of painted decoration. Graves from the intermediate period are lacking (Buchner thinks the site, as excavated up to 1961, was temporarily abandoned for lack of space).

The bulk of the Text Volume consists of the description of the tombs – first the V century through the Hellenistic and Roman periods (nrs. 1-131); then the cremation graves of the VIII to the beginning of the VI century BC (nrs. 132-243); next the inhumation graves of that same period (nrs. 244-723), followed by Sporadic Finds and two Appendices (one on the Nestor cup inscription and another, on the Egyptian-type Objects).

The curious reader might be tempted to throw himself straightaway into this part of the book, but skipping the initial pages would be unwise; apart from the instructive “Note geomorfiche” they contain some essential information. For instance, in the “Avvertenza” Buchner states (p. 19) that he considers the number and shape of the fibulae to be an indication for the gender of the deceased: two fibulae (or more), one on each shoulder, of the ‘ad arco semplice’ type, would point to a woman or a girl; one fibula, “ad arco serpeggiante”, on one side, or none at all, would indicate a man or a boy. This may be the case in general but seems to over-simplify matters. See, for instance, T. 353, with two fibulae “ad

arco serpeggiante” and a bracelet, “presumably a female burial”. This, then, would be the exception that proves the rule. T. 336, with two fibulae “a navicella” is considered a female burial, whereas T. 337, with only one fibula, but of the same type as the previous ones, in being described as the grave of a boy. So here it is not the type but only the number that counts. The fact that the absence of fibulae, in Buchner’s view, would point to a male individual is important. The unwary reader, confronted with the description of tombs 359 and 360: “no remains of skeleton preserved, no personal ornaments; tomb of a person of the male sex” might otherwise wonder whether Buchner’s powers of observation occasionally do not border on the clairvoyant.

That his gifts of observation are extraordinary becomes clear from the description of the tombs, for which he is responsible (Ridgway took care of that of the Greek pottery). Buchner has noted – in the case of the inhumation graves – not only the position of the bones (if preserved), their orientation (oddly enough with English abbreviations such as NNW), of the place of the various objects; he mentions traces of wooden planks, of red colour (in rare cases, mostly in very hot graves), of straw bedding and, notably, of the temperature (up to 63°). This last peculiar circumstance, a result of the volcanic condition of the place, proved rather disastrous in the case of the pottery and sometimes brought about the definite deformation of a vase. I remember, from the early fifties, the ominous, cracking sounds that occasionally came from the shelves where newly dug-up pots were stored; a small aryballos once opened up and was entirely distorted – efforts to mend it produced something like a Chinese dragon.

The major part of the pottery from the VIII-VI period is of Greek origin, either imported or locally made (there is a very good clay available at Ischia). Vases brought over from mainland Italy are rare; so are non-Greek pots from elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

The range of shapes is rather limited; those traditionally connected with burial practices are predominant, such as oinochoai, lekythoi and aryballoi; there are cups and bowls and the odd askos. Exceptional are the nineteen dishes, found in one grave (T. 137). Imported PC aryballoi are particularly numerous; a lively discussion has arisen, between Buchner and C.W. Neeft, as to which of the aryballoi stands at the head of the series, one from T. 168 (the Nestor cup grave, see p. 215 with note 4), or one from T. 325 (the grave containing the Bocchoris scarab, p. 379), apparently with each of the contestants sticking to his guns.

The most striking and unusual class of vases is formed by the craters on a tall foot; they often carry an exuberant decoration. The most dramatic example is the by now famous Shipwreck-without-survivors scene. The burnt fragments of twelve (the number mentioned on p. 197) of these spectacular craters were found in a rather mysterious layer (pp. 196f; 215f; 263f), together with remains of early kotylai and some other types of vases, and consequently are sporadic. Under the heading “Reperti sporadici” only ten craters are described; eight of these are said to be local, two are tentatively ascribed to Euboea. (No craters were found in tombs with the exception of T. 168 which contained four).

In Appendix I, C.F. Russo returns to the inscription on the “Nestor cup”, which he first published, together with Buchner, in 1955. In Appendix II, Fulvio de Salvia deals with the Egyptian-type objects; most of these are scarabs which were used as amulets, often mounted in silver pendants. Every single object is shown in one or more drawings. At the end of the section dealing with the later graves, there is a Catalogue of the Coins, by Renata Cantilena. It makes sad reading – many of the coins, not very numerous and mostly of bronze, are in a bad condition and often illegible (though they sometimes coloured the teeth of the deceased a lovely green).

There are various Bibliographies, referring to the different Parts and Appendices. And all the usual Indices, Lists etc.

Though printing-errors are virtually absent, there are a few errors in the references to the Plates. I only mention those I happened to stumble upon; (as the tomb number is always clearly printed near the drawing(s) the inconvenience is minimal). T. 123: ref. to Pl. 44 should be to Pl. 45. T. 125: ref. to Pl. 45 should be to Pl. 44. Pls. 41 and 48 have been interchanged; so have Pls. 158 and 159; and Pls 185 and 192. Sp. 1/9: ref. to Pl. 239 should be to Pl. 238.

But these are only minor flaws in an otherwise masterly work which deserves both our praise and our gratitude, and we are eagerly looking forward to the publication of Pithekoussai II.

Maria W. Stoop

M. GNADE (ed.), *Stips votiva. Papers presented to C.M. Stibbe*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 1991. 264 pp., ills; 31 cm. – ISBN 90-71211-19-3.

This Festschrift is dedicated to dr Conrad M. Stibbe, the former vice-director of the Dutch Institute at Rome, an expert on archaic Laconian vases and the initiator of the Dutch excavations at Satricum (1977-1990). It is a well illustrated volume of essays written by his colleagues, classical archaeologists, some of whom present artifacts from ‘their’ museums or collections or the results of their excavations and surveys. I summarize as shortly as possible the contents. After a biographic introduction by M. Gnade a vast bibliography of the work by Coen Stibbe follows.

As his research focuses mainly on the history and material culture of Sparta, it is not surprising that some articles do the same.

Very interesting is the essay by F. Giudice in which he reconstructs the routes along which Laconian ceramics arrived into Sicily in the sixth century B.C. P. Pelagatti deals with black-glazed Laconian hydriae, and B. Rafn comments on two Laconian Droop Cups from Halieis (not Halies, p. VI). As for Laconian sculpture Th. Lorenz presents a Laconian relief from the workshop of Bathykses who created the Amyklai Throne, showing the Dioskouroi (c. 530 B.C.), and M. Pipili tries to reconstruct a scene which Pausanias saw on the same Throne: Hermes probably handing over the infant Dionysos to his surrogate parents Ino and Athamas. In a very exciting essay (written in his usual stirring polemical style) Mario Torelli resumes the old, but neglected, suggestion that

the so-called Teatro Marittimo in the Villa Adriana at Tivoli is a Hadrianic mimesis of the Roman (!) gymnasium of Platanistas at Sparta.

Most other papers deal with Greek ceramics. C.W. Neef dates a Corinthian workshop of warrior aryballoi in the MC-early LC period. V. Tosto studies alterations or corrections in Attic, Pseudo-Chalcidian and Caeretan black-figure painting. H.A.G. Brijder comments on a rare band-cup by the Attic Phryne-painter (c. 555 B.C.) showing a Heracleian amazonomachy. J. Boardman presents some enigmatic scenes with Herakles leading a monstrous pet on Attic and Boeotian black-figure vases which might demonstrate “the male subjection of the malignant power of women...” J.M. Hemelrijk explains the intricate image on a large Attic bell-crater by the Pourtalès Painter (c. 375 B.C.): Herakles seeming to offer a branch to a sitting woman while being crowned with a wreath by a flying Eros. He suggests that the hero with the Apples of Immortality (from the Garden of the Hesperids?) is ready to marry Eternal Youth (Hebe?) in Elysium. K. Schauenburg offers a study on the motif “Eros with club” using as starting point a scene on an oinochoe from the Apulian workshop of the White-Sakkos Painter. The idea behind the theme would be the all overwhelming power of love. There are also contributions on Sicilian “plastic” vases (B. Heldring), hybrid Tarentine pottery from Motta (P. Stoop), and reddish bucchero from Satricum (reddish as a result of a potter’s laziness; according to D. Steures he forgot to reduce the kiln’s atmosphere). P.S. Lulof draws attention to a life-size male terracotta head (of Herakles?) from Satricum (VG 9980, of unknown context) dating it to around 530 B.C.

The orientaling period receives also some attention. A. Rathje deals with a North Syrian pyxis found at Vulci (now in Berlin) made of blue-composition (frit). The “object du toilette” may have arrived in Etruria with Phoenician tradesmen. W. Rudolph deals with an orientaling pyxis from Halieis (not Halies, p. VI) in the Argolis, dating it between c. 700 and 680 B.C.

As for Italy, J.G. Szilágyi writes on the beginnings of anthropomorphic bronze statuettes in the ninth century B.C.; G. Chiarucci deals with the protohistoric period of the urban region of Albano and environs; L. Guilici about street engineering in the mountains of Norba (Agro Pontino), and that of S. Quilici Gigli is about forms of settlements in the same area. G. Colonna resumes the question of whether the temple of Mater Matuta at S. Omobono had one or two phases. Contrary to Cristofani’s opinion Colonna proves that the first phase fell during the period of king Servius Tullius, and the second in that of king Tarquinius Superbus. D.J. Waarsenburg inquires into the complex study of the Etruscan dental prosthesis, focusing on a specimen from Civita Castellana. R. Knoop discusses a mask-like terracotta antefix, found in the sea near Torre Astura, which may originate from a villa of Cicero. Another stray find is a silver protome of a snake from Croton, interpreted as part of an ex-voto and dated by A. Giuliano to about 400 B.C.

As might be expected, some metrological studies are also offered by Dutch scholars. J.A.K.E de Waele shows that for the design of the Temple of Nemesis in Rhamnous a unit of 0.3166 m. was used, just as it was for the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, and J. Boersma

explains the plan of the late-Roman Baths at Valesio (South Italy).

S.C. Bakhuizen presents the remnants of the earliest *torcula graecanica*, press beds and oval drums which were found by a Dutch survey on Goritsa hill, Volos (Thessaly). They can be dated between ca. 350 and 250 B.C.

As for glass manufacture E.M. Stern locates the workshop of the Floating Handles in Sidon, dating its artifacts to the beginning of the first century A.D.

As for sculpture C.W. Clairmont presents a highly interesting (Delian?) gravestone (c. 375-350 B.C.) of the seer Pyrrhichos, with an inscription in two hexameters which alludes to the famous tomb poem of Homer which was created around 400 B.C. A. and H. Büsing present a charming Roman copy of a Hellenistic Paniskos who is trying to catch his own tail. Most interesting is E. Simon's interpretation of a marble three-sided candelabre base from the Pincio at Rome (now in the Louvre), which testifies a typically Augustan theme: the return of the Golden Age.

Finally A.V.M. Hubrecht gives an English translation of Smetius' Latin comment (1683) on the Roman coins in his possession.

As the reader will have noticed the *stips votiva* offered to Dr Stibbe is a rich collection which would have also pleased any Greek, Italic or Roman divinity.

L.B. van der Meer

CHRISTIAN AELLEN, *A la recherche de l'ordre cosmique. Forme et fonction des personnifications dans la céramique italique*. I-II. Zürich: Acanthus, 1994. I: 194 pp., II: 88 pp. and 144 pls. with 202 black and white figs.; 27,5 cm. – ISBN 3-905083-08-6.

In this very tastefully edited work the Swiss archaeologist Christian Aellen analyses the meaning of personifications on South Italian grave vases. These personifications usually occur in mythological representations with or without inscription; most frequently they appear on Apulian red figure vases (80%). The epigraphical ones occur mostly on the vases by the genial Apulian Darius Painter and his Paestan colleagues Asteas and Python. Part I constitutes the essay part with an excellent methodological introduction.

Part II has a catalogue which includes 114 vases, a rich up to date bibliography, several indices and 144 plates of high quality black and white photographs illustrating all the vases.

Aellen's research is not a study of personifications *tout court*. He believes that in the mind of the vase painters the personifications incorporate abstract forces of the cosmic order. They give an allegorical or metaphorical dimension to the fortunes of the mythical main characters. Therefore, they play a key role in the process of decoding mythological scenes.

Part I is a triptych in which A. discusses the personifications under the titles "cosmic justice", "macrocosm" and "microcosm". To the first category belong Furies with inscriptions (Alecto, Anankè, Apatè, Dikè, Lyssa, Mania, Oistros and Poinè) and without inscriptions, Furies not to be confused with Erinyes (how the Greeks would have mentioned Aellen's Furies, does not become clear). To the second category belong topographical

(Asia, Eleusis, Hellas, Ismènos, Krènaïè, Krètè, Nemea, Sikyon, Sipylos, Thèbè), temporal (Eniautos, Horai, Opora), agrarian (Ampelis) and natural personifications (Astrapè, Aura, Eos) and similar ones without inscriptions. Into the third category A. ascribes Eunomia, Euphèmia, Euthymia, Homonia, Hypnos, Thanatos, Peitho, Phthonos, Pothos and kindred anepigraphical abstractions.

The catalogue has been organized in accordance with this tripartition.

Thus, A. tackles the problems not according to the personification, vase or vase scenes but from the three angles mentioned so that many vases are dealt with repeatedly in different chapters.

In the "Cosmic Justice" Chapter, which takes almost half of the book, A. analyses the respective relationships between Fury and hero, animals, divinities, Hekate and Dikè, justice and time. He concludes that a Fury acts alone, in contrast to the Erinyes. She is not a death demon but an ambivalent figure whose action is mostly directed against a single character, however sometimes assisting him. She may also be a mediator between the world of the gods and that of the humans.

In the "Macrocosm" Chapter the ambivalent character of the personifications is also apparent. A. studies their role in relation to men and gods in the representations and in relation to the onlooker. Personifications of nature are active for men, those of places are passive unless they are activated by gods.

In the "Microcosm" Chapter A. demonstrates that the personifications in the sphere of *pathos* and *ethos* provide a particular dimension to scenes expressing emotions and human social relations. These forces may also behave in a positive or negative way. For instance Hypnos assists Eros in Zeus' attempt to seduce Leda and Phthonos (interpreted as the Jealousy of the gods) appears to be fatal for Meleagros. "Pathos" personifications are male, "ethic" ones female.

Aellen's book is an important step forward in the field of classic archaeological iconology. By his paying careful attention to all imaginable factors (work of the painter, the total iconographical program of a vase, all the details of a scene, position, attitude, gestures, attributes of the personification, literary sources and so on) it becomes clear that the personifications reflect the religious mentality of the vase painters and their patrons in Magna Graecia.

Aellen's book is, so far, the best introduction into the subtleties of South Italian funerary symbolism. However, the question remains whether or not the vase painters thought in terms of macro- and microcosm. Judging by the assemblies of gods in the upper register of dramatic representations on ca. 40 Apulian vases, it seems to me more probable that the vase painters thought in terms rather of Olympian gods than cosmic forces. In some cases (for example the famous Medea vase in Munich, cat. no. 76) they may have been inspired by a, now lost, contemporary (Greek-South Italian) tragedy. Therefore it remains uncertain to which degree the painters were creative, in other words to what extent they borrowed their personifications from tragedies. The famous Vase of the Persians by the Dareios Painter (pp. 109-117), for example, illustrates this uncertainty. According to Aellen the inscription *Persai* refers to the

two lower registers and the painter did not use an original. However, in those registers, several Greeks are present; so it should not be excluded that the inscription presents the title of a tragedy as suggested by C. Anti (*ArchClass* 4 (1952) 23-45). Aellen rightly rejects M. Schmidt's recent interpretation of Asia: she is Persia and not Ionia because she has the same sceptre as Dareios. These remarks do not alter the fact Aellen has written a stimulating, readable work of high level, especially because of his cautious way of arguing and formulating.

L.B. van der Meer

RICHARD DANIEL DE PUMA and JOCELYN PENNY SMALL (eds.), *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994. 251 pp., ill.; 29 cm. (Wisconsin Studies in Classics). – ISBN 0-299-13910-7. – Price: £ 40.50.

This beautiful and well illustrated volume of essays has been put together by students and colleagues of prof. Kyle Meredith Phillips Jr., who initiated the famous excavations on a hill at Murlo (near Siena) in 1966. Because the famous Etruscologist died unexpectedly in 1988 the intended Festschrift became a memorial.

The introductory chapters offer a biography and bibliography of Kyle M. Phillips, and a short history of the research carried out by his Bryn Mawr College team at Murlo. The international debate on the terracotta frieze plaques, especially on the interpretation of the frieze which according to T. Gantz would represent two divine triads and according to M. Cristofani two aristocratic families, leaves the question of the religious and/or profane function of the archaic buildings at Murlo still open (cf. F.-H. Massa Pairault, in: *Ktèma* 11 (1986) 179-186). Part I of the book tackles various problems concerning the two successive, monumental, square palace-like Under- and Upper-buildings at Murlo, built respectively in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Ingrid D. Rowland analyzes the medieval name of the hill, Poggio Civitate, which she derives from the Latin word civitates. This interpretation may confirm Phillips' idea that the buildings were the seat of a local league. David and Francisca Ridgway argue convincingly that Etruscan building techniques in the orientalisising phase, especially terracotta roofing, could develop without Greek influence and the generally supposed participation of immigrant craftsmen who, according to literary sources, accompanied Demaratus from Corinth to Tarquinia. Very important is the contribution by Ingrid E.M. Edlund-Berry on the "un-founding" (*exauguratio*) of the archaic building between ca. 525 and 500 B.C. Referring to the ritual destruction of several ancient cities and sanctuaries, she strongly suggests that the site was a sacred place, possibly a political-religious center. Many artefacts seem to have been made at Murlo itself, certainly stamped impasto pottery, as Kyle Phillips points out.

The buildings at Murlo are famous as said because of their architectural terracottas, therefore various elements, (lateral) simas, a griffin head, akroteria are separately discussed by Ö. Wikander, E. Nielsen, E. Rystedt and N. Winter. Annette Rathje and Rebecca Hague Simos offer interesting new iconographic analyses of the terracotta

frieze plaques of the Upper Building. The banquet frieze is narrative and clearly shows influences of Neo-Assyrian Art. Comparisons with chariot processions in Greek art seem to indicate that the main figures in the procession frieze are aristocrats receiving divine honor (just like kings in Assyrian and Persian reliefs).

Part II of the book, entitled: "Etruscan art beyond Murlo", has no relation with Part I. Sarah Leah deals with the Corinthian background of subgeometric stam-noid ollas from Veii. P. Gregory Warden presents the Italic amber in the University Museum at Philadelphia and demonstrates the importance of the Adriatic coast (Picenum) as one of the regions of diffusion of the Orientalizing style (see now: D. Waarsenburg, *The Northwest Necropolis of Satricum. An Iron Age Cemetery in Latium Vetus* (Amsterdam 1995) 399-492). Ann Harnwell Ashmead catalogues representations of cats in Etruscan art. L.M. Lacy gives a careful diachronical analysis of scenes with a "hunted-hunter", Ataiun (Gr. Aktaion). In his paper R.D. de Puma suggests that on Etruscan mirrors the theme of Eos bearing her dead son Memnon may have been influenced by the Etruscan losses in battles with the Greeks in 474 B.C. Jenifer Neils draws attention to the famous mirror scene with Heasun (Gr. Jason) receiving a kind of elixir from Menerva. Her interpretation of the scene would indicate rather than the youthening of the hero that his life is restored. Charlotte Scheffer tries to prove that representations of arched doors on late Etruscan urns, sarcophagi and tomb paintings (without dates) are meant as entrances to the tombs, not to the underworld. A relief sarcophagus in Tarquinia (MN 1424), however, shows a funeral procession moving towards a gate bearing a battlement, unmistakably indicating a city gate as the entrance to the other world (see R. Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (1952) no. 116, pl. 74c.; no. 35 of Scheffer's rather unstructured catalogue; cf. J.-R. Jannot, in: *Acad. Inscr. Belles-Lettres* 1991, 454-464).

Helen Nagy presents some votive terracottas from Caere which are clearly related to the cult of Artemis. Most instructive is a thorough essay by Jean MacIntosh Turfa on anatomical votives and Italian medical traditions in the last four centuries B.C. These terracotta votives have been found in sanctuaries of South Etruria, Latium and Campania. Particularly the votive terracotta uteri from Caere, Tarquinia, Veii and possibly Rome show knowledge of obstetric and gynaecological anatomy. This type of votive gift does not occur in the Greek world. Where the craftsmen acquired their knowledge, is unknown. Votives in the form of gravid uteri were probably not dedicated *post mortem* (*matris*) but rather by thankful women for having become pregnant.

In its complexity, the book provides stimulating reading and offers many incentives for further research, especially concerning the status of the archaic complex at Murlo.

L. B. van der Meer

MARTIN BENTZ, *Etruskische Votivbronzen des Hellenismus*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1992. 257 pp., 50 pls.; 27,5 cm. (Ist. Naz. di Studi Etruschi ed Italici. Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi" 25). – ISBN 88 222 3957 1. – 115.000 Lit.

This book is the slightly varied version of a dissertation (Göttingen 1989) by M. Bentz. It deals with a selection of Etruscan Hellenistic statuettes considered to be representative. With the exception of a few pieces found in tombs (pp. 24-6) most have been retrieved from sanctuaries and votive deposits in Northern Etruria (often extra-urban), usually badly documented.

Bentz first studies a homogeneous group of bronzes dating from ca. 420 to 350 B.C., of known provenance, forerunners of the Hellenistic statuettes. In Catalogue A ca. 300 statuettes are listed according to find spots in alphabetical order and in Catalogue B male and female figures are listed by type without context and without chronological implications. Chapters III and IV have a similar structure. Firstly statuettes from the end of the 4th and the 3rd centuries are discussed (males and females separately), then those of the 2nd century according to regions, followed by a definition of workshops. According to B. the production ends at the beginning of the first century B.C. Chapter V consists of an iconographic analysis of human and divine representations. In the final chapter the developments in bronze production in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. are explained against a background of historical events.

Bentz' study is limited. He does not attempt to compare the Etruscan productions with those in adjacent regions like Umbria and Latium.

He concludes that the main production centres in the 5th and 4th centuries were Chiusi and Orvieto, in the 3rd century Arezzo, Fiesole and Volterra.

Mass-production follows a period of crisis, during and after the Second Punic War with Chiusi, Perugia as its main centres in central Etruria and Todi in Umbria. The bronze representations of worshippers show little variety. In the 4th century they raise their hands, in the 3rd century they stand with arms akimbo, and in the 2nd century they hold a *patera* and *acerra*. Gods are rarely represented. The inscriptions on bronzes (tentatively translated in footnotes) mention gods with a supposed fertility aspect. The little *ex-voto* would testify to the conservative religious mentality of the North-Etruscan rural population. B. believes that the interest in the cults of Selvans and Fufluns (Dionysos) was stimulated by social unrest, the growing influence of the *liberti*. Unlike the Sabellic and Latin bronzes the Etruscan ones would not have influenced the Roman tradition.

Bentz' book draws few surprising conclusions. His method is simple. He only dates on the basis of stylistic analysis and of palaeographic observations by A. Maggiani. His *comparanda* are Greek sculpture, Italic terracotta votive heads, Praenestine cista lid figures and so on. For his principle dating he follows the proposals by M. Cristofani (*I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985). A negative point is the lack of analysis of the bronze-composition of the artifacts, in contrast to modern research on Etruscan bronze mirrors (see the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*). Because of this omission the attribution of bronzes to production centers or workshops seems a very precarious enterprise. The speculation is further weakened owing to the phenomenon of itinerant artisans and the easy transfer of small statues. The listing of Latial bronzes found in Telamon (pp. 73-81), and of statuettes with Latin inscriptions in the Catalogues is questionable.

Very serious is the fact that the book does not have an up to date bibliography. Titles after 1985 are largely absent. The Dutch dissertation by Marjan C. Galestin, *Etruscan and Italic Bronze Statuettes* (Warfhuizen 1987) is not even mentioned. If we compare the datings of Bentz and Galestin, the discrepancies are about 50 years, which is not surprising when both scholars use stylistic criteria (see for example the "priestess" from Montecchio (Leiden RMO CO 30): respectively dated to c. 250 and 200 B.C. (Bentz, p. 57; Galestin p. 101-102 no. 21)). Most errors are to be found in Chapter VB entitled "Representations and epigraphic mentionings of gods". A small selection is here given. Several statuettes of warriors are mentioned Laran (pp. 193-4) although Laran with his name inscribed is only represented on Etruscan mirrors with a varying iconography (see reviewer, *The Bronze Liver of Piacenza* (Amsterdam 1987) 116, Figs. 34, 63, 64).

Using Maggiani's highly disputed orientation of the sixteen-part margin of the Piacenza Bronze Liver, Bentz characterizes divinities as "gods of heaven", "of earth", "underworld" etc. Selvans for example is defined as god of the underworld without any sound argument (p. 106). The reference to the inscription *ś. caluśtla* is doubtful because the abbreviation *ś.* can point to any god whose name begins with the letter *ś* (for example the underworld god *Śuri* (TLE 2 and 359); for the relation between Etr. Selvans and Italic Silvanus see now also F. Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus* (Leiden 1992, 10-13). The opinion that the cult of Selvans would have its main centre in Volsinii (B. means Volsinii novi (Bolsena)) does not rest upon chronological and statistical evidence (see H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* I (1991) 168; M. Rendelli, *StEtr* 59 (1994) 164 n. 9). According to Bentz Thuftha would be a goddess of heaven, rather than a chthonian one (p. 212). He does not realize that the bronze satyr in the Vatican (p. 110) mentions *thufi* in combination with *śuuri* (cf. Lat. Apollo Soranus, an underworld god in Southern Etruria). The reference to a mirror with an inscription supposedly of the god-name Lur (p. 195 n. 162) is incorrect because the inscription reads [---]tur (probably Castur (see H. Rix, op. cit. II, 359, OI S.75). The list of inscriptions with god names on bronze statuettes is far from complete (cf. H. Rix, op. cit. II (1991) AS 4.1; OA 3.7). Rather annoying is Bentz' use of the adjective "chthonian" (*passim*), in one instance referring to the underworld (p. 106), and in another to the earth (p. 237). The same holds good for the word "fertility". In many cases it is clear that health or well being is intended. Some inscriptions mention that a mother dedicated a statuette on behalf of her son (*clen cecha*). In this context it is striking that many bronzes have been found in well- or source-sanctuaries (pp. 16, 24, 28, 58, 63, 89, 90), a type of cult with a long tradition in Etruria (see I.E.M. Edlund, *The Gods and the Place*. Stockholm 1987).

There is one (museum) index. The numerous, small photographs are of reasonable quality. It is a pity that some important pieces, for example bronzes from Cortona (pp. 49-50) are not illustrated in detail.

To conclude, Bentz' chronological research is for the moment worthwhile; his conclusions on iconography and religion have to be read with very much caution.

L. B. van der Meer

MAURIZIO SANNIBALE, *Le urne cinerarie di età ellenistica*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1994. 245 pp., 26 figs., numerous ill. in the text; 24 cm. (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Cataloghi 3). – ISBN 88-7062-832-9. – 280.000 Lit.

In this excellent and perfectly illustrated catalogue raisonné M. Sannibale presents the Etruscan Hellenistic urns in the Etruscan Museum at the Vatican.

The collection was formed in the eighteenth century, which explains why it is not always certain whether or not a lid belongs to its respective chest.

There are 12 urns from Volterra (in alabaster, calcarenite, or terracotta), 15 from Chiusi (in alabaster, marble (!), or terracotta), 4 travertine urns from a tomb in loc. Casaglia near Perugia, 2 terracotta urns from Bomarzo, and the famous terracotta "funerary monument" from Tuscania representing the dying Adonis, which is not an urn but probably the monumental lid of a chest, now dated between c. 250 and 200 B.C.

Introductory chapters on the three production centres, Volterra, Chiusi and Perugia enlighten the chronology and the workshops of urns during the last four centuries B.C. Sannibale dates the urns on the basis of the fundamental studies by Marjatta Nielsen, A. Maggiani, Fr.-H. Pairault (on Volterra), J. Thimme, M. Michelucci (on Chiusi), A.E. Feruglio and G. Dareggi (on Perugia) as precisely as possible. Surplus value is the attention which has been paid to the cartoons of types (kneeling, sitting, aggressive individuals) which were used by different workshops for different series of urn reliefs, and also, later, by sculptors of Roman sarcophagi with mythological themes. The cartoon types have been illustrated with red, grey and black figures in the designs of the mythological chest reliefs. However, the word cartoon, is not quite correct. It seems to be more probable that three-dimensional types were used.

Particularly instructive is the procedure adopted by Perugian sculptors of urns in the series representing the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia (see also: *StEtr* 57 (1991) 119-136). An added advantage of this publication is that the grave goods of the Tomba dei Ceicna at Castiglione del Lago are all illustrated and commented, which is very helpful for dating purposes.

All inscriptions, often incorrectly published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, have been re-read. However, there are differences between the new readings and those published by H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor* I-II (Tübingen 1991) which Sannibale probably could not use in time.

Extremely useful are the Appendices A and B, presenting tables of Volterranean urns in several European museums, attributed to the workshops defined by Nielsen and Maggiani (in concordance with both their systems). The bibliography is virtually up to date.

Apart from master-pieces (cat. no. 2: the famous alabaster Oinomaus urn from Todi (not from Todi but from the Volterranean region according to M. Bergamini in: *Gens antiquissima Italiae* (Perugia 1991) 369-372), no. 13 representing Pygmies fighting fat cranes and no. 31: the Adonis mentioned) there are some exceptional examples. A terracotta urn (no. 12) from Volterra (c. 150-100 B.C.) has a side scene representing a demon with the-

atrical mask, one of the growing number of documents possibly indicating the existence of theatre representation in the funeral context (cf. now: *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique* (BÉFRA – 172). Rome 1993, *passim*). Another rare urn is the cylindrical marble example, no. 18 (from Chiusi), dated to about 200 B.C. Finally, there are urns with Latin inscriptions (no. 27 and 29.4) dated to the first century B.C. Sannibale has done a service to all those interested in the Hellenistic period of Etruria.

L.B. van der Meer

MARIA DONATELLA GENTILI (con un contributo di MARIE FRANÇOISE BRIGUET), *I sarcophagi etruschi in terracotta di età recente*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore. 219 pp., 81 pls., 30 cm., 1994. (Archaeologica 108; Tyrrhenica IV). ISBN 88-7689-102-1.

M. D. Gentili deals in this very valuable publication with 185 terracotta sarcophagi (chests, lids and fragments) from the Hellenistic period. Most have been found in Tuscania and its environs. Only five, rather exceptional items, come from Chiusi.

Gentili's work is a definitive replacement to the dissertation of S. Türr (*Spätetruskische Tonsarkophage* (Giessen 1969)). Where Türr dated only 80 sarcophagi in the late-Hellenistic period, mainly on stylistic grounds, Gentili situates all items in the middle-Hellenistic period, between c. 250 and 100 B.C.

Gentili's approach is very systematic. She bases her chronological conclusions on the architecture and contents of 13 tombs (7 in Tuscania, 2 in Tarquinia, 1 in Raspani and 3 in Chiusi), the order of depositions in the tombs, the artifacts found in the sarcophagi, the evolution of 7 types of lid figures, the stylistic analysis of the "portraits" of the lid figures by comparing them, among others, with votive terracotta heads and bronzes, antiquarian details like attributes, palaeographic observations and so on. The sarcophagi are attributed to five, in time partly overlapping, workshops (A, B, C, D, E), with subdivisions. The catalogue consists of items found in tombs (A 1-70) and isolated ones without grave context (B 71-184). The tomb contents offer the author the general chronological framework, on the basis of which she concludes that the production of terracotta sarcophagi ends in the beginning of the first century B.C. The items in the Louvre are described (in French) by Madame M.F. Brigueat. Most of the items in the Catalogue are dated, although the arguments follow later in the essay part. There are many more lids than chests; one of the reasons is that lids sometimes covered *fossae* in the tombs.

The book also contains a history of the discoveries and the studies on terracotta sarcophagi, a typology with a subdivision which does not have chronological implications, short technical considerations, and a research by the Conservation Laboratory in Viterbo on the painted decoration of a sarcophagus in the Viterbo's Museo Civico. It appears that the preparatory layer for the painting was calcite with small quantities of vaterite, a fresco technique also used in Etruscan tomb painting but not in vase painting. For the reconstruction of the lines of development of the sarcophagi the lid figures are most significant, as is the

case for stone sarcophagi. In the Tuscanian region the oldest lid figures resemble the stone ones from about 280/270 B.C.: the torso of the recumbent figures is rather vertically rendered; the males are half-nude. The context of the (presumed) earliest items are, unfortunately, unknown. They are dated on stylistic grounds (B 71, B 75-77). After 200 B.C. a certain standardisation is visible. The torsos, now completely dressed, are less erect, more diagonally or horizontally rendered. Especially after 150 B.C. most lid types show a neglect of body proportions and a schematisation of the mantle folds. The initially Praxitelian features of the heads are fading away, and successive influences of the portraits of Diadochs become perceptible. If the chests have reliefs, they show garlands, weapons (e.g. *peltae*) and heraldic schemes, in short motifs partly inspired by stone sarcophagi (see also: Monika Boosen, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen* (Roma 1986)). Of the five Chiusine sarcophagi those of Larthia and Hanunia Seianti are most important. In Larthia's sarcophagus a Roman uncial *as* of 27 gr. was found, now dated between 189 and 180 B.C. This provides a *terminus post quem* for the placement of the sarcophagus in the tomb. The artifact itself may have been made earlier, probably about 200 B.C., when in Chiusi the production of terracotta urns gradually substituted that of alabaster urns. Larthia's and Hanunia's sarcophagi do not show influences of the Tuscanian production; they belong to a Tarquinian/Chiusine tradition.

Gentili also analyses the geographic distribution of sarcophagi, concluding that Tuscania was the main production centre in the Viterbo region and that the items made there were generally of higher quality than those made in the periphery.

The problems of the "portrait" receives much attention. It is clear that some heads were made by itinerant coroplasts who at other places (e.g. at Tissanone, Vulci) made terracotta votive heads. Although the start of the production of terracotta sarcophagi is stimulated by the example of stone items, it is clear that the terracotta sarcophagi at Tuscania also influenced in many ways the sculptors of stone lids in the second century. This can be seen in the rendering of the bodies of the lid figures, in the folds, and in the peculiarly pronounced pupils of the eyes. Another interesting anticipation is the veiled head, which appears on urns only after c. 110 B.C.

As for chronology, Gentili bases her study also on the books written by E. Colonna di Paolo & G. Colonna on the necropoleis at Norchia and Castel d'Asso, and on the magnificent publication edited by M. Moretti and A.M. Sgubini Moretti, *I Curunus di Tuscania*. Roma 1983. The latter book was a sensation because it showed the incorrect, too low chronology of the stone sarcophagi put forward by K.-P. Goethert in his *Typologie und Chronologie der jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (diss. Berlin 1974).

From the methodical point of view some problems remain. Firstly, it should be noticed that the Tomba dei Treptie at Tuscania (pp. 175-182), which plays a key-role in Gentili's reasoning, was violated; only a very small part of the grave goods have been preserved. The second point is the question of how long artifacts were used before they were deposited in a grave. Therefore,

we can not be completely certain on the lower chronological horizon of c. 100 B.C.

Thirdly, comparisons with bronze statues like the Arringatore and the terracotta head "of Manganello" at Caere, recently dated to c. 200 B.C. instead of c. 90 B.C. (p. 177, n. 40 and 43), may be misleading.

It is to be hoped that new discoveries of intact tombs at Tuscania will yield terracotta sarcophagi of the earliest and of the most recent types, thus confirming the upper chronological horizon of c. 250 B.C. suggested by Gentili. We may congratulate the author with her careful *modus operandi*. However, it is a pity that the photographs vary in quality. To consult the book is made easy by indices.

L. B. van der Meer

DENIS KNOEPFLER, *Les imagiers de l'Orestie. Mille ans d'art antique autour d'un mythe grec* (catalogue d'une exposition, Neuchâtel nov. 1991 – févr. 1992). Kilchberg/Zürich: Akanthus. 112 pp., 96 black and white ill., 16 pp. with colour photographs. – ISBN 3-905083-07-8. – CHF. 65,-.

This booklet is a well illustrated catalogue of an exposition organized by the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Neuchâtel and by D. Knoepfler and his students of the Université de Neuchâtel. The name Oresteia in the title of the catalogue is the name of the famous trilogy by Aeschylus (458 B.C.). The catalogue presents c. 100 artifacts with short comments showing illustrations of the theme before and after Aeschylus' production (c. 700 B.C. – 200 A.D.).

After an Introduction, Chapter I (Prehistory of the Oresteia) shows the popularity of the theme on Crete in the seventh cent. B.C.: it might suggest the existence of a Cretan Oresteia. Chapter II (Texts and monuments of the archaic period) makes clear that the theme is very popular in the Peloponnesos. The metopes of the Heraion of Sele (c. 550 B.C.) testify to influences of Stesichorus, who wrote an Oresteia in Himera about 600 B.C. Chapter III deals with the immediate predecessors of Aeschylus. It is striking that the myth becomes particularly popular on Attic vases after c. 510 B.C. Orestes murdering Aigisthos was probably compared to the tyrant killers. Chapter IV shows the influence of Aeschylus' *Agammon*, *Choephoroe*, and *Eumenids* on the painters of Athenian and South Italian (mostly Apulian) red figure vases and on the artisans of the minor arts. Most interesting is the famous calyx crater by the Attic Dokimasia Painter (c. 470-460 B.C.) which must have been made before 458 B.C. It proves that Aeschylus borrowed the motif of the net on Agamemnon's head from an already existing tradition. Chapter V illustrates the influence of the Oresteia in the Etruscan and Roman world. Here some themes and scenes like the Sacrifice of Iphigenia which do not belong to the cycle mentioned, are listed. Even a Lucanian vase (p. 91) is presented which is neither Etruscan nor Roman. Finally a (too) short Bibliography follows.

Evidently Knoepfler is very interested in the relation between written, oral and visual traditions. Usually his interpretations are in line with the articles on Agamemnon,

Aigisthos, Elektra, Kassandra, Klytaimestra, Orestes etc. in *LIMC* I-VII. Deviating is, for example, his comment on Fig. 52 which would represent a hunter rather than Orestes (it may be however Orestes kidnapping Telephos!). It is strange that this type of formerly supposed Oresteia scenes has been included in the catalogue. A new convincing interpretation regards the scenes of Orestes kneeling on stones on Attic red figure vases (p. 8; Figs. 61-65), until now interpreted as Orestes in Delphi. They represent Orestes on the rock of the Areopagus. Figures 37, 56, 58, 65 and Plate XXII present anepigraphic scenes not (yet) mentioned in *LIMC*. It is a pity that many objects have only partly been illustrated. Another drawback is that few attention has been paid to the status of the objects (for example the Hellenistic relief bowl from Boeotia (see U. Sinn, *Die homerischen Becher*. Berlin 1979). As for the Oresteia scenes of red figure vases from Magna Graecia it is striking that the author usually does not pay attention to the complete iconographic program or the other side of a vase (cf. now H. Lohmann, *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen*. Berlin 1979). So the value of Knoepfler's work is limited. Though catalogue and exposition were aimed at a broad public, some more dimensions of modern iconological research, in which Swiss classical archaeologists excel, should have been demonstrated. Worthwhile are the splendid colour photographs.

S. Hageman

ALEXANDER MLASOWSKY, *Herrscher und Mensch. Römische Marmorbildnisse in Hannover*. Kestner-Museum Hannover, 1992. 222 S., 29 Abb., Taf.; 23 cm. – ISBN 3-924029-19-9.

Von November 1992 bis März 1993 fand im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover eine Ausstellung statt, in der die römische Porträts eines deutschen Privatsammlers gezeigt wurden. Vom Besitzer wird, wahrscheinlich zu seinem persönlichen Schutz, nichts bekannt gemacht. Es bleibt dadurch unklar, wie groß die Sammlung ist, wann sie entstanden ist und wo sie sich befindet. Aus den Daten der Auktionen, auf denen einige Bildnisse gekauft worden sind, läßt sich erschließen, daß die Sammlung in ziemlich rezenter Zeit aufgebaut worden ist.

Die Sammlung besitzt große Wichtigkeit, weil sie verschiedene Arten von Bildnissen enthält (Kaiserporträts, Kinderporträts, Reliefs, Privatbildnisgruppen), die meistens von außerordentlich guter Qualität und mit interessanten Einzelheiten versehen sind, wie z.B. die Wiederverwendung von Privatporträts und die Benützung von Stucküberzug für die Haare. Insgesamt zeigt der vorliegende Katalog 24 Porträts. Davon sind 10 identifizierte Bildnisse (zwei nicht-antike Porträts einbegriffen), 3 Reliefporträts und 11 Privatbildnisse. Bei 7 Porträts gibt es Spuren einer Umarbeitung aus einem älteren Bildnis. Weil nicht immer die Herkunft der Objekte angegeben ist, weder die antike noch die moderne, ist es öfters unklar, ob die ausgestellten Bildnisse vielleicht schon in der archäologischen Literatur zitiert worden sind oder tatsächlich neu und unpubliziert sind. Man kann somit auch keine Vergleiche zwischen den Meinungen des

Autors und denen der Fachkollegen anstellen. Der Herausgeber des Katalogs, Alexander Mlasowsky, zeigt aber eine sehr große Belesenheit der Materie, die besonders aus den Anmerkungen hervorgeht. Auch macht er interessante Auseinandersetzungen über zusätzliche Themen, die in einigen Fällen eine aufklärende Wirkung haben; z.B. wird im Text zu Nr. 12 (ein Grabrelief) die Anwendung des Palliums erklärt und in der Behandlung des Porträts der Julia Mamaea, Nr. 21, erzählt Mlasowsky die Geschichte der severischen Dynastie. Fast ohne Ausnahme sind die Katalogtexte gut geschrieben und enthalten zusammen mit zahlreichen Anmerkungen meistens nur Schlußfolgerungen, mit denen man einverstanden sein kann. Weil es unmöglich ist, in einer Rezension alle Stücke zu behandeln, werden hier nur zu einigen Bildnissen folgende Bemerkungen gemacht.

Kat. Nr. 1 ist ein Porträt Ciceros. Auf Grund der von H.R. Goette (*RM* 92, 1985) angefertigten Replikenlisten ist dieser Kopf identifiziert worden, obwohl Goette in demselben Aufsatz bezweifelt, ob alle Repliken wohl Cicero abbilden. In jedem Fall macht Mlasowsky deutlich, daß dieses Bildnis aus einem älteren umgearbeitet worden ist. Dieselbe Folgerung läßt sich zu Kat. Nr. 8 machen. Dieses Porträt stellt Vespasian da, den Kaiser, der sich vielleicht am meisten dazu entschieden hat, seine Bildnisse aus älterem Material herstellen zu lassen (cf. Bergmann-Zanker, *Jdl* 96, 1981). In diesem Fall ist die politische Wahl der Umarbeitung zweischichtig: einerseits ist ein Porträt des Vorgängers Vespasians, Vitellius, als Untergrund gebraucht worden, andererseits deutet die Umarbeitung auf die berühmte Sparsamkeit Vespasians. In Kat. Nr. 10 hat Mlasowsky (mit Recht) Flavia Domitilla, die Tochter Vespasians, erkannt. Es ist eines der wenigen Bildnisse, die von dieser Prinzessin überhaupt bekannt sind. Solche Stücke machen den Katalog sehr wichtig. Das gilt auch für Kat. Nr. 14, ein Bildnis des jungen Commodus (1. Typus, aus den Jahren 175-177). Die technischen Merkmale dieses Bildnisses, vor allem in der Bearbeitung der Haarlocken, machen deutlich, daß es in Kleinasien entstanden sein muß. Dort arbeitete man, im Gegensatz zum Westen, noch viel länger ohne laufenden Bohrer für die Lockenpartien. Auch dieses Porträt ist durch die Ausstellung und den Katalog aus der Anonymität getreten.

Ein interessanter Fall ist Kat. Nr. 15. Diese aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Gloria Morgan Vanderbilt kommende Büste ist von Mlasowsky überzeugend als neuzeitliche Nachbildung eines Porträts im Palazzo Braschi zu Rom gedeutet worden. Tatsächlich kommt das Bildnis dem antiken Original in einzelnen Details sehr nahe, aber namentlich die Gewandfalten und die Rückseite der Büste sind stilisiert und unorganisch gestaltet. K. Fittschen hat das Porträt in Rom zusammen mit zwei Repliken mit Kaiser Didius Julianus (193 n. Chr.) in Verbindung gebracht (Fittschen-Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts* I (1985), 93 Nr. 81). Die Replikenreihe ist vielleicht zu akzeptieren, die Identifizierung aber scheint mir zweifelhaft. Die Porträts der Kaiser der Jahre 193-197 (Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, Septimius Severus) sind noch immer nicht sicher benannt worden, mit Ausnahme eines großen Teiles der Bildnisse des Septimius Severus. Einige ihm zugeschriebene Porträts hat Fittschen herausgenommen,

weil sie nicht in die von A. McCann (1968) und D. Soechting (1972) abgefaßten Replikenreihen passen würden.

Auf Grund der in Münzbildnissen vorkommenden Höckernase hat Fittschen versucht, in diesen 3 Bildnissen den Kaiser Didius Julianus zu sehen. Es ist aber durchaus möglich, eine ganze Reihe Porträts (mit Repliken) aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 2. Jahrhunderts anzuführen, in denen man einen der genannten Kaiser sehen möchte. Ob es bei diesen Porträts um Kaiser oder hohe Offiziere handelt, bleibt unsicher. Nur eine intensive Untersuchung der verschiedenen Replikenreihen kann vielleicht eine Lösung bieten. Es scheint jedoch, daß der Künstler der Büste Nr. 15 um 1700 (?) die Absicht hatte, ein Porträt des am meisten bekannten Septimius Severus herzustellen, an Hand einer der zu dieser Zeit vorhandenen Darstellungen des Kaisers.

Einige Privatbildnisse im Katalog zeigen interessante Merkmale. Nr. 13 ist ein Porträt eines Mannes aus der hadrianischen Zeit, im Alter von 40-50 Jahren. Das Bildnis zeigt eine ungewöhnliche Frisur mit einer ungebohrten Lockenpartie auf der Stirnmitte und kleinen gebohrten Strähnen auf der Kalotte. In Anm. 4 (S. 131) gibt Mlasowsky die Lösung dieses Problems: es handelt sich um eine hadrianische Umarbeitung eines flavischen Porträts, wie schon W.H. Gross 1980 in einem Brief erkannt hatte. Kat. Nr. 24 ist ein Bildnis eines unbekannten jungen Mannes im Herkules-Typus. Mlasowsky datiert es summarisch ins 3. Jahrhundert. Das stimmt, aber man kann genauer sein. Höchstwahrscheinlich ist das Porträt in gallienischer Zeit entstanden. Entscheidend für eine solche Datierung sind die 'sanfte' Modellierung, die jedoch flach und ohne Reliefstruktur gestaltet worden ist, die schematisch geformte Frisur, in der die Locken nur eingeritzt worden sind, und die Augenbehandlung, die weniger streng und durchdringend scheint.

In den Kat. Nr. 17-20 werden vier 1982 im Kunsthandel erworbene Privatbildnisse aufgeführt, die zusammen zu einer Gruppe gehört haben und sehr wahrscheinlich in einem Grab aufgestellt worden waren. Alle Bildnisse sind in mittelseverischer Zeit (205-220 n.Chr.) umgearbeitete Porträtbüsten, zwei männliche und zwei weibliche. Man kann sie z.B. mit zwei Porträtbüsten derselben Zeit in Brüssel (Inan-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik* II (1979) Nr. 46-47) und mit den Grabbildnissen aus Köln-Weiden (*Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1987), 508) vergleichen, obwohl sie in der Qualität der Bearbeitung und Erhaltung fast ohnegleichen sind.

Das Buch an sich ist vorzüglich ausgestattet: gut gebunden, gute Photos und klarer Text. Es gibt nur zwei Punkte für Kritik und zwar: 1) man hat in den Anmerkungen nicht das verkürzte System mit Autor und Jahrzahl angewandt, das viel praktischer wirkt, wenn man, wie im Katalog, manchmal ziemlich viele Arbeiten manchmal zitiert; 2) die Photos auf S. 183 und 189 sind verwechselt worden.

Die Bedeutung des Katalogs ist klar: hier wird eine wichtige Ergänzung unserer Kenntnis der römischen Porträts gegeben. Zugleich kann man schließlich der Bemerkung über die Sammlung aus dem Vorwort von Ulrich Gehrig, dem Direktor des Kestner-Museums, völlig zustimmen: 'Durch die große Zahl und die Qualität

der Objekte kann sie ohne Zögern den Sammlungen an die Seite gestellt werden, die im 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Begeisterung für die Antike von Angehörigen regierender Fürstenhäuser in Deutschland zusammengetragen wurden.' (S. 10).

Richard de Kind

W.J.TH. PETERS, con contributi di E.M. Moormann... [et al.], *La casa di Marcus Lucretius Fronto a Pompei e le sue pitture*. Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers, 1993. 406 S., 272 Abb., 11 Farbtafel; 28 cm (Scriinium; 4). – ISBN 90-5170-163-2. – Hfl. 265,-.

Seit 1971 fanden im Hause des M. Lucretius Fronto in Pompeji fast jährlich wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen von niederländischen Archäologen statt, zunächst unter Auspizien des Niederländischen Instituts in Rom, später der Abteilung Klassische Archäologie der Katholischen Universität in Nijmegen, in Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedenen archäologischen Instituten in den Niederlanden. Das jetzt erschienene Buch stellt deshalb das Ergebnis von mehr als 20 Jahre *vereinten* Untersuchungen dar. Allein schon deswegen möchte man Herrn Prof. W. Peters, der das Projekt von Anfang an getragen hat, gratulieren.

Das Buch ist in 8 ungleich große und schwere Teilen gegliedert worden. Nach ziemlich substanziellen Aufsätzen von S.L. Wynia und H. Brunsting über die Ausgrabungen und von Frau T.L. Heres über die Architektur und Baugeschichte des Hauses folgt der Kern des Buches, nämlich die Studie von W.J.Th. Peters und E.M. Moormann über die Wandmalereien des dritten und vierten Stils. Zum Abschluß sind einige weniger umfangreiche Überlegungen aufgenommen worden: über die im Hause gefundenen Graffiti (Moormann/Wynia), über die Funde der Grabungen und über die Benützung der Räume (Moormann) und schließlich über den Status und die Bewohner des Hauses (Peters/Moormann). Nicht besonders gelungen ist die Aufnahme der Fußbodendekoration in Teil II. In der Einleitung von Peters wird angegeben, daß Heres und Moormann zusammen für dieses Unterkapitel verantwortlich sind. Jedoch beim Lesen wird dies nicht deutlich. Dann und wann werden die Sigel EMM an Anmerkungen hinzugefügt und auch im allgemeinen Index fehlt jeder Verweis. Vielleicht wäre es besser gewesen, diese Angaben in einem Paragraph zusammenzufassen statt sie in die Beschreibung der einzelnen Räume aufzunehmen.

Eine der wichtigsten Schlußfolgerungen des ersten Teils (S.7) ist die Tatsache, daß die Grabungen der Niederländer Beweise für einen prähistorischen Vulkanausbruch in Kampanien (um 1200 v. Chr.) geben. Im übrigen gibt Teil I eine gute Übersicht der Grabungen und Funde. Es fehlt aber die Kohärenz mit den anderen Teilen des Buches.

Das läßt sich nicht sagen über den zweiten Teil, der mehr mit dem Kern verbunden worden ist, obwohl man auch hierzu einige Bemerkungen machen kann. Die Folgerungen der Baugeschichte nämlich sind im allgemeinen ziemlich 'vorsichtig' und nicht so 'scharf' formuliert worden. Das erschwert die Beziehungen

zwischen Teil II und den Teilen III/IV, wo man 'Beweise' für die Datierung der Malereien bzw. der bemalten Räume braucht. Man soll natürlich nicht in absoluter Weise formulieren, wenn es nicht möglich ist: ohne klare Tatsachen kann man sogar keine Wahrscheinlichkeiten äußern, geschweige sichere Ergebnisse. Vielleicht aber hätte man in der Studie der Baugeschichte mehr Ergebnisse bekommen, wenn man auch eine Analyse der Baumaße verwendet hätte. Sicherlich würde es die Planung und Ordnung des Atriumhauses klarer gemacht haben. Dennoch ist der Absatz gut aufgebaut, mit dosierter Information und klaren Zeichnungen, wie Fig. 46 und 107. Die Beschreibung der einzelnen Wände ist vorzüglich und gibt uns einen sehr guten Katalog des Mauerwerks.

In den Teilen III und IV zeigt Peters sein Fachwissen: ganz detailliert werden alle Wandmalereien des Hauses besprochen, zergliedert und analysiert. In jedem Teil wird folgendermaßen gearbeitet: 1. Beschreibung der einzelnen Wände (Konservierung und Technik einbeziehen); 2. Beschreibung der Figurendarstellungen (von Herrn Moormann); 3. Übersicht der Malereimotive und Aufbau der Werkstatt; 4. Ortsbestimmung der Malereien des 3. und des 4. Stils im Hause des Fronto. Zweimal weichen Peters und Moormann von dieser klaren Einteilung ab, scheinbar ohne Grund. Erstmals in Teil III, S. 183, wo die Beschreibung der Sockel des Tablinums fehlt und nirgendwo angegeben wird, daß diese auf den Seiten 225-227 steht; auf diese Weise könnte man denken, es gebe keinen Sockel im Tablinum. In Teil IV, S. 310-312, dagegen werden die Figuren und Statuen in der Einrahmung der Paradeisoi im Garten schon bei der Beschreibung der dekorativen Systeme aufgenommen und analysiert, obwohl dies normalerweise bei der Analyse der Figurendarstellungen (auf S. 348-349) geschehen sollte. Einige Ergebnisse sollten hier kurz wiederholt werden.

Zur Datierung der Wandmalereien geben Peters und Moormann klare Tatsachen. Die Malereien des 3. Stils (S. 276-277) gehören zu den späteren Beispielen, nämlich aus der Claudisch-Neronischen Zeit, ca. 35-45. Auch die Wände im 4. Stil sind spät in der Stilphase einzuordnen. Die Argumente auf S. 378 deuten auf eine Entstehungszeit kurz vor 79. Eine Bemerkung dazu: laut P. und M. ist fast alles Mauerwerk unter den Wandmalereien des 4. Stils datierbar nach 62. In Teil II wird dies aber nicht so bestimmt gesagt; es wird dort auch betont, daß gerade wegen der Wandmalereien nicht immer ein Urteil über die Art und Datierung des Mauerwerks zu geben ist, besonders im vorderen Teil des Hauses.

Aus der ausführlichen Detailstudie von Peters läßt sich schließen, wieviel Maler in einer Werkstatt beschäftigt waren. In der Werkstatt, die die Wände des 3. Stils gemalt hat, kann er z.B. zwei ganz verschiedene Maler unterscheiden, die in mehreren Räumen des Hauses gearbeitet haben und dort, jeder auf seine eigene Malweise, den Auftrag für eine Wand versehen haben (S. 256-258). Daneben gab es einen *pictor imaginarius*, verantwortlich für die Figurendarstellungen, sowie einen *pictor* für die Landschaftsbilder. Auch in der späteren Werkstatt kurz vor 79 gab es einen *pictor imaginarius*. Das macht Peters deutlich anhand der Technik: die Figurendarstellungen sind auf demselben Fond wie die

Ornamente gemalt worden. Der Bildermaler muß deshalb zur selben Zeit wie die Ornamentmaler gearbeitet haben und in der Werkstatt anwesend gewesen sein.

In der Analyse der *Pinakes* gibt Moormann gute, überzeugende Interpretationen der Darstellungen. In zwei Fällen könnte man seine Beweise noch erweitern. S. 216-219 sind dem Bild an der Südwand des Tablinums gewidmet, in dem Moormann die Geliebten Dionysos und Ariadne sieht. Weil im anderen Pinax Ares und Aphrodite gemalt worden sind, wäre das Zentralthema der Bilder im Tablinum 'die göttliche Liebe'. Eine Bestätigung der Richtigkeit der Hypothese von Moormann zum Bild der Südwand gibt er selber in der Behandlung der *Pinakes* in Cubiculum g, wo ebenfalls Ariadne Aphrodite gegenübergestellt wird (S. 207-209). Ein zweites Beispiel, in dem Moormann seine eigene Argumente noch besser benützen könnte, ist auf S. 339 zu finden. Die beiden Kinderporträts in Cubiculum i werden hier vorzüglich analysiert. Besonders das Porträt des Jungen, mit Merkur-Attributen, könnte das Bildnis eines jung verstorbenen Kindes sein, wie Moormann auch selber vorsichtig behauptet. Er läßt aber die Frage offen: es könnte so sein. Merkwürdigerweise gibt er in der letzten Zeile des Paragraphen ein Argument dazu, indem er eine Verbindung zwischen dem Bildnis des Jünglings und der Bedeutung des Bildnis des Narzissus (der vorzeitige Tod) herstellt. Hierdurch gibt es so viele Argumente, daß man kaum noch über die Interpretation des Bildnisses zweifeln kann.

Der allgemeine Eindruck der Teile III und IV ist ausgezeichnet. Besonders die Beschreibung und die Analyse der Motive sind eine gediegene Arbeit, die für zukünftige Untersuchungen nach Stil, Werkstatt und Arbeitspräzision sehr wichtig sein wird.

Moormann und Wynia fassen in Teil V alle im Hause gefundenen Graffiti und Inschriften zusammen. Das heißt, daß außer der am Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts von A. Mau und A. Sogliano publizierten Fundgruppe neue Exemplare aus den Grabungen der niederländischen Kampagne präsentiert werden. Alle neuen Graffiti sind abgebildet worden, ausgenommen den im 'ripostiglio' d (S. 386). Warum dies unterlassen worden ist, bleibt unklar.

Teil VI gibt eine Übersicht der Funde, die während der Ausgrabungen von 1900 gemacht worden sind. Eine Ergänzung hierzu wird in einer Studie von Penelope Allison gegeben werden.

In Teil VII versucht Moormann den Gebrauch der Räume und ihre Verbreitung im Hause zu erklären. Trotz einiger guter Beobachtungen ist es ein Absatz, der zu leicht geschrieben worden ist, ohne Begriffsbestimmungen. Wie sieht z.B. ein 'Cubiculum' aus?

Der letzte Teil (VIII) handelt von dem Status und den Bewohnern des Hauses. In ihren Überlegungen können Peters und Moormann aufgrund ihrer Datierung der Wandmalereien die Bemerkungen des Historikers W. Jongman über M. Lucretius Fronto und einen gewissen M. Lucretius Lirus widerlegen: Lirus war nicht eine Art Stellvertreter oder Hauswart des Fronto, sondern ein Zeitgenosse desselben (in den 70er Jahren des 1. Jahrhunderts), er gehörte vermutlich zur Familie der Lucretii und hatte gute Beziehungen zum Kaiserhaus. Einige kleine Fehler im Buch: – S.63 Anm. 39: Jansen

1991 statt 1990; – S. 248: den Buchstaben der Unterschrift zu Motiv h7 fehlt der richtige Rhythmus; – S. 286-290: die Tafeln XII-XXI gehören nicht zu Teil IV wie in der Ecke rechts oben angegeben; – S. 348, Anm. 54: falsche Seitennummer zu Mielsch 1988; – S. 378: Raum *s* angegeben als 'cubicolo' statt wie sonst 'triclinio'.

Das Buch ist vom neuen Verlag der Scrinium-Reihe (Thesis Publishers, Amsterdam) in stabilem Einband und in gediegener Form ediert worden, mit guten schwarz/weiß Photos und Zeichnungen im Text, mit Farbtafeln und mit zwei Tafeln außer dem Text. Die Farbaufnahmen sind, besonders beim Rot, Gelb und Orange, veränderlich in Ton und Härte. Dieses Übel geschieht öfters in Ausgaben über römische Wandmalereien und entsteht nicht nur durch die Drucktechnik, sondern auch durch die Beleuchtung, die Wahl des Films und das Objekt selber: das Pompejanische Rot ist auf Bildern niemals so wie der Zuschauer es 'erlebt' hat. Die Tafeln außerhalb des Textes sind auf einem Faltblatt zusammengebracht worden, das auf der einen Seite den Hausplan und auf der anderen Seite zwei Grabungsschnitte zeigt. Die Angaben A (Hausplan) und B (Schnitte) fehlen aber, was zur Verwirrung führen kann. Das wird besonders deutlich in der Beschreibung der Ausgrabungen auf S. 6-12, mit vielen Verweisen auf Tafel B. Teil II zeigt, daß auf Tafel A einige Raumbenennungen fehlen: *vano 1* (S. 46), *giardino 1* (S. 47, 104-106), *scala o* (S. 90-92). In einer solchen monumentalen Ausgabe hätte man mehr Sorgfalt auf die Ausführung der Tafeln verwenden müssen. Auch fehlt ein Plan der gesamten Insula V 4 oder ein Plan der Lage des Hauses in Bezug auf die umliegenden Wohnungen. Dies erschwert das Lesen der Beschreibung der Außenwände des Hauses (S. 41-47). Man bekommt auf diese Weise auch keine Übersicht der Baugeschichte des Hauses weder im Zusammenhang mit der Insula, noch in seiner Lage in der Umgebung.

Wie kann man schließlich dieses Buch beurteilen? Erstens ist es eine sehr wertvolle Studie über ein Haus mit wichtigen Malereien, die auf diese Weise besser dokumentiert worden sind. Auch könnte man das Buch in die Studien über pompejanische Häuser wie die Reihe des DAI einreihen, weil alle Aspekte an die Reihe kommen. Bei diesem Punkt muß man aber einen Vorbehalt machen, denn der Ausgangspunkt des Buches war nicht das Haus im ganzen, sondern sind die Malereien gewesen. Teil I fehlt Kohärenz mit dem Rest der Studie, die Teile V bis VIII sind in Ordnung, aber geben den Eindruck, sie sind geschrieben worden um das Buch zu vervollständigen. Es ist zu billigen, daß dies geschah, um nach sovielen Jahren die Studie abzuschließen; andererseits behält das Buch auf diese Weise eine gewisse Unausgewogenheit. Was aber in der Mitte der Waage steht, ist die Studie der Wandmalereien im Hause des M. Lucretius Fronto. Dieser Teil ist vorbildlich für weitere Studien über die pompejanische Wandmalerei. Besonders gilt dies für die Analyse der im Hause gemalten Motive, für die Folgerungen mit Bezug auf die Werkstatt und für die Bemerkungen zum 3. und 4. Stil.

Richard de Kind

NIKOLAUS HIMMELMANN, *Realistische Themen in der Griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1994. 156 pp., 81 figs; 28 cm (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Ergänzungsheft, 28). – ISBN 3-11-014173-6. – DM 148,-.

This is an interesting book but its contents are not quite what one may expect from its title, 'Realism in Greek Archaic and Classical Art'. It contains five essays on different subjects which are only loosely interconnected by a certain artistic attitude which is here indicated as 'realistic'. Only the first one deals more or less explicitly with realism: 'Griechischer Realismus'. The following chapters are about: 'Banausen'; realistic traits in Archaic and Classical portraits; 'Grotesken' (grotesque terracottas, especially from the Cabirion), and 'Komodoi' (terracottas and other objects illustrating comedy).

In all these chapters one may perhaps differ from the author in the question whether a concept that may be called 'realism' is implied, but such a disagreement does not diminish the value of what the author brings forward. In fact, on p. 2 he expresses some doubt whether the concept can be applied at all to Greek art in a meaningful manner and proposes to use it merely as 'heuristisches Mittel'. Yet, on p. 7 we find: "Die Definition von Realismus als treuer Naturwiedergabe": apparently, the author does not distinguish between, on the one hand, the imitation of general appearances in nature (which should, I think, be called naturalism) and, on the other, the portrayal of individual details which markedly disregard general rules and might therefore be called realism; but then, the two are often hard to distinguish.

It is impossible to do justice to the book in a short summary of its contents, since it ranges over wide fields of interest and also because it is written, at least partly, on what is nowadays often called a 'high level of abstraction' – a level on which the author, it must be said, is usually at his very best, but which does not facilitate summarizing. For example, in the Preface the author says 'Realismus' "...bemiszt sich .. nicht an mehr oder weniger Wirklichkeitstreue, sondern an den mit seinen Erscheinungen verbundenen sozialen und ästhetischen Wertungen".

Clearly, different readers will appreciate different things in the book. In order to keep within the limited scope of this review, we may therefore be allowed to give a swift survey of the contents of the first three chapter and to leave the chapters on grotesques and comedy to the reader (here mentioning, however, that in the last chapter many scenes on Tarentine vases are ascribed to Middle Comedy, p. 153).

In the first chapter attention is drawn to the fact that certain details in Archaic statues may be nearer to nature than others. As examples are given: the navel of the kouros from Megara, the scrotum of the Tenea kouros, the breathtaking beauty of the feet of the Aegina sculptures or the charioteer from Delphi etc. In my opinion such details are in line with the essence of the art of the time which is: a faithful adjustment to nature in general, but no reproduction of traits that may at the time have seemed uninteresting or to deviate too strongly from general shapes. I therefore disagree when the author says

that such details and other 'isolierte Realismen' are surprising 'in einem System das im übrigen dem Naturbild gegenüber keine Kompromisse macht.' On the contrary, it seems to me that Archaic artists worked in a constant interplay with general rules and individual natural appearances and that their art is constantly fed by forcing such 'Kompromisse'.

As is well known, isolated bits of 'realism' may have a special meaning (p. 4); for example the fattish belly of East Greek male statues characterizes the figures as 'pacheis' (wealthy and of great prestige); similarly the swollen ears of pancratiasts and boxers ('*ta oota kateagotes*') are a sign of noble rank and typical of aristocratic sportsmen. Such details are a kind of 'epitheta' in visual art.

In a lecture given in Italian Beazley once called the Foundry Painter 'un realista greco' (not a realist in the modern sense of the word, p. 7). On his name-vase we see the interior, furniture and utensils of a foundry, and the heavily built and rather ungainly workmen hard at work. Here and in other, comparable examples we have more or less realistic genre scenes taken from the lower levels of Athenian society and it is worth noting, H. remarks, that the life and activities of ordinary workmen were of sufficient interest to be portrayed on luxury-ware such as fine drinking cups (p. 8); we even find unquestionable 'Selbstdarstellungen' of potters and painters at work and on some of them the workmen are rendered with funny crudeness (p. 10). In view of such scenes and the general intrusion of a less heroic appearance of their figures H. speaks of "eine Veränderung der Künstlerischen Perspektive von der homerisierenden Romantik zum 'Realismus'" (n. 29).

From these scenes the author moves to the harsh rendering of workmen, with calculated ugliness of certain details (large phalluses, spindly bodies, uncouth attitudes etc.). H. asks why the workmen would have wanted to be portrayed in so slighting and even offensive a manner (p. 9 ff., figs. 4-5), but in most cases, it seems to me, the pictures may have been ordered by the employer of the workmen (i.e. without their permission). H. suggests that one of the sources of this realism in the portrayal of banausic scenes may have been 'religious credibility' (p. 10): a workman on a votive relief on the Acropolis (fig. 19), perhaps a goldsmith, is represented while sitting at his work table; without rising from his chair, he is handing his offering to the great goddess standing at his table. Apparently the man wanted to be represented at work instead of in an attitude of veneration or religious awe.

Further, H. suggests that Greek art may have been influenced by Egyptian reliefs, on which we find 'den Realismus par Excellence in der Alten Welt'.

Mythological scenes also are slowly being influenced by this new trend: in the judgement of Paris, for example, the hero and the scenery become increasingly 'realistic', more like a real shepherd in the mountains who is being accosted by very unusual visitors indeed.

In this context, H. also speaks of the fierce internal struggles raging in almost all Greek cities between the different classes of society in the sixth century. A certain tendency to political polemics and a critical realism might therefore be expected (as in the 19th century).

However, the very wild orgies and extravagancies seen on certain vases, and even represented on a grave relief in Cos (figs. 8-9), do not convey any criticism of the upper classes but must be understood as eulogies of the free and luxurious life (*truphè*) of the privileged: to show your *truphè* meant social prestige (p. 15)!

Though it is certainly unjustified to say that in the first half of the fifth century there existed a kind of programmatic tendency to realism, H. points out that in later times this period was actually regarded as one of realism: this may be concluded from the abrupt change around 450 BC, which brought about a strong tendency to idealization, and from the way in which early Hellenistic realism seems to have been inspired by precursors of the Severe Style (p. 16 ff.). The idealizing tendency is illustrated by the servant girl of the Hegeso stele who could not possibly have been recognized as a slave girl, had she not worn an outlandish sleeved garment. Besides, indications of the trade of the deceased are now extremely rare on funerary stelai. This idealization is, of course, in contrast with the caricatures of Aristophanes and other symptoms of 'realism', such as the works by Demetrius of Alopeke (p. 19; here, in n. 56, H. makes an interesting distinction between Classical habitus and Classical style).

The sources of the idealistic trend in the second half of the fifth century were, according to H., a social change that took place – viz. the growing distinction between capital and labour –, the political confidence and pride of the Athenians (p. 20) and, perhaps, democracy (tending to uniformity). At any rate, there actually was "a conscious, programmatic dislike of the realistic tendencies of the foregoing generation" (p. 21).

In the early Hellenistic period a new interest in realistic scenes arises, though of a very different, often ironical kind; the origin of this realism, H. says, is, in many respects, to be found in the Severe Style.

Chapter 2 deals with the portrayal of workmen, banausoi. In general it is hard to distinguish between genre pictures with banausoi at work and personal votive reliefs; all might be used by clients or producers as votive offerings, but the ubiquitous 'onlookers' flanking the main figures, are, of course, proper to genre pieces only (n. 16, p. 27). H. regards all such scenes 'in einem weiteren Sinne' as 'Selbstdarstellungen' of the artisans and workmen (p. 27). This is difficult to understand: some of them may have been ordered by the banausoi portrayed, but others (and probably most) may have been made quite independently of their wishes. This is essential, for H. lays much stress on the fact that the workmen are often rendered with 'banausische Züge', i.e., with hideous, sometimes even satyr-like attitudes and characteristics (figs. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 etc.). Such renderings seem to conflict with the self-assurance known from Greek artisans, here discussed on p. 28 ff. Later in the fifth century Athenian workmen and labourers seem to have claimed the status of *kalos k'agathos* in Athens: this appears among other things from the funerary stelai on which no banausoi can be distinguished, though many of them must have been represented (exceptions are Xanthippos, the shoemaker and Sosinos, the immigrant smith). In contrast with the numerous earlier representa-

tions on vases and pinakes, Classical votive stelai are also surprisingly uniform. In short, there can be no doubt about the change of attitude in this respect. Again, this must be due to the social change, already mentioned, which is the separation of labour and capital.

In the Archaic period, however, the 'Selbstcharakterisierung als Banausen' was clearly appreciated; apparently it did not clash with the feeling of pride and self-assurance among workmen. On the other hand, handwork dependent on commissions of others was generally despised. Thus, it is surprising to find that the same persons (especially the great artists) were honoured as 'demiurgoi' and despised as 'banausoi' (Hdt II 166 ff. explains the disdain as proper to an originally aristocratic society of warriors). These problems are discussed at length in this chapter, in the course of which we find numerous interesting observations.

There is the remarkable custom of rendering potters and other banausoi as working in the nude; in this case to be nude means to carry out heavy labour (p. 37), whereas the nakedness of comasts denotes an unbridled mood of happy revelling, proper to the upper classes. In other cases nudity may indicate a primitive origin or state (negroes, dwarfs, mule-drivers and other slaves, p. 38). Herodotus asks whether the Greeks may not have adopted this disdain for banausoi from Egypt; therefore, the author adds an extensive discussion of and comparison with Egyptian representations of labourers and artisans (p. 39-45).

Himmelmann assumes that the remarkably 'realistic' rendering of their work originated in the self-portrayal ('Selbstdarstellung') of the artisans on votive stelai (which seems unwarranted to me) and then suggests that it may have to do with the religious function of the representation: which requires a thoroughly authentic portrayal of the artisan at work. Such an interpretation explains the pinax with symplegmata (fig. 20) found on the Acropolis which clearly was a votive offering of a prostitute (p. 47). The author compares an adage of Pindar ('*syn anangkai pan kalon*') and refers to the harsh realism in Hesiod's *Erga*, which springs also from religiosity.

In short, this is a very interesting discussion, but it may perhaps be suggested that in it a (perhaps very modest) role should have been allotted to one of the most fundamental traits in Greek life and art, humour!

Finally a few words about the third chapter, which deals with portraiture. The definition is taken very widely: portrayal is possible and actually functioning without any similarity or even individuality (p. 55). It is its varying function that determines its form (in contrast with modern portraiture which does not serve different functions), and even Michelangelo objected to including a realistic portrait in an idealized context (p. 57). In Egypt portraits are shaped by their particular role and sometimes surprising functions (p. 55 ff.), such as the multiplication of portrait statues in tombs (p. 60 ff.). In general there are magical concepts at work.

In this sense Archaic kouroi may also be 'portraits' ('als Empfänger des Grabkultes', p. 62). At any rate, we must forget the modern conception of what a portrait should be; there clearly were, in 'portraiture', different forms of

identity, some of them far removed from any external similarity (p. 63). Buschor had already wanted to strip the concept of portraiture of similarity and individuality in shape. H. writes: "Damit Spenden und Salbungen den Empfänger gezielt erreichen können, ist Identifizierung notwendig, obwohl sich die Figuren in nichts von einander unterscheiden" (this identification might be effected by inscriptions such as that of Phrasykleia). The only representatives of a realistic trend in portraiture at this early date are, of course, the portraits of Themistocles and Pindar (p. 66 ff.). The Porticello bronze (fig. 31) is excluded because it probably represents a mythological figure. (H. mentions Ridgway's suggestion that it is Chiron but not its most striking features: the inhuman width of the mouth and the centaur-like wildness and length of its beard). The other two heads must have been dedicated by Themistocles and Pindar themselves, they could therefore determine the appearance of the portraits. Themistocles chose a representation as a pancratiast or boxer (mutilated ears), which (as we have already seen) is a rendering of great prestige, not a representation of the character or the ferocity of the sitter. The Pindar portrait is described as made with an eye to the intense labour the poet had to go through for his verses. In such self-representations similarity was less important than the habitus that was to be made visible. "Dieses 'realistische' Porträt ist weitgehend unabhängig vom wirklichen Aussehen des Dargestellten" (p. 81). Yet, it seems to me that in both portraits a personal likeness is highly probable. This interesting discussion is continued in a detailed manner for more than twenty pages (p. 66-88).

This must do as a survey of three of the five essays collected in the book. It shows, I hope, that, as we have come to expect from Himmelmann's analyses, his treatment of 'realism' in Greek art is inspiring and instructive.

J.M.Hemelrijk

JOHN H. OAKLEY, *Attic Red-figure and White-ground Vases. Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. U.S.A., Fasc. 28; Baltimore, Maryland, The Walters Art Gallery. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1992, 81 pp., 59 figs., 220 pls.; 32 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-1315-2. – DM 135,-.*

This fascicule contains a varied collection of red-figure and white-ground vases; most of these were acquired by Henry Walters whose greatest purchase was that of the vases of Don Marcello Massarenti in 1902 (almost half the number in this fascicule).

It consists in a nearly full survey of shapes: neck-amphorae (e.g., Nolans and doubleleens), a pelike, column-, calyx- and bell-kraters, a stamnos, a psykter, kalpides, an alabastron, lekythoi, pyxides, a skyphos, plastic vases, cups of various shapes and periods, etc. There are 60 plates with good photographs, surely just as good as in other good fascicules of the Corpus. However, they are not as good as the author pretends: in his 'Notes for Readers' (p. ix), he says that the vases were photographed according to the formula given by

J.V. Noble and that this made full profile drawings superfluous. Here there must be some mistake: the photographs should surely have been taken from a greater distance, so that both the rim and the foot virtually are in pure profile. Here, as is the rule in CVA, feet and rims are seen at a sharp angle and this seriously distorts the vase's profile. I believe that the distance should be at least seven times the height of the vase, not six, as Noble claims (this, at least, is my experience with large bulging vases such as the Caeretan hydriae). Photos in the CVA never are up to the requirements of the study of shape, but this may perhaps be changed in future.

From time to time the reader would have liked to see more photos of details; for example, shots of the faces on the krater of pls. 15, 16, 21, 24. Besides, the photos are not always taken from the right angle: see, for example, those of the figures on the amphora painted by Hermonax on pl. 7,1-2 which should have been similar to those of the amphora by the Achilles Painter, pl. 7,3-4, and the same holds for the details on pl. 4,1-2.

The pottery work of these vases is as we expect from Attic vases, efficient and admirable; but the quality of the paintings, apart from those of one or two (e.g., pl. 47, Antiphon Painter) is mediocre. This holds also for the 'great' painters such as the Berlin Painter (pls. 10-11), the Altamura Painter (pl. 20), the Achilles Painter (pls. 7,3-4 and 8). But not rarely the quality is far less than average. Attic red-figure vase painting is often quite disappointing and here we are repeatedly reminded of that disheartening fact. Even the figures on the white-ground pyxis by the Sotheby painter, beautifully reproduced in colour on pl. 60, are not free from awkward oddities: see, e.g., the stiff hobby horse-like fawn on pl. 60,2.

The text is well-written and gives full information on subject matter and bibliographies. While preparing a fascicule of the CVA it has to be decided how detailed the descriptions are going to be: usually a certain brevity is preferred. Yet, this brevity may disappoint those readers who, like the present reviewer, would be guided by the descriptions. For example, certain oddities in the painting are not pointed out in the text, such as, e.g., the wide open eye of the woman of pl. 20,4 which must probably be understood as an attempt to portray her emotion at the departure of the warrior. Also, serious defects in style might, I think, have from time to time been pointed out, especially since they may be of importance for the study of the character and style of the painter; such as, e.g., the stupid faces, bad proportions and clumsy hands on the pelike pl. 12 or the abominable chins and hands on the column krater of pls. 13 (Walters Painter) and 17 (Naples Painter), etc.

There is a technical remark in the text that seems highly interesting though difficult to understand: on p. 54, speaking about a quickly and proficiently painted white-ground lekythos by the Reed Painter, pl. 58, we read: "Some matt-lines continue over areas where the white slip has flaked off; this painting seems to be ancient, indicating that the white slip had been lost in firing". Does this imply that the matt-lines were drawn *after* firing (which I have always thought impossible)?

Other questions are likely to be asked. For example, about the origin of the old drawings of the psykter by the Syriskos Painter, which are reproduced on p. 23, and are

said to be "by G. Mariani" (made shortly after 1875, the discovery of the Tomb of the Leopards): how is it that they are much more complete and why are we not told that the boy was seen from behind (note his legs and the extraordinary foreshortening of his feet)! On p. 13 the word *yelotopoios* is used, in a spelling that imitates the modern Greek pronunciation, and without any explanation of this unusual term ('clown').

The text contains indexes and very interesting section drawings in 18 full-page drawings. In these some confusing errors have been made which should be corrected to facilitate the use of this publication; the main errors are as follows.

The captions (with the inv. nos.) under fig. 1,3 and 4 have been interchanged and must be corrected also in the text; *idem* for fig. 2,1 and 4; *idem* for fig. 8,1 and 2. Further, there seem to be slight mistakes or inaccuracies in the drawings: in fig. 15,3, for example, the narrow black band under the foot near its edge is indicated mistakenly with a bracket turned downwards instead of upwards. Besides, if I am not mistaken, some contours are somewhat stylized in the drawings: compare, e.g., the outline of the body of fig. 17,3, the lekythos by the Reed Painter already mentioned, with that of the photo of pl. 58: in the photo the outline of the body is somewhat uneven but certainly more swelling than in the drawing; besides, the description of this lekythos suggests that only the foot has been reattached, so the backward inclination of its neck and handle should be original, although not shown in the drawing.

Further, one may ask why the section drawing of the lekythos of pl. 34,3-4 (fig. 9,2) is incomplete: the photos seem to show that its body is nearly perfectly preserved. The reader may also be puzzled by other details in which the photos and the drawings seem to be (slightly) different: as has been said, photographs are hardly trustworthy for judging shape and therefore one is inclined to believe the drawings rather than the photos. Yet, this is perhaps not always right. To give only two examples: is the upper member or ridge of the foot of the krater 48,69 as sharp as indicated in fig. 3,4 (compare the rounded appearance of this ridge in pl. 15)? Similarly, the delicately shaped foot of cup type A on pl. 44,3, with its nicely concave curve in the outline of its stem and the slightly hollow upper surface of its foot plate, seems unlike the hesitating, almost angular outline of these details in the drawing of fig. 13,2 (inv. 48,44).

The section drawings are 1:1; whenever the upper line is continuous, as in figs. 1 and 2 etc. the width of the mouth can also be measured from the drawings. But this could not be maintained for the very wide mouths of column kraters, which, therefore, had to be made narrower in the drawing. This is indicated by breaks in the horizontal line indicating the level of the mouth, e.g., in figs. 3 and 4. On the other hand, this horizontal line should have been continuous in fig. 5,2 (pl. 22). Often the description of the details of the shapes are too summary to be instructive and the mouldings of the underside of the foot are usually ignored. Yet it is in such details that the development of the shape, and perhaps even the style of the potter, show themselves most clearly. Take, for example, the rather pretentiously detailed lip and mouth and the finely moulded foot of kalpides, such as those

shown in fig. 7.3: the hawkbeak-like section of the lip, with a concave upper and an undercut lower surface are simply described as “torus rim with groove near top” (p. 26, pl. 29,3-5). And the foot is mentioned as “in two degrees”, which seems to do justice to what can be seen in the photos but not in the drawing, with its concave trochilus-like area on the upper surface, and its ogival underside which is offset from the bottom of the body by a ridge – very like what is seen under the far larger and coarser feet of column kraters such as figs. 3 and 4.

These kraters are, as a rule, remarkably careless products for Attic pottery, both in shape and decoration, especially, of course, the reverse pictures (pls. 17 and 18). It is interesting to see how the coarsely-shaped feet of these kraters, figs. 3 and 4 (formed seemingly by two rather shapeless rolls of clay placed on top of one another) show a rather sweeping concave underside in the section drawings (figs. 3, 3-4 and 4, 1-3). One might ask oneself why the feet of these kraters should look so heavy and coarse compared to those of their nobler and probably more expensive brothers, the calyx kraters. The difference in the production of the two types of feet is not very great as can be seen in fig. 4: a vaguely comparable, but highly elegant underside is seen in the section drawing of the foot of the earlyish calyx krater of fig. 4.4 (pl. 20, Altamura Painter), which stands on tiptoe as a ballet dancer. No doubt it was felt that the foot of the column krater should look powerful and rounded, in order to ‘echo’ the broad, bulging body above it, topped with its heavy neck and rim. The calyx krater, on the other hand, is an elegant shape (rather like an architectural structure) and so is its foot, at least in section; from the outside, however, it looks like a sturdy torus base of a column, counterbalancing the large concave contour of the upper part of the body (pl. 20); only when one turns the vase upside down, one discovers the nicely shaped bowl-like hollow area under its foot. Later this shape of the foot changes notably as can be seen in fig. 5.1. However this may be, the feet of column kraters form the only detail of Attic pottery that might, I believe, have gained from a better design, a feeling that apparently never occurred to Attic potters who kept to this rather clumsy shape with surprising tenacity.

In this strain much more might be said about this varied collection and its fine publication: it presents the vases in such a way that detailed questions can arise – and this is, no doubt, one of the main aims of the Corpus.

Incidentally, the reader is fortunate to find that the plates are separate as they have been for decades, and that they are not sewn into a thin volume as seems, unfortunately, to be becoming the habit in order to lessen the costs.

J.M.Hemelrijk

CAROLE GILLIS, BERIT WELLS, GULLÖG NORDQUIST, MARIANNE FRISSELL and MARIA ELLIOTT, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Sweden 4; Medelhavsmuseet and Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 2*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995. 85 pp., 220 figs., 34 pls.; 33 cm. – ISBN 91-7402-254-7. – SEK 260.00.

In this fascicule of the CVA there is a new alternative for the cardboard box for plates, which, in the opinion of

many, has become too expensive: 35 plates made of thin, glossy paper are kept in a kind of envelope glued to the inside of the hard cover in which the text is bound. This method seems preferable to the other system in which the plates are bound together with the text in a single cover, such as the CVA Athens, National Museum fasc. 4.

The volume contains no less than 214 vases belonging to the collections of the National Museum and the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. There are five chapters, written by five different authors, each preceded by a short introduction, and dealing with Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric (mainly Attic), East Greek pottery, Black-figure pattern vases (mostly Attic), and black-glazed pottery.

Apart from the well-known large Cycladic amphora with a grazing deer in the shoulder panel of the obverse (pls. 17-8, which is the emblem of the Stockholm CVA) and a good collection of Attic (proto)geometric ware (pls. 5-15), these vases are minor objects, but nearly all items are depicted in truly excellent contour- and section drawings which greatly enhance the usefulness of this fascicule.

For example: there are a great number of lekythoi (black or with patterns), all represented in highly instructive section drawings (figs. 88-124) which, very exceptionally, show the surprising thickness of the base of the body of these very popular oil flasks. Though they must have been cheap and of low esteem, the method of throwing and assembling the members was surely quite complicated: this thick base might provide a clue to this question, a clue that, however, has not yet been explored. Apparently, the body was thrown on the wheel as a cylinder on a very thick base indeed. This was no doubt turned (trimmed or peeled off, partly) but it is not clear why such a heavy wall of clay was allowed to stand – for I take it that it was not simply meant to increase the stability of these rather top-heavy flasks. Winfred van de Put once suggested to me that the feet were produced by turning (*i.e.*, were carved from the solid clay of the base on the wheel) and this would, of course, require a thick layer of clay, the necessary thickness of which must have been hard to judge beforehand. Speaking of the technique of pottery, there is an interesting remark on the Fikellura amphora of pl. 19,3-5, telling us that the neck was added to a half-dry body because there are traces of the joint on the interior of the shoulder (which are, unfortunately, not shown in the section drawing, fig. 58; Prof. R.M. Cook tells me that this is not uncommon in Fikellura), and the joint is also said to be marked by what might be called a flat collar round the base of the neck – which may perhaps be true, though it can hardly be doubted that the neck was ‘thrown on’ (using a wet roll of clay laid around the opening left in the shoulder), not added ready-made.

Also for other technical problems the drawings of shape of the vessels are very welcome indeed. However, in other respects this fascicule often lends itself to criticism.

That the text is by five different scholars shows itself clearly, especially in the descriptions of the shapes which vary greatly, some starting from above, others from below: compare, for example, the descriptions of the lekanides pl. 28,9-10 and pls. 32,7-33,5. In some sections the Munsell color chart is used, in others not. Not rarely

the text is hard to understand (*e.g.*, *ad* pl. 32,7, fig. 172) or clearly muddled (*e.g.*, the description of the shape of the East Greek cup of pl. 21,10, fig. 80, p. 38). I gather from their description that the bowls pl. 21,3 and 5 (figs. 73 and 75, p. 36) are East Greek 'bucchero' (unpainted and grey) but, if this is right, this should have been stated. Pl. 21,4 seems dipped to me but this impression too may be wrong. Similar uncertainties occur more often.

Let us take a closer look at the section on black-glazed pottery (p. 59 ff.). In it, the author, Maria Eliott, uses a version of Gardin's descriptive analysis for the discussion of the shapes; this is a seemingly exact method but in practice highly overcomplicated and unclear. Take, for example, the foot of a small lidded bowl, pl. 30,5 and fig. 146 – which might be described as a low-stemmed foot with a foot plate (or perhaps a spreading foot) with a torus edge. This is described as follows: "projecting high base with a convex end and convex inner side" ('foot' is used only if the height "exceeds 1/5th of the height of the vessel"). The foot of a small straight-sided bowl (pl. 30, 11 fig. 152), which is in two degrees (roughly like a miniature version of the feet of column kraters: a rounded member, or bead, above a torus), is described as follows: "heavy straight base-ring with a broad groove in the middle, angular edge and towards the body" (or is this a simple misprint?). 'Straight' is indiscriminately used for vertical and slanting surfaces: a flaring ring-foot of a saltcellar (pl. 30,10 and fig. 151) is said to be a "straight base-ring with a flat bottom and straight inner side". In describing the body of kantharoi ("straight lower part and straight upper part of body", *ad* pl. 31,4 and fig. 157) there is no mention of the characteristic ridge which forms a sharp offset between the two parts, nor the fact that both parts are splaying. I do not see how the protrusions low on the handles of kantharoi could be called 'thumb-rests' for the thumb rests, of course, on the top of the handle, not low down: figs. 155 and 157 (incidentally, the captions of figs. 155 and 156 have been interchanged). A further instance of the lack of clarity is that the toy krateriskos of fig. 160 is discussed as a kantharos – and more examples could be given. Besides, the author does not give an opinion on the question of the place of production of the vases she discusses (whether they are Attic, South Italian or Boeotian etc.), though most readers would surely like to have her opinion in this matter. Some misprints are: on p. 64, fig. 155 = pl. 31,3 and fig. 156 = pl. 31,2. In the right-hand column of p. 65, 12th line: 'indication' should, I think, be read as 'indentation'.

But also in the other sections of this fascicule there are descriptions of shapes that seem curious, or even incorrect. For example, the nearly horizontal, slightly sloping shoulder of a cylindrical lekythos is invariably called 'tapering'. And, surely, the cup pl. 28,4-5, fig. 130, should not be included in the Attic series (here Munsell is not used).

Clearly, the fascicule would have greatly profited from a set of rules prepared beforehand for the terminology and the descriptions, and, especially, if confusing or muddled passages had been corrected. Connoisseurs specialized in the study of the individual shapes will, I expect, have much to criticize, though they will also be grateful to be able to use this interesting fascicule.

J.M.Hemelrijk.

A cura di NAZARENA VALENZA MELE, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia, Museo Nazionale di Napoli – Raccolta Cumana*; fasc. 5; Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1995. 56 pp., 80 pls., ill.; 33 cm. – ISBN 88-7062-899-X.

N.V. Mele is the author of this fascicule, but because of her untimely death in 1994, it had to be completed by her friends Prof. M. Cristofani and Elisabette Mangani. It contains the Attic black-figure vases of the so-called *Raccolta Cumana*, vases found in Cumae in the excavations from 1852 to 1857 (but it also includes the famous *lekanis* lid by the C Painter found in 1908, pls. 1-3). Nothing is known of the contexts in which the vases came to light, but the Panathenaic amphora by the Achilles Painter, pl. 39, is recorded to have been used as a cinerary urn with a 'coppa' as a lid.

The material belongs mainly to the late sixth and to the first part of the fifth century and, though of limited artistic value, is certainly not without interest. There is the pleasant liveliness and zest that shows in most Attic black-figure vase painting, often quite independently of artistic quality; in fact, the drawing may be very cursory and even bad, see, *e.g.*, the panther on the krater of pl. 10,2. Many of the vases are published here for the first time. This is one of those modern fascicules in which the text and the plates are bound in a single hard cover; this impairs the ease with which one can study the vases but seems to become more and more customary, because it is a way to avoid the costs of the cardboard boxes for the plates.

The paper is very glossy, there are 80 plates, most (though not all) photos are good and so plentiful that almost every detail can be studied: the kraters are shown also from above and all vases from at least four sides. On pl. 49,1-2 the inv. no. should be corrected: read 86360.

Also the descriptions and discussions are detailed; the author usually points out peculiarities of style and subject matter and this she does with understanding. However, hardly anything is said about the shape of the vases, and section drawings are lacking (which is perhaps understandable in view of the number of the vases and their mediocre quality). Yet, this is to be regretted: for example, the foot of the column krater of pl. 4, a sturdy vase, painted with a Gigantomachy and the return of Hephaestus, is very unusual in that the upper member, which is always seemingly formed by a thick, rather crude roll of clay, is here a delicate 'ring' set off from the lower member, a fine torus.

Apart from the beautiful *lekanis* lid by the C Painter, the fascicule contains half a dozen column kraters, a fine dinos, six amphorae, five amphoriskoi of the 'Light-make Class', two Panathenaic amphorae, two pelikai, three kalpides, seven jugs of different shapes, a large number of second-rate lekythoi (pls. 52-75, including three with a white ground) and a number of skyphoi.

This collection shows that the families of the inmates of the tombs had limited means and hardly any artistic ambition in furnishing the tombs with pots and vases. Their very Greekness appears from the popularity of the lekythos (usually of very mediocre quality).

The repertory of the paintings is varied but not very exciting, though there are pleasant and sometimes surprising scenes. For example, on pls. 23-5 we see

Hephaestus riding on a bull following Dionysus who reclines on a mule in the company of four very light-hearted satyrs. On a kalpis by the Eucharides Painter with the departure of a traveller (not a warrior) the family dog carries a horse's hoof in its mouth with part of its leg (pls. 45-6)! And I wonder if the curious scene on the pelike of pl. 41 should not be understood to represent an aborted quarrel, possibly about a dog: the man on the left, apparently a labourer or slave of some sort because of his loin cloth, is holding a club in his hand in a clumsy, hesitating way, but ready to strike, a stream of 'words' coming from his mouth; the fine youth who holds the dog on a leash, seems to warn him. A nude man approaching from the right is also speaking (the incision in his cheek perhaps denoting some emotion); he seems to stroke the dog which looks up at his outstretched hand. The drawing of this vase may be clumsy (especially the back-view of the youth with his curious left arm and mis-shapen shoulder, pl., 42.4), but it is lively and quite interesting. And the same liveliness is seen on many of the other vases.

The scene on pl. 36-8 seems a wrestling lesson, not a bout of pancratiasts; the Greek general term for wrestling in standing position is *orthopalè* (not *horthopalè*), as opposed to *klinopalè*, wrestling on the ground, and does not denote a particular hold or 'presa' (p. 30).

Sometimes details that might seem somewhat embarrassing are ignored: for example, the intention of the excited satyr on pl. 24.1 and the apparent sickness of his colleague on pl. 24.3. As for the descriptions of the ornaments, the author has no clear grasp of the handle ornaments of amphorae, which can best be described as W-on-M designs with palmettes at the ends of the tendrils and flowers elsewhere (see pls. 21, 25, and 27, a design that goes back to early in the sixth century).

Unfortunately, the attributions to classes and painters are not followed by the name of the responsible scholar. This may cause difficulties: e.g., it is not clear whether the attribution of the krater of pl. 11 to the Painter of Louvre C 11266 is due to the author herself or to Tronchetti who, one gathers from the text, must have been the first to identify this painter. The attribution of the amphora of pl. 30 to the Painter of London B495 is another case, for the references to literature for explaining the attributions are sometimes lacking or far from clear. Where can the reader find more about the skyphoi Class Ure O (*ad* pl. 77)? The lekythoi with upright palmettes of pls. 63 f. are introduced by no. 85905, the description of which contains parts of a text that does not belong here (speaking of inscribed palmettes on the shoulder and other incorrect details). Haspels believes that these palmette lekythoi are not necessarily by the Beldam Painter himself (*ABL* p. 185). And for the black lekythos pl. 69.1 and 75.3 a reference to *ABL* pl. 45.6 (with the same shoulder decoration on a lekythos by the Athena Painter) would have been instructive.

A very different but interesting case is the lekythos of pl. 60: this is listed by Haspels *sub* the Gela Painter no.104 (*ABL* p. 210) but it is undoubtedly not from his hand: the shoulder (which is, unfortunately, the only one that is lacking on pl. 72 ff.) and neck ornaments are wholly foreign to him and so is the figure style (except the heavy stick with the cloth on it), especially the bull; it seems

likely that some error in Haspels' notes is responsible for this puzzle. Besides, the youth is beardless and therefore Theseus and not Heracles (*contrast* pl. 52.1).

The lekythos in Six technique with a negro warrior of pl. 67 is attributed by Haspels to the Sappho Painter himself, not to the workshop of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters (*ABL* 228 no. 49). Further, the alabastron of pl. 76 (Peleus and Thetis) is not the same as *ABL* p. 237 no. 114 (which is described as a lekythos with a zone of riders between patterns by the Diosphos Painter); besides, the proportions are very different from the usual figure style of the Diosphos Painter (the heads are too large) and the attribution seems mistaken. Further, the comment about the panther, or rather lion, attacking Peleus (p. 52) is somewhat surprising as this animal is common enough in this myth.

In general, the attributions are too often a cause of surprise or doubt: thus, for example, the attribution of the lekythos of pl. 70 (white-ground) to the Flying Angel Painter; of the lekythos pl. 71 as close to ('vicino') the Bowdoin Painter (see the shoulder on pl. 75.11); and that of the pelike pl. 41, no. 86378 ('same painter as of pl. 36'), which seems unlikely. For the black-bodied and pattern lekythoi of pls. 63-5, 68-9 and 72-5, see, e.g., CVA Stockholm 2 (Sweden 4) pls. 23-7 with comment by M. Frisell.

Of course, the first thing the reader wants to know is whether Beazley made or confirmed the attribution but even this is, in many cases, not immediately clear. Besides, Beazley is sometimes misquoted: the amphora of pl. 29 is not attributed to the Euphiletos Painter but compared to an exceptional shape of a vase that was painted by that master (*ABV* 325.2). The amphoriskos of pl. 33 is *ABV* 709.19 (not 594.2, which is published in pl.31) and as regards the vase of pl. 35, add that it is listed by Beazley in *ABV* 709.20 (by the Pescia Painter himself). In tracing these attributions in *ABV* the reader should also know that the RC numbers (Raccolta Cumana) of Beazley are taken from Heydemann's publication of 1872 and that, therefore, they are different from those used in this CVA text.

No doubt, these and other deficiencies are due to the premature demise of the author; those who edited the fascicule seem to have assumed that in this respect the manuscript was complete.

J.M.Hemelrijk

MARIA PIPILI, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Greece, Fasc. 4; Athens, National Museum, fasc. 4. Attic black-figured skyphoi*. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1993. 72 pp., ill., 64 pls.; 33 cm. – ISBN 960-70999-14-1.

This is an exemplary fascicule of the CVA: very good photographs printed beautifully on no less than 64 plates (sturdy paper, printed on one side only); good section drawings of most, though not all items (1:1 and 2:3) and an excellent text. It forms a handy corpus of skyphoi, providing a survey of the shape and its many variations; it contains nearly all b.f. skyphoi of the National Museum, with the following restrictions.

Skyphoi from large excavations, such as the Vari cemetery, are excluded. Of the CHC Group and cup skyphoi

(Ure's class K2) only a selection is given and there are no pinchbase skyphoi of Ure's class R. Also the three Gorgoneion skyphoi of the National Museum are omitted, though the author feels certain that they are Attic and not, as has been suggested, Boeotian. Besides, three skyphoi are already included in earlier fascicules. Of many items the findplace is unknown, and not a few are mentioned as: 'confiscated in the Athens market'.

The descriptions are informative and accurate and, perhaps rightly, not too detailed. Sometimes, however, the reader is left in doubt; e.g., about the decoration of the underside of the feet: since such drinking 'cups' were sometimes (or often?) hung on a nail in the wall, the underside was not without interest to the ancient customer (and therefore to us). On pl. 12.2 what seems a drop of spilt 'glaze' is described as "a rock in the crook of the" arm of the centaur. There is hardly any comment on the shapes of the skyphoi and nothing is said of the way the feet of the different variations may have been produced. The skyphos 433, pl. 14,1-4 is said to be thick-walled and heavy (fig. 6.1) but this does not appear from the other section drawings of fig. 6, some of which seem to have far thicker walls within their ring feet. Some comment on the weight of the vessels (when not restored) compared to that of their immediate relatives would perhaps have been interesting. As regards the inscriptions and graffiti, which are reproduced in the text, the reader would have liked to find a transcription and explanation of those on no. 11554, pl. 24.3-4, p. 36 (Klewicha? seems praised as '*kala*' and '*phila*' but there are more words that raises one's curiosity; apparently they were scratched in the surface by a Boeotian man for his beloved).

The bibliographies and references to relevant literature and comparable vases or scenes are plentiful and instructive. Let us now glance through the plates.

Of the Corinthian type of skyphoi there are those of the Komast Group (pls. 1-5), decorated with lively, though somewhat stiff, dancers and funny processions by the KX and KY Painters; further there is the large Vourva skyphos with an early symposium scene (pl. 6, p. 16). Then we have four examples of the clumsy Polos Group (pl. 7), which are apparently too small and trivial to deserve section drawings; they appear to be later than their badly drawn scenes might suggest (second quarter of the sixth century). These are followed by seven examples of the rather better skyphoi of the Oxford Lid Group (pls. 8-10).

Entirely different, both as regards shape and colour, are the band-skyphoi; these are reminiscent of band-cups but deeper and on low feet, which are sometimes more or less disk-shaped but may also be more elegant and splaying (pls. 11-12). A pleasantly shaped and sturdy skyphos decorated with cocks and swans, a siren and rams, is attributed by the author to Elbows Out (pl. 11.1-2).

More like what one expects of a proper skyphos are those of the Hermogenean type and the one example of the Lancut Group, which are collected on pl. 13. These are nice, mainly black drinking vessels (decorated in the handle zone), on tiny splaying feet, painted with swiftly painted miniature figures and animals, the later ones in silhouette. Such minor products, looking second-rate in photographs may be surprisingly pleasant and pretty

when one turns them round in one's hands; however, the section drawing of fig. 5.2 (= pl. 13.3-4) seems heavily-walled and so do some of the other section drawings of this group.

On the following plates there are a dozen or so of Ure's class of skyphoi A1 (pls. 14-23); sturdy and deep drinking vessels, the lip painted with a narrow black band and offset with a very slight groove (pls. 14-26). Usually these vessels have so-called FP ornaments at the handles (horizontal, widely spreading palmettes reaching into the scenes and a pendant lotus crowned with a palmette under the handle), but on the first four items here shown, skyphoi painted by the Camel and the Wraith Painters, the horizontal palmettes springing from the handles are lacking (pls. 14-17). In this series a notable change in the concept of the shape is seen to begin with pl. 20, when the foot becomes much narrower and is provided with a fillet, and the wall becomes less vertical and straightish, acquiring the swelling contour of a bowl.

Then follow five skyphoi of Ure's class A2 (distinguished from A1 by the lip, which is concave and painted with a thick black band). Remarkable is the graffito under the foot of 25928: '*Epidromos kalos*' (pl. 25,3-4, p. 37).

So we come to a great number of skyphoi of the well-known Heron Class (Ure's skyphoi B and C, pls. 27-61); for example those of the Krokotos Group, Theseus Painter, CHC Group. These are sturdy, colourful vessels with a great variety of scenes. There is the noteworthy skyphos of pl. 28 with three men and a goat mounting steps towards a platform with two small herms at either side of a tiny white stone altar (as if shown in the distance, but more probably made so small from lack of space). On the other side we see a girl in front of a fountain house, jumping curiously with both legs from the ground. Curious pictures are also, on pl. 31, a smallish lion ducking low in front of a herd of white, yellow and red bulls; and, on the same plate, two nude ladies reclining under a bower of vine tendrils at either side of a great wine container. On pls. 33-4 Heracles is cutting a ram's belly with a knife to sacrifice it to a herm of Hermes.

The skyphoi of the CHC group, pls. 45 ff., have a relatively narrow figure zone and less interesting figure scenes. Curious are, on pl. 53,1-4, the rows or choruses of women that seem to float a metre or so above the ground; possibly, this is an error of the painter, made before the ground lines were drawn? At any rate, the scenes of two lions mauling the belly of a white mule (?) lying on its back (pl. 53,5-7), are also floating above the ground line.

Finally there are three skyphoi of the Pistias class, all white-ground, the first one, pl. 62, very different from the foregoing skyphoi, both in shape and colour, mastos-shaped on a wide flat foot and with thick black handles which are tilted; its figures, drawn with speed and ease, are hardly incised and nearly in black silhouette. We end with three cup-skyphoi, flat, shallow, black but for the figured band between the handles (pl. 64).

It is worthwhile to study the section drawings of figs. 1-16: it shows that the denomination 'skyphos' is almost too varied to be practicable. As regards fig. 3,5 and fig. 4 one might, for example, speak of 'footed skyphoid bowls'. The feet of these 'cups' were, I take it, 'thrown

on' but those of most others must have been produced by turning, when the bottom of the vase was still thick and malleable, allowing such trimming on the rotating wheel. Sometimes the walls and bottom of the vases are remarkably thick (e.g., fig. 5), sometimes only the bottom of the vase is thick and this must be due to defective turning (fig. 5,5-6; 7,6; 8,5; 13,2 etc.). Thus, we see that this fascicule of the *CVA* can be studied as a monograph of the shape; a real asset of this excellent publication.

J.M.Hemelrijk

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